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THE
Compleat Hiſtory
OF
SWEDEN,
FROM ITS
ORIGIN to this TIME:
COMPREHENDING

The Lives and Reigns of all its Kings and Governors, the ſeveral Revolutions, Wars, Riches, Forces, Strength, and Intereſt of that Nation, in Reſpect to the other Kingdoms of *Europe*.

Written by the famous *Samuell Puffendorf*, late Chancellor of State in that Kingdom.

Puffendorf (S.)

Faithfully Tranſlated from the Original *High-Dutch*, and carefully Continued down to this preſent Year.

LONDON,

Printed for *Joſeph Wild* at the *Elephant* at *Charing-Croſs*, 1702.


BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

Right Honourable

RICHARD HILL, Esq;

One of the

Lords Commissioners

OF THE

TREASURY.

SIR,

THE following History of *Sweden*, written by the Celebrated *Puffendorf*, I here presume to lay before you, craving your Pardon for the Liberty I have taken in prefixing your Name to this Translation; 'tis a Privilege every Writer

a assumes,

aſſumes, and the *Greateſt* cannot free themſelves from ſuch Importunities.

I need not ſay any thing in Commendation of the Author, ſince he is ſo Univerſally known, and ſo juſtly admir'd by the Learned World, for his Ingenious and Elaborate Writings, particularly *Hiſtory*, in which he has every where ſhewn an unparallel'd Judgment, and a Fidelity unexceptionable; and we may reaſonably conclude *this* to be one of his moſt Compleat and Perfect Pieces; For *Sweden* being his Native Country, where he was a Privy Councellor, and intimately acquainted with the moſt ſecret Springs of the Affairs of his own Time, and had the opportunity of ſearching into the *Archives* themſelves for paſt Tranſactions, it is to be preſum'd, he Neglected no Means poſſible to render this Work truly Conſummate. Hence it is, that we *here* meet with many

many Antiquities not to be found in any other Authors, and many Particulars no where else Extant.

The several Revolutions and Changes in *Sweden* have been, perhaps, as many (if not more) and as surprizing, as of any Nation in *Europe*, and have often given very strange Turns to the Affairs of other Kingdoms, especially its Neighbours: We may *here* Trace them from their Originals thro' all their Mazes, and find their secret Causes faithfully accounted for.

Here we have their Wars with *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Muscovy*, and the Amazing Progress the Great *Gustavus* made in *Germany*, which might have prov'd fatal to the House of *Austria*, had not Death, in the midst of his Victories, put a stop to his Carreer. And, if we consider this Author's judicious Remarks on the *Politicks*, *Genius*, *Interest*, &c. of *Sweden*,

Sweden, and the other Nations of *Europe*, we must almost suppose him a Prophet.

I shall not say any thing more of the Author, or History; the Translation is from the Original, and perform'd, I hope, with Integrity, and the Continuation with all imaginable Care and Exactness.

It may possibly be expected, that according to the Mode of Dedications, I should Lanch out into the Praises of my Patron; but that I am sure is very needless: These and the Neighbouring Nations are sufficiently appriz'd of your great Worth, Ability, and integrity. How often you have *Preserv'd* the Publick Credit Abroad, in the most difficult Junctures, *many Thousands* can witness. Let it suffice to averr, That you have serv'd the Nation with an *Uncommon* Fidelity, That your Actions will bear the strictest Scrutiny, and that Envy it

self

ſelf, if call'd on, wou'd pronounce you unblameable.

Permit this ſmall Sketch of your Virtues, and be pleas'd to believe me to be with all imaginable Deference

Sir,

Your moſt Humble

And moſt Devoted

Servant

Charles Brockwell.

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The Compleat

HISTORY

OF

SWEDEN.

ALL Thoſe that are acquainted with the Antiquities of *Sweden*, will readily acknowledge it to be the moſt Ancient Kingdom in *Europe*. And in effect the *Swediſh* Writers have demonſtrated by ſeveral convincing Proofs, that after the univerſal Deluge, *Sweden* was inhabited before any other Country on this ſide the *Mediterranean Sea*. 'Tis true, ſome People are at a loſs to imagine, why the firſt Inhabitants of the World ſhould remove out of more temperate Climats to inhabit the frozen Regions of the North. But to obviate that difficulty, beſides what the *Swediſh* Writers have advanc'd, I may add, That when the firſt Propagators of Mankind deſcended from Mount *Ararat*, where the *Ark* of *Noah* reſted, they diſpers'd themſelves into ſeveral Parts of the World; and being all very curious in contemplating the Celeſtial Bodies, and obſerving their *Phænomena*, thoſe who went Northward quickly obſerv'd that the Summer *Sun* did not approach ſo near the *Zenith* as in other places; and that on the contrary in the Winter the *Sun* was lower there than elſewhere; in a word, that the days were longer in Summer and ſhorter in Winter, than in the Southern Climats from whence they came. Now the farther North they went, they were more ſenſible of this Alteration; upon which ſcore

Sweden the anciennteſt Kingdom in Europe.

'tis very probable, their Curiosity might move 'em to inquire where the different heights of the *Sun*, and inequality of Days and Nights might terminate. In which view, a certain number of Men might agree in a resolution to travel to the North, till they could please themselves in so remarkable a Discovery; especially considering that in the Northern Climats they were strangely amus'd with the *North Star*, which seem'd to continue fix'd and unmov'd in its proper Orb, while the other Stars underwent perpetual Revolutions; so that they might easily imagine, they should meet with something extraordinary in the Regions of the North. Now, supposing that in pursuing this Project they set out with their Cattel and Goods, and met with an easie passage through part of *Tartary* and *Muscovy* to *Finland*, and at last arriv'd at the further end of the *Bothnick* Bay; 'twas there they discover'd the Mystery, finding in that Country that the *Sun* never went down in Summer, and that in Winter it disappear'd for some time together. But when they travell'd to the other side of this Gulf, in quest of a more convenient Habitation; they at length settl'd in *Upland*, partly by reason of the pleasantness of the Country, and partly because the *Baltick* Sea stopp'd their farther Progress. To this purpose were those words of the *Scythian* to *Alexander* the Great, Recorded by Q. *Curtius*, *altera manu Orientem, altera Occidentem tangeres, et hoc assecutus scire velles ubi tanti Numinis fulgor conderetur*. For doubtless by *tanti Numinis fulgor* is meant the *Sun*; and these words can neither relate to its setting, which they observ'd every day, nor to the *Antipodes*, since in order to see them, he must have gone either Eastward, or Westward; besides, 'tis very probable, the *Antipodes* were then altogether unknown to that People. So that the only meaning of these Latin words is this; tho' you have Conquer'd the *East* and the *West*, you have still a desire to extend your Conquests to the *North*, where the *Sun* is hid for some time: For 'tis very probable the Ancient *Goths* and *Scythians* look'd upon the absence of the *Sun* as a singular Mystery. However I would not oblige any Man to take up with my Conjectures.

The Antiquities of Sweden uncertain and very fabulous.

I shall not pretend to determine who were the ancienteſt Inhabitants of *Sweden*, or the year of their firſt arrival in that Country after the Deluge; for we cannot fix upon any certainty in ſuch a remote piece of Antiquity It cannot be made out that *Sweden* had *Kings* immediately after it was inhabited: Indeed, 'tis probable that the firſt Inhabitants for a long time retain'd the free State of Paternal Authority; and at laſt, being ſenſible of the inconveniencies of that Form of Government, joyn'd in the Election of a *King*. However, no Man can tell how many Years every one of their *Kings* Reign'd, for the Antiquities of *Sweden* give us no light into that matter, and the ancient *Swedes* had no *Epocha* or fix'd period of time, to aſſiſt the Computation. 'Tis a groundleſs and unaccountable fancy of ſome Hiſtorians of our time, to allot every King a certain number of Years: I own that all the names of the *Swediſh Kings*, from the beginning to this day, are to be met with; but at the ſame time that Catalogue is not ſo Authentick, but that we may reaſonably doubt, whether the true Names are inſerted, or whether two or more *Kings* reigning at one time in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, may not be reckon'd in direct Succeſſion. We are equally in the dark as to the Exploits of their ancient *Kings*; ſince what we know of 'em is only taken from old Ballads and fabulous Legends. Sometimes the ancient Poets took delight in embelliſhing their Stories with Allegorical and Figurative Expreſſions, which Poſterity has miſtaken for proper and unmetaphorical ways of ſpeaking. Thus, *John Meſſenius* (in his *Scandinavia Illuſtrata*,) accuſes *John Magnus* of vyeing for Rhetorical Strains with *Saxo-Grammaticus* a *Daniſh* Hiſtorian; becauſe the one gives a magnificent and glorious return to all the Exploits of the *Daens*, and the other endeavouring to depretiate them, partially crys up the Actions of the *Swedes*. However, to omit nothing of the Affairs of *Sweden* from its very Infancy, I ſhall relate them upon the credit of the Authors who are my Vouchers, till I come down to later times, where Truth and Certainty may be met with.

The ancient Kings of Sweden, Magog and Suenon. King Ubbo and King Siggon.

If we credit the ancient *Swedish* Historians, *Magog* the Son of *Japheth*, and Grand-son of *Noah*, being the Father of those from whom the *Scythians* and *Goths* descended, came to *Gothland* 88 years after the Deluge, where he Reign'd several years; but pursuant to the Custom of those times, after he had form'd Kingdoms and Republicks, return'd to *Cælo-Syria* and liv'd with *Nimrod*. To this *Magog* they allot five Sons; namely *Suenon*, from whom they derive the *Swedes*; *Gethar* call'd by some *Gog*, of whom the *Goths* and *Getes* are said to be descended; *Thor*, *German*, and *Ubbo*, who, succeeded his eldest Brother in the Kingdom of *Sweden* 226 years after the Deluge, and built the City of *Upsal* so call'd from his Name. But *John Messenius* calls in question all these Allegations, for 'tis manifest that 88 years after the Deluge, *Noah* had not yet parcell'd out the Earth among his Sons, neither had the Confusion of *Babel* then happen'd. Besides, *Berosus*'s evidence that *Magog* Reign'd in *Cælo-Syria*; and as for his resigning the Government to his Son and returning to *Cælo-Syria*, 'tis a groundless Allegation: Nay farther, 'tis very plain that the Authors who have writ of the ancient Foundation of Kingdom and Estates, have not sufficiently observ'd that in those times Mankind was propagated by a very small number, and that in so narrow a compass of time they could not multiply like Rabbets so as to furnish such large Countries with Inhabitants, and form such wide extended Kingdoms Their Allegation of the five Sons of *Magog* is likewise false, or at least very suspicious; besides, they have chang'd the name of *Sueno* into *Suevo*, whom *Berosus* takes for the great Grand-Child of *Germion* who Reign'd over all *Germany*. Neither do the *Suenskes* derive their name from *Sueno*, for they had it only within these few Centuries: 'Tis true, *Getat* or *Geta* govern'd *Sweden*; but then he was not the Son of *Magog*. *Thor* liv'd much later, and 'tis justly doubted whether there was ever such a Man in the World as *Ubbo*, at least it is certain he never built *Upsal*, and that City never deriv'd its Name from him; for *Messenius* tells us 'twas built by *Freger* about the time of our *Saviours* Birth. In like manner when *John*

Magnus

Magnus says *Siggon* built the City of *Sigtuna* to put a stop to the *Esthonians* and *Finlanders*, *Messenius* brands it for a Fable, forasmuch as *Sigtuna* was built by *Othinus* about the time of our *Saviour*'s appearance in the World: To which we may add, that the Situation of that Place is not at all proper for the pretended Design.

Siggon King of *Sweden* (says *John Magnus*) was succeeded by *Eric* King of the *Goths*, being the Son or Grand-son of *Geta*; who gave wholesome Laws to his Subjects. But afterwards when his People multiplied and became numerous, he sent all the useless and dissolute sort of People into the Isles of *Denmark*, and gave them Judges who were subject to the Empire of the *Goths*: By this means his Dominions were spread out to a large extent, and at the same time the Inhabitants liv'd more at ease, and in greater Tranquility. Now all this Story is rejected by *John Messenius*, who affirms, that *John Magnus* confounds *Eric* with him whom the former Historians call *Berick*, that he mistakes the egress of the *Vites* or *Juttes*, for that of the *Goths* and *Rugians*, and farther that the *Jutts* did not march out of the Kingdom of *Sweden* in the time of the Patriarch *Sarug*, but about the time that the *Scythians* enter'd the Peninsula of *Scandinavia*, which is very uncertain He adds that *John Magnus* is egregiously out in making the *Danes* descend from a company of wicked profligate Wretches, of which *Sweden* was purg'd; and that these Colonies were only planted in order to ease the Country which was over-stock'd with Inhabitants, and to purchase more convenient Seats; and that there were a great many worthy and brave Persons concern'd in such Expeditions. After *Eric*, says *John Magnus*, *Sweden* was in great trouble and confusion for about 400 years, during which time they were govern'd by Judges, and had no Kings; tho' among the *Goths* we meet with the names of the following Kings, *Uddo*, *Alo*, *Othin*, *Charles*, *Biorn*, *Getha* and *Gert*, in contradiction to which *Messenius* affirms, that it is not probable the *Goths* should have so distinct a Succession of Kings, while all things were in disorder in *Sweden*; and that *Othin* did not come out of *Asia* to *Scandinavia*, till some hundreds of years after that time.

King Eric *and his Exploits.*

King Beriko, Humulf *and* Humblus.

The ſame Hiſtorians inform us, that King *Beriko* Reign'd at once over the *Swedes* and *Goths*, about 800 years after the Deluge; that he eſtabliſh'd good Orders among his People, and gave them good Laws; that the Country being over-ſtock'd with Inhabitants, after ſeveral barren years began to want Subſiſtence, and the *Scandinavians* being much infeſted by the Nations that were ſeated on the other ſide of the Sea, King *Beriko* encouraged his People to croſs the Sea, and conducted them himſelf in the Expedition, leaving the Kingdom to his Son *Humulf*. But *Meſſenius* ſpeaks not a word of this King, this muſt be the ſame *Beriko*, or *Eric* according to *Meſſenius*, who firſt inhabited the Iſland of *Gothland*, and afterward conquer'd the *Ulmirigians* who were then poſſeſs'd of *Pruſſia*: From that place the *Goths* are ſaid to have extended their Dominions over the *Vandals*. But long after that, they abandon'd their Seats, and march'd towards the *Euxin* or black Sea, where it receives the *Danube*; from whence they made very conſiderable Expeditions both againſt the *Aſiaticks* and *Europeans*, till at laſt about three or four hundred Years after the Birth of *Chriſt*, they made an eruption into the *Roman* Provinces on this ſide the *Danube*, and form'd the Kingdoms of *Spain* and *Italy*. After the Death of *Humulf*, *Humblus* his Grand-ſon ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Gothea*; and the *Danes* obſerving that the *Goths* had weaken'd themſelves by their great Expeditions under the Conduct of *Beriko*, reſolv'd to ſhake off their Yoke. Upon which the *Saxons* under the Command of General *Jutor* poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Peninſula of *Limbria*, which was call'd *Jutland* from his Name. But when the *Danes* found themſelves not an equal match for the *Saxons*, they at once beg'd Pardon and Aſſiſtance of *Humblus*, who accordingly ſent them his two Sons, *Dan*, and *Angul*, at the Head of a puiſſant Army: After which, the Father made *Dan* King of that Country, which from him was call'd *Denmark*, whereas its former Name was *Witas-let*. 'Tis alledg'd that King *Angul* the Brother of King *Dan* went into *England* and gave it the Name that Country now bears, leaving the Kingdom of *Norway* to *Norus* the Third Son of *Humblus*: By which means *Norus* came to be

King

King of *Scandinavia*, after he conquer'd ſeveral other Nations ſeated on the *Baltick Sea*. But *Meſſenius* makes *Humblus* and his Son *Dan* much later than *John Magnus* does; for he makes him but 200 Years ancienter than the Birth of *Chriſt*: Beſides, he affirms, that the Father of theſe Sons was call'd *Snore*, *Gumblus*, or *Humblus*, being his Sirname; that his Eldeſt Son was call'd *Thor*, who was King of *Sweden*, *Gothland*, and *Finland*, and Reign'd with ſo much Affability and Prudence, that after his Death his Subjects plac'd him amongſt the number of their Gods, and that the fifth day of the week had its Name from him. 'Tis the Peninſula of *Jutland*, and not *England*, that was call'd *Angulio*, for to this very day part of *Holſatia* is call'd *Angelu*.

Meſſenius is of opinion that *Urbar* the Son of *Thor*, ſucceeded his Father, and he was ſucceeded by *Oſten*, Sirnam'd *Gylte*, whoſe Father *Gethat* King of *Norway* was barbarouſly Maſſacr'd by his own Subjects: The News of which Murder did ſo irritate King *Oſten* againſt the *Norwegians*, that he ſent 'em his Dog call'd *Sweting* to be their King. *John Magnus* makes theſe Kings ſucceed one another, after the Death of *Humblus*; as if they had all Reign'd before the Birth of *Chriſt*. But ſince *Meſſenius*'s Hiſtory is more generally receiv'd, and ſaid to be writ with greater exactneſs, than that of *John Magnus*, I have follow'd his Order as to the Succeſſion of Kings; tho' at the ſame time I do not pretend to prepoſſeſs any Reader. For the purpoſe. 'Tis alledg'd, that about 60 Years after the coming of *Chriſt*, the famous *Othin*, alias *Wode*, being expell'd *Aſia* by the *Arms* of *Pompey* the Great, brought a numerous Body of his Subjects to the Peninſula of *Jutland*, (which he Conquer'd) giving the Government of it to his Son *Boo*. After that he vanquiſh'd the Inhabitants of *Saxony*, and confer'd the Soveraignty of that Country upon his Son *Vectam*: At laſt being aided by the *Saxons* and *Wendes*, whom he had Tranſported from Upper *Poland* to the ſide of the *Baltick Sea*, he Attack'd *Denmark*, and oblig'd King *Lother*, who by reaſon of his Tyranny was extreamly hated by his Subjects, to flie into *Jutland*: The other *Danes*, particularly thoſe in the Iſland of *Zeland*, ſubmitted to his Govern-

Remarks upon the two Kings, Urbar, and Oſten.

ment, and accepted his Son *Balderus* for their King. After some time, King *Lother* having drawn together some Troops in *Jutland*, and receiv'd some Succours from *Norway* and *Sweden*, he Attack'd King *Balderus*, and at once Dispossess'd him of his Kingdom and his Life. To Revenge his Death, King *Othin*, having call'd to his Assistance his two Sons, *Bov*, and *Vectam*, one from *Saxony*, and the other from *Russia*, with their Troops, defeated *Lother* in a Battle, and by that means reduc'd the Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, about 24 Years before the Birth of *Christ*. *Othin* kept the Kingdom of *Sweden*, built the City of *Sigtuna*, and introduc'd certain Sacrifices at *Upsal*, enjoyning all the *Scandinavians* to Celebrate a solemn Festival in that City every nine Years after that Institution, and obliging all the Kings and Princes of *Scandinavia* to come thither and pay Homage to the Royal Throne. This is the Original of the Custome observ'd at the Diets of that Country, that when the King of *Sweden* mounts his Horse, the King of *Denmark* holds his Bridle, and the King of *Norway* his Stirrup. 'Twas the same *Othin*, that order'd little Hills of Earth to be rais'd above the Tombs of great Men, and great Stones with Epitaphs to be laid upon the Tombs of others: He is said also to have introduc'd into that Country a sort of Sorcery or Witchcraft, of which there are still some remains among the *Laplanders*. He was accounted so great a Magician, that when he pleas'd he could assume the form of wild Beasts, transport himself in a minute to remote places, pass the Seas in a small Shallop, check the Winds, and receive Intelligence of all things transacted in Forreign Countries by two Ravens, for which reason his Statue was erected at *Upsal*, which the People consulted as an Oracle. But after all, he could not by all his Necromantick skill save himself from being expell'd his Dominions, and oblig'd to pass 10 Years in Exile; after which he retriev'd his Kingdom and died at *Sigtuna*. He christen'd the 4th day of the Week *Odensday*, i. e. *Wednesday* His Wife *Frea*, alias *Frua*, alias *Frigga*, was noted for her lewdness.

After

After King *Othin*, *Freyer*, alias *Frivo*, *Froe* or *Frothon*, Sirnam'd *Jugo*, sway'd the Scepter of the three Northern Kingdoms. In his Reign the Saviour of the World was born, he surrounded the Temple of *Upsal* with a Golden Chain; but 'tis not probable that every link of that Chain veigh'd 5 l as *John Magnus* affirms: He endow'd that Temple and Royal Palace with some Lands, which in the Language of the Country are call'd *Upsula Oede*. 'Twas he likewise that made a Law obliging the future Kings of *Sweden* to be Consecrated at *Mcrasteen*, a place seated in a Meadow near *Upsal*: After his Death, he was worshipd as a God; he Christen'd the 5th day of the Week *Vrydag*, i. e. *Friday*. Tho' this King Reign'd over all the North, yet after him every Province of of *Sweden* and *Gothland* had petty Kings of their own; who at the same time acknowledg'd the King of *Upsal* as their Sovereign Lord. After him *Nicrd*, one of the great Priests of *Upsal* became King of *Sweden*; against whom *Hervitus*, the lawful Heir of *Russia* (who after the Death of *Boo* recover'd his Paternal Throne) commenc'd a very severe War, in resentment of the injury that *Othin* had done both to himself and his Country. *Nicrd* indeed march'd against him with a great deal of Vigour and Resolution, but being defeated was constrain'd to retire to *Denmark*; and thus did *Hervitus* subdue the Kingdom of *Sweden*, conferring the Government upon his Son of the same Name: But afterwards the *Swedes* out of compassion to *Niord*, recall'd him to the Kingdom, which after that time he govern'd peaceably and happily; insomuch, that his People after his Death gave him the Title of a God. *King Freyer, alias Frothon, and of King Niord.*

King *Niord*'s Successor was *Sigtrug*, who some give in for the Son of *Niord*, and others for the Son of *Freyer* under the name of *Drotte*. *Gram* King of *Denmark* courted his Daughter; but *Sigtrug* who was not fond of a *Danish* Alliance, design'd her for *Humblus* or *Simblus* the King of *Finlands* Brother. However, the King of *Denmark* having gain'd the young Princess's affection by Letters and Presents sent underhand, at length came himself to *Sweden* in disguise, and after an interview, carried her off to his own Kingdom, whither she willingly follow'd him. By *King Sigtrug.*

this

this Princeſs he had a Son *Guttorn*, and a Daughter that afterwards married *Suibdager* King of *Norway*. This Action did ſo enrage King *Sigtrug*, that he reſolv'd upon a War with the King of *Denmark*: Before he engag'd in the War he conſulted the falſe Gods of *Upſal*, to know what ſucceſs he might expect, and receiv'd this Anſwer; *That, if he took care to eſcape the impreſſion of Gold, no Metal could hurt him.* *Sigtrug* conſidering that in thoſe days there was no ſuch thing as guilded Arms, fancy'd himſelf invincible, and march'd againſt the Enemy with great aſſurance and reſolution. But the principal *Swediſh* Officers, being corrupted by *Daniſh* Gold deſerted King *Sigtrug* in the Battle, and left him among the hands of his Enemies. Some fabulouſly imagine, that *Gram* had run ſome Gold into the Battle-Ax which he us'd in the Engagement, to make it the heavier, and with that Weapon knock'd down the King of *Sweden*. Upon this Victory King *Gram* thought himſelf already Maſter of *Sigtrug*'s Kingdom; but the *Swedes* choſe rather to ſubject themſelves to *Swarinus* King of the *Goths*, who quickly form'd a puiſſant Army of the Troops of both Nations. Soon after the King of *Denmark* finding his Enemies Troops were much more numerous than his own, ſent him a Challenge for a ſingle Duel: *Swarinus*, tho' ſtricken in years, and his Opponent young and vigorous, could not bear the Infamy of declining a Duel; and accordingly having anſwer'd the Challenge, was eaſily overcome by the *Dane*, who was infinitely ſtronger than he; and all his Friends and Relations, to the number of 16, fell upon the ſpot one after another. King *Gram* having thus cut off all the Royal Family, govern'd the *Swedes* and *Goths* with great ſeverity, but the *Goths* growing uneaſie under his Tyranny, call'd in *Suibdager* King of *Norway*, a Relation of the late King *Sigtrug* and *Swarinus*, to be their Protector. *Suibdager* having drawn together a numerous Army of *Swediſh*, *Gothiſh*, and *Norwegian* Troops, invaded *Denmark*, Raviſh'd King *Grams* own Siſter, and ſent a very pretty Daughter of hers to *Norway*, where he defeated *Gram* who had march'd thither to offer him Battle: *Suibdager* being thus ſeated on the Throne of *Denmark*, con-

tinu'd

tinu'd in poſſeſſion of it a long time; till *Hading* the Son of *Gram*, having gather'd ſome Troops together during his Exile from his paternal Kingdom, gave Battle to *Suibdager* upon the confines of *Gothland*, and in one Engagement deveſted him of the *Daniſh* Crown and his Life.

After the Death of *Suibdager*, *Aſmund* his Son, having taken upon him the Government of the Kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *Gothland*; did not fail to make preſent War upon *Hading* King of *Denmark*, who confiding in his Sorceries, march'd againſt him with all Expedition, and in the beginning of the Engagement kill'd *Eric* the Son of *Aſmund*; which did ſo enrage his Father that he run upon *Hading* with great fury; but *Hading* ſeeing him advance with ſo much warmth, run *Aſmund* through with his Spear, the handle of which falling did at the ſame time wound *Hading* in the foot, inſomuch that he was lame ever after. The Death of King *Aſmund* ſo affected *Gunilda* his Queen. that ſhe laid violent hands on her ſelf. *Uffo* ſucceeding his Father *Aſmund*, durſt not attack *Hading*, notwithſtanding he Ravag'd and made havock in a great part of *Sweden*: But at laſt, in order to diſlodge him, and give him ſuch Diverſion as would oblige him to retire, he ſail'd with his Army to *Denmark*, where he laid all waſte. Upon the News of this Expedition, King *Hading*, immediately left *Sweden*, and march'd to the Relief of his own Country. However he return'd about a Year after, but was ſo hemm'd in upon a narrow paſs by *Uffo*, that he could neither give Battle nor return to *Denmark*: By which Stratagem he was reduc'd to ſuch extremity for want of Proviſions, that his Soldiers eat one another. At laſt he was conſtrain'd to break through the *Swediſh* Army, with a vaſt loſs on his ſide: After which he eſcap'd to *Gothland*, from whence he paſt with a great deal of danger to *Norway*, and ſo to *Denmark*. *Uffo* was ſo touch'd with his eſcape, that by a publick Proclamation he promis'd his Daughter in Marriage to any Man that would kill *Hading*: Upon which, one *Thunning*, being buoy'd up by ſo large a promiſe, and animated by a ſingular bravery, Attack'd *Hading* with a Troop of *Barmians*. But the later by his magical Art eaſily defeated him.

King Aſmund *and King* Uffo.

After

After that, *Hading*, under the pretence of friendſhip, made a Peace with *Uffo*, and deſir'd of him a Paſs-port to go to *Upſal* to perform a Vow he had made; but in effect he had no other Deſign but to have an opportunity of killing him: In the mean time the *Swedes* preceiving the Treachery, deſign'd to catch *Hading* in his own Snare; and to that purpoſe when he was at *Upſal*, invited him to a Feaſt, in order to make an end of him. But *Hading* receiving private notice of the Deſign, made his eſcape privately through a Wood, leaving behind him all his Retinue, and ſo got ſafe to *Denmark*. Not long after he came again into *Sweden* incognito, and Aſſaſſinated King *Uffo*, whoſe Corps he nevertheleſs Honour'd with a very ſolemn Funeral, in order to gain the affection of the *Swedes*, and oblige them to take him for their King: But the *Swedes* and *Goths* Elected *Hunding* the Brother of *Uffo* who had been thus barbarouſly Maſſacr'd. *Hading*, finding his hopes fruſtrated, and calling to mind the Loſſes he had ſuſtain'd by ſeveral Encounters with the *Swedes*, enter'd into ſo ſtrict an Alliance with *Hunding*, that they mutually ſwore, that upon the firſt news of the Death of the one, the other ſhould make away with himſelf. But it fell out unluckily, that after theſe two Kings had ſway'd their Scepters in Peace and Tranquility for ſome Years, a falſe report was ſpread abroad that King *Hading* was dead: Upon which King *Hunding*, purſuant to his promiſe, firmly reſolved to put an end to his Life. With this Reſolution he provided a magnificent Feaſt, at which he regal'd all the chief Officers of his Court, and fill'd drink with his own hands to all his Gueſts: And after every one had drunk, threw himſelf into a Fat full of Mead, and ſo was drown'd. King *Hading* receiving this diſmal News, and ſcorning to come ſhort of his Friend in Fidelity, hang'd himſelf before all his People.

King Regner. After the Death of *Uffo*, *Regner* his Son had the right of Succeſſion; but his Mother-in-Law, a very ambitious Woman meant to ſecure it to her ſelf: Upon which Deſign ſhe ſent him to a Deſart to take care of the Kings Flocks. *Swanvita* the Daughter of *Hading* King of *Denmark*, was ſo touch'd with that peice

peice of injustice, that she took a Voyage to *Sweden* in order to find out the unfortunate *Regner*. At last the Princess succeeded in her Design, and found him whom she sought; and perceiving in his Discourse a particular greatness of Soul, discover'd her self to him after she had earnestly solicited him to make himself Master of his own Kingdom, she made him magnificent Presents; and *Regner* to shew his gratitude, promis'd to marry her. At last having drawn together all his Fathers Friends, he reduc'd all his Enemies, put his Mother-in-Law to Death, and after he was Proclaim'd King of *Sweden* married *Swanvita*. Her Brother *Frothen* King of *Denmark*, being reinforc'd by his People who liv'd towards the East of *Sweden*, declar'd War against the *Swedes*. But Queen *Swanvita* in her Husbands absence made Head against 'em; and having defeated them in a Sea Fight, took 'em all Prisoners, and then releas'd them all at once. Notwithstanding this generous Action, King *Frothen* continu'd to Attack the *Swedes* with more warmth than ever; but at last he had his demerits, and was punish'd for his Ingratitude, being kill'd in an Engagement between him and the *Swedish* Army. After that *Regner* and his Queen *Swanvita* had a long and peaceable Reign, and after the Kings Death, *Swanvita* died of Grief.

King Halrard, *Sirnam'd* Hotebrord

Halrard sirnam'd *Hotebrord*, considering how unjustly his Father was Attack'd by his Neighbours, resolv'd to be reveng'd of 'em. For which reason, he waged War against the *Russians*, *Esthonians*, *Finlanders*, *Sorabians* and *Courlanders*, and reduc'd 'em under his Obedience: At his return home he marry'd *Hyrata* the King of *Norway*'s Daughter, by whom he had *Attilus* and *Hotherus*. Then he turn'd his Arms upon the *Danes*, whose King *Roe* march'd against him with Courage and Resolution enough; and after two successive Battles, in which he was worsted, ventur'd a Third, in which he was kill'd: After that King *Hotebrord* subdued the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and leaving the Government in the hands of some *Swedes*, he return'd in Triumph to *Sweden*; But after his departure, *Helgo* the Brother of *Roe* fell upon the *Swedish* Governours, and after he had Murder'd them, made himself Master of *Denmark*.

And

And the King of *Sweden* going a second time with a Fleet to retrieve his Conquest, was defeated and slain by *Helgo*. Then *Helgo* having reduc'd the *Swedes*, treated them very severely; and for a publick mark of his aversion and hatred, made a Decree that whoever kill'd a *Swede* should pay a less Fine than he who kill'd a *Dane*. In the mean time *Attilus* the Son of King *Hotebrord*, who had been bred at King *Gerar*'s Court in *Norway*, designing to recover his paternal Dominions by a Marriage, Espoused *Ursella* the Daughter of *Helgo*, and by that means obtain'd the Crown of *Sweden*, but upon this condition that he should pay Tribute to the King of *Denmark*. After *Attilus* had amass'd together a vast Treasure, his Wife *Ursilla* over-perswaded him to invite to *Sweden* *Rolvo* King of *Denmark*, her Son by a former Marriage. *Rolvo* being arriv'd in *Sweden*, was instructed by his Mother (who liv'd in no good terms with her Husband *Attilus*) what he was to do, *viz.* to carry off the King's Treasures: Accordingly being magnificently treated by *Attilus* his Father-in-Law, he amus'd him a long time with some frivolous Discourses, while his Mother fled away with the Treasure, and the Son follow'd soon after; and made their escape in Vessels that lay waiting for them. *Attilus* indeed pursued them, but to no purpose.

King Hother.

Attilus was succeeded by his Brother *Hother*, who made himself famous by his Address and Industry: He made promises of Marriage to *Nanna*, Daughter of *Givar* King of *Norway*, who was in love with him. But *Hacho* King of *Denmark* endeavour'd to take her off from loving him; tho' for all the artifices he employ'd, she continued faithful to him. Whereupon *Hacho* declar'd War against his Rival. *Hother* defeated *Hacho*, subdu'd the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and carried his Mistress *Nanna* into *Sweden*. *Hacho* having gather'd Auxiliary Troops from all corners, recovers *Denmark* in *Hother*'s absence. *Hother* having cross'd over to *Denmark* to repossess that Kingdom, was defeated by *Hacho* and constrain'd to retire to the Peninsula of *Jutland*, where he pass'd the Winter, and then return'd to *Sweden*. Soon after *Hother* having drawn together an Army more numerous than the former, gave Battle to his Enemies, which lasted

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a whole Day, till Night parted them; in the Night-time *Hother* in disguise got into the Enemies Camp, and having observ'd their Designs, Attack'd 'em next Morning; Routed the Army, slew *Hacho*, and thus a second time reduc'd *Denmark*. After that, *Fridlef* who marry'd *Rolvo*'s Daughter, made himself Master of *Denmark* in *Hother*'s absence; but the *Swedes* returning dispossess'd him both of his Crown and his Life. At last after *Hother* had Reign'd a long time peaceably, the Princes inhabiting the Eastern Parts of *Denmark* revolted against him: The King having made all necessary Preparations for reducing the Rebels, was told by South-sayers that he would die in that War; upon which he left his Son Regent in *Sweden*, and died in the Expedition, tho' his Death was not long unpunish'd.

King Roric, *or* Roderick.

His Son, *Roric* or *Roderic*, sirnam'd *Slingabond*, resolving to Revenge his Father's Death; rais'd a strong Army of *Swedes* and *Danes*, with which he conquer'd the *Finlanders*, *Russians*, and *Esthonians*; together with the *Sclaves* and *Wendes*, who submitted to his Yoke: When he return'd to his own Country, he contented himself with the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Gothland*; and gave the Government of *Denmark* to his Son *Viclet*, who made himself Master of it, after he had kill'd *Fengon* who was then in possession of it. He left the Crown of *Sweden* to *Attilus* his other Son, the second King of that Name. *Attilus* had several Wars with his Neighbours: *Viclet* being dead, his Son *Veremond* succeeded to the Crown of *Denmark*. This *Veremond* married the Daughter of *Frovin*, who possess'd the South part of the *Peninsula* of *Jutland*, but was otherwise a great Pirate. *Attilus* was mightily incens'd against *Frovin*, because he had suffer'd great losses by him: And tho' *Attilus* intreated him to leave off his Piracy, yet *Frovin* still persisted in his wonted Course: Upon which the King kill'd him in a Duel after a vigorous resistance, and so annex'd his Country to the Crown of *Sweden*. But ater his return to *Sweden*, *Veremond* King of *Denmark* and *Frovin*'s Son-in-Law, assisted *Rito* and *Vigo* the two Sons of *Frovin*, and put 'em in possession of their Hereditary Country. Immediately afrer King *Attilus* appear'd in the Field at the head of a numerous Army

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to dispossess 'em; but was vigorously repuls'd by the *Danish* Auxilary Troops At last, *Veremond* fearing *Attilus* would return with a more numerous Army than before, put his two Brethren in Law, *Rito* and *Vigo*, upon assassinating him: Accordingly they went to *Sweden*, and metting him alone walking in a Wood, murder'd him; and to recompence so black an Action, King *Veremond* confirm'd them in the possession of their Principality, and voluntarily presented 'em with several other Possessions.

King Hogmer *and* *King* Hogrin.

In the long Reigns of two Kings *Hogmer* and *Hogrin*, we meet with nothing memorable, unless it be that they were at War with *Hugler* King of *Denmark*, and died in a Sea Fight with the *Danes*. Cotemporary with them was one *Thore* Prince of the *Helsingia*, a prodigious great Man, whose Effigies was since carried about in several places, especially at *Schenningen*. where it was held in as great veneration as that of the great *Christofulus* in *Germany*. After these two Kings the *Swedish* Crown was possess'd by *Alaric*, whose Son *Gawto* was King and Prince of *Wermland*. These two Kings vigorously attack'd *Gestiblindus*, alias *Gestiblus*, then King of the *Goths*, in order to dispossess him of the Kingdom, insomuch that he was oblig'd to have recourse to *Frothon* King of *Denmark*, who sent to his aid *Godascale*, with *Sclavians*, and *Eric* with *Norwgeian* Troops. These Auxiliary Troops quickly routed *Gauto* in his own Province, and then joyn'd the *Goths*: But King *Alaric* was so far from sinking under the Death of his Son, that he came with all possible Expedition into the Field, and March'd at the Head of the *Swedes* against the Enemy with great Courage and Resolution; before he ventur'd a Battle, he solicited *Eric* to desert *Gestiblus*, but that Design not taking effect, he Challeng'd *Gestiblus* to a Duel. *Eric*, considering that the King of the *Goths* was enfeebl'd with Age and Sickness, accepted the Challenge, and offer'd to fight in his place: Accordingly *Alaric* and *Eric* engag'd with mutual ardour; *Alaric* indeed gave *Eric* a severe blow, but receiv'd one more dangerous himself of which he died upon the spot, After this Victory, *Eric* being descended of one of the most considera-

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ble Families in *Norway*, was preferr'd to the Crown of *Sweden* by Interest of *Frothon*; to which he annex'd that of the *Goths*, after the death of *Geslibus Eric* gain'd a considerable fame by his Prudence and Eloquence. 'Twas by his Wife's Counsel, that *Frothon* the King of *Denmark* govern'd his Kingdom with great Reputation and Glory; and out of a grateful sense of such Services the *Dane* gave him his Sister in Marriage. It was likewise by his means that *Roller* obtain'd the Crown of *Norway*. When *Roller*'s Subjects Revolted against him, he importunated the Aid of the *Swedes* and *Danes*. *Frothon* with a naval Force went to his Assistance; but in all appearance he had been routed by the *Norwegians*, if his *Swedish* Majesty had not assisted him, and redu'd the Rebells to their Duty. In that time liv'd *Aragrin* a celebrated *Swedish* Hero, who in a Duel kill'd *Scale* the Soveraign Prince of *Sconia*. He Courted *Frothon*'s Daughter; but the Father would not give his consent till *Aragrin* had subdued *Egter* Prince of *Biermia*, and *Thongil* Lord of *Finmarchia*, and annex'd their Territories to the Kingdom of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. At last having accomplish'd what the King desir'd, he gave him his Daughter, by whom he had 12 Children.

Haldon the Son of *Eric* by *Gunnata*, succeeded his Father in the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Gothea*. This Prince had a severe War with the *Norwegians*; for after the Death of *Roller*, the *Norwegians* understanding that *Frothon* and *Eric*, the two Potent Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, resolv'd to resent the Victories that *Eric* had obtain'd over them, and to attack his Son *Haldan*. This Prince being mightily weaken'd by several Battles, was assisted by the *Russians*, upon the Intercession of *Fridelf* Son of *Frothon* King of *Denmark*, who had serv'd long in the Wars of *Russia*, and by his many Services had obtain'd a great Interest in that Country. This *Fridelf* being follow'd by a considerable Body of Troops, design'd not only to reduce the *Norwegians*, but to recover his Father's Crown which *Hiarnus* had usurp'd The *Swedes* being joyn'd by the *Russians*, made an Irruption into *Norway*, where they obtain'd a glorious Victory; insomuch that the *Norwegians* durst not so much as hazard one Battle, though at the same time they made *King Haldan.*

themselves Master of a Frontier Castle, from which they annoy'd the *Swedes* with continual Sallies. But at last *Fridelf* Storm'd the Castle, to the great hazard of his Life; and so procur'd King *Haldan* a solid Peace. and that King, to express his Gratitude, gave him such powerful Succours, that he dethron'd *Hiarnus*, and made good his lawful Title to the Crown of *Denmark*. After that *Fridelf* demanded *Frogarta* the Daughter of *Almund*, King of *Norway*, in Marriage, and meeting with a refusal, declar'd War against the *Norwegians*. Being aided by Succours from *Haldan*, he routed the *Norwegians*, slew *Almund* himself, and carried away the Princess he Courted. These two Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, liv'd all along in a strict Alliance with one another; at last *Haldan* was miserably *Butcher'd* by some Rebellious Malcontents.

King Sivard.

The Assassins of *Haldan* oppos'd his Son's *Sivards* Accession to the Crown, for fear he should revenge his Farther's Death. Notwithstanding their Opposition, one *Starcoter* a Man of great Interest among the *Swedes*, perswaded them to make *Sivard* King. This *Starcoter* was originally an *Helsingian*, a Man of a prodigious Size, of extraordinary Strength, and an excellent Genius. He had perform'd many noble Explotis in the *Northern* Kingdoms, in *Russia*, *Germany*, and *England*. *Sivard* could not obtain the Kingdom of the *Goths*; for that People being weary of the *Swedish* Government had chosen *Charles* to be their King, who was descended of the ancient Royal Family. This King *Charles* marry'd his Daughter *Signe* to *Havald* the Son of *Olans* King of *Denmark*, in order to Fortifie himself against the *Swedes*. And on the other hand the King of *Sweden*, to strengthen himself by Forraign Alliances, marry'd his Daughter *Ulvilda* to *Frothon* the Brother of *Harald*. *Sivard* and *Charles* had several Wars between them, in which *Harald* who sided with *Charles* was Murder'd by *Frothon*, and so lost the Kingdom of *Denmark*. In the mean time the two Sons of *Harald*, *Haldan* and *Harald*, escaped out of the Hands of their Uncle *Frothon*, and were bred up in a Place of Strength: And as soon as they came to be of Years, having taken up a resolution to resent their Father's Death, and being assisted by their Friends, they burnt *Frothon* alive, and ston'd his Wife

Ulvilda

Ulvilda to Death; after which they made an Irruption into *Sweden*, where they defeated and slew King *Sivard* the Father of *Ulvilda*.

Sivard dying without Male Issue, *Eric* the Son of his Daughter *Ulvilda*, put himself in Possession of the Kingdom of *Sweden* after the Death of *Frothon*. In the mean time his Cousin *Haldan*, not contenting himself with having Slain the Father, Mother and Grandfather of *Eric*, had likewise a design upon His Life, thinking by his Death to make himself Master of the two Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*: He quickly possess'd himself of *Denmark*, and gave the Government of that Kingom to his Brother *Harald*; after which he went into *Gothland*, his Mothers Native Country, where he gather'd a Potent Army, and march'd against King *Eric*, who routed him, insomuch that he was forc'd to flie to *Helsingia*, where he stay'd with the sorry Remains of his Army, till himself and his Soldiers were cur'd of their Wounds. Being afterwards Reinforc'd with fresh Troops, he march'd against *Eric* a second time; but the last Expedition prov'd equally succesless with the former; for after a Defeat he was oblig'd to retire with what Men he had left to the Mountains. In order to dislodge *Haldin* intirely out of *Sweden*, *Eric* invaded *Denmark*, and beat his Brother *Halard* in three consecutive Battles; after which *Harald* call'd home his Brother to assist him. *Haldan* immediately march'd with all Expedition for *Denmark*, but before his Arrival his Brother was routed a fourth time. In the mean time King King *Eric* understanding that *Haldan* was marching to assist his Brother, return'd speedily to *Sweden*, which he found clear of all Enemies. After all, *Haldan* having put all things in order in *Denmark*, drew together a greater Army than before, and having set Sail with all his Troops for *Sweden*, met King *Eric* and his Fleet by the way. Upon wihch he suffer'd only two of his Ships to appear, ordering the rest to retire behind a Promontory. In the mean time *Eric*, knowing nothing of the Stratagem, and continuing his Course without any apprehension of danger, slip'd insensibly into the middle of the *Danish* Fleet, where he lost his Life, refusing Quarter when it was ofer'd him. By this means *Haldan* possess'd himself of *Sweden* as well

King Eric IV.

of *Denmark*; after which he mightily enlarg'd his Fame by purging the Sea of Pyrats, who very much infested it. But while the King was taken up in reducing the Pyrats, one *Sivald* excited the People to an Insurrection, by representing that it was *Haldan* who had Murder'd their excellent Prince *Sivard*, and Ston'd his Daughter *Ulvilda* to Death; and withal exhorting them to shake off the *Danish* Yoke, and speedily chuse a King of their own Country. Upon this the *Swedes* resolv'd to make a tender of their Crown to *Sivald*, as being descended of the ancient Royal Line. But *Haldan* having early notice of the Insurrection, came speedily to *Sweden* with a body of Troops, which so much frighten'd *Sivalds* Party, that they immediately deserted him. However *Sivald* himself was nothing daunted; but sent a Herauld to *Haldan* to acquaint him, that he and his Seven Sons were ready to fight him. *Haldan* reply'd that it was not reasonable for one Man to enter the Lists with Eight: To which *Sivald* made Answer, That he and his Seven Sons should be reckon'd but one. At last, notwithstanding the inequality, *Haldan* was perswaded to accept the Challenge; and, having given them a meeting, kill'd all his eight Enemies. Whereupon, one *Hartbeen* a *Helsingian*, a Man of a prodigious Size, conceiving some jealousie upon so brave an Action, sent a Challenge to the King, who accepted it, and fought against him and Six more, with so much Valour and Resolution, that he came off with Victory, all his Enemies lying dead upon the Spot. After that, *Haldan* understanding that one *Grimo* a *Norwegian* Gyant, demanded *Thorilda* Daughter of King *Hather* in Marriage, and in case of a refusal challeng'd the Father to a Duel; *Haldan*, I say, having notice of the Challenge repar'd to the place appointed for the Combate, where he kill'd *Grimo*, and then Married *Thorilda*, by whom he had one Son call'd *Asmund*. In like manner receiving advice that one *Ebbo* a Pyrat of obscure Birth, made the like demands upon the Daughter of *Vnguin* King of the *Goths*, who was his Cousin German, he went immediately in disguise, and treated him as he had done all the others. In fine, after so many Signal Instances of Bravery, *Haldan* was listed amongst the greatest

greateſt Heroes, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe times.

The Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark* being left by his Will to his Couſin *Unguin*, he annex'd them to the Kingdom of the *Goths*. After the Death of *Haldan Aſmund* his Grandſon, by the Mothers ſide, put himſelf in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Norway*; and the *Sweds*, being uneaſie under the *Daniſh* Yoke, ſet *Regnald* upon the Throne. King *Unguin* loſt his Life in a Combate with *Regnald*, upon which, *Regnald* reſolving to purſue the Victory, and to ſubject the Kingdom of *Denmark* to the *Swedes*, invaded the Iſland of *Zeland*, where *Sivald* the Son of *Unguin* was got before him, and ſo came to a Battle that laſted three Days, in which *Regnald* was kill'd, and his Army diſcourag'd by his Death, left the Victory to the *Danes*, retir'd to their Fleet; and afterwards a great part of theſe Troops ſerv'd under *Haco* the Famous *Norwegian* Pyrate. After the Death of *Sivald* his Son *Sigar* poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Kingdom of *Denmark*. This Prince was engag'd in a Bloody War with *Aſmund* King of *Norway*, in which fell both the Kings, with all their Sons, and all the Royal Family of *Denmark* and *Norway*. For this reaſon in aftertimes the *Danes* choſe their Princes from among the Commons; who were often plagu'd and maltreated by he frequent Incurſions of the *Swedes*, *Vandals*, and *Britons*. Not to mention that *Arther* King of *Briton* Conquer'd *Denmark* and *Norway*, making *Loth*, one of his Couſins, Soveraign of the latter. In the mean time the *Goths* were Govern'd by *Sivard*, whoſe Daughter *Alvilda* Married *Alphens* the Son of King *Sigar*. That Queen was much more inclinable to War than to Love; and accordingly parted with her Husband, to go a Pyrating with ſome over young Women, that lov'd the Trade as well as her ſelf; till at laſt her Husband *Alphens*, after a long ſearch, found her out. King *Sivard* had likewiſe two Sons, *Veremond* and *Oſten* the Brothers of *Alvilda*; after which *Rodolph* poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Kingdom of the *Goths*: But was afterwards defeated by the *Engliſh*, about 588 Years after the Birth of *Chriſt*; upon which the Inhabitants left their Country to the *Engliſh*, and fled to *Didanic*, King of the *Goths*, in *Italy*. In this

King Vngun.

time *Frothon* the Son or Cousin of King *Regnald* peaceably possess'd *Sweden*. His Successor was his Son *Fiolnus*, who being invited by his good Friend the King of *Denmark* to a Feast, and having drank a little too hard, went to sleep in an uper Room, and being oblig'd to rise in the Night time for the conveniences of Nature, happen'd to step into an Apartment that was not Floor'd, and so fell into a Fat full of Water, in which he was Drown'd.

King Suercher, or Suergdoar

The next *Swedish* King was *Suercher* or *Suergdaer*, who did not Reign long. This Prince made a Vow to oppose all Dangers till he saw old *Othen*, who had render'd himself so famous by his miraculous Exploits: But the Devil took occasion from thence to ruin him; for he appear'd to the King in the form of a Dwarf, at the Foot of a Mountain, near a very large Cave, and solicited the King to go into the Cave, promising that he should there see *Othen* the worker of Miracles. The King chearfully enter'd the Cave, but was never seen since. *Suercher's* Successor was his Son *Valander*, a Prince of a Warlike Disposition, who reduc'd the Rebellious *Finlanders*, and then Married *Drisua* the Daughter of the Prince of *Finland*. After he had one Son by her, namely *Visbar*, he return'd to *Upsal*, promising his Wife he would come back again in three Years; but he was not so good as his Word. After ten Years the Princess sent him his Son, intreating him earnestly to come and see her; but he continuing to deny her Request, she procur'd him to be Strangl'd in the Night by an Evil Spirit. His Son *Visbar* was as unlucky in his Marriage as his Father: For though he had two Sons by his Wife, who was a great Fortune, yet he left her and Married another. His Wife, being justly provok'd by that sort of Divorce, sent her two Sons, who were about 12 Years of Age, to demand the Fortune she had brought him. But they not being able to prevail with their Father, threatn'd to return without his knowledge, and revenge the Injury he had done to their Mother. *Visbar* laugh'd at their Childish Threats. However, they surpriz'd him when he thought least of it, and commited him and his whole Family to the Flames.

King

King *Visbar* was Succeeded by *Domalder* his Son by a second Marriage. Under his Reign there was a great Scarsity in *Sweden*; which the *Swedes* meant at first to avert by Offering to their false Gods a *Hind*, but the Dearth still continuing, the next Year they Sacrific'd Men; and the third Year, finding the Famine still increase, all the People gather'd together into a Body at *Upsal*, and killing their own King, offer'd him up in Sacrifice, and, if we may credit Historians, the next Year after that was extreme Fertile. *Domalder* was follow'd by his Son *Domar*, who was blest with a long and peaceable Reign. His Son *Dignar*, alias *Digni*, was the first that bore the Title of *Koning* or *King* in the *Scandinavian* Language; for his Predecessors were call'd *Dratter*, and their Queens *Drollningar*, the last of which Names is still in use in the *Northern* Kingdoms. This King Reign'd but very few Years. His Son and Successor *Dager*, is reported to have been a Man of so much Knowleage and Experience, that he could tell by the cherping of Birds what their Thoughts were. When he apprehended that the *Deans*, who were Tributary to him, would Revolt against him, he sent Spies into *Denmark*, who being discover'd were Murder'd by the Inhabitants of the Country, who at the same time refus'd to pay the usual Tribute. King *Dager* meaning to do himself Justice by force of Arms, march'd against the *Danes*, who met him upon their Frontiers, and slew him as he pass'd by a River call'd *Vaprivad*. *Dager* was Succeeded by his Son *Agreus*, a Warlike Prince, who reduc'd the *Finlanders*, that Rebell'd afresh; and for the greatest Security brought away, by way of Hostage, *Schialvia*, the Daughter of *Frothon*, a very handsome Princess. As he return'd to *Sweden*, he fell in Love with the Princess by the way; insomuch that being arriv'd at *Stocksund*, he presently caus'd a Tent to be fited up under a Tree, and there was Married to *Schialvia*, who, nevertheless was very ungrateful, considering the Honour he had done her. For being on a time so overcharg'd with hard Drinking, that he kenw not what he did, she being assisted by her Companions, hang'd him upon the same Tree under which the Tent stood; and then fled with all Expedition into her own Country. Next Morning when the Courtiers came to the Royal Tent

King Domalder.

they were entertain'd with this dismal Spectacle: But the Author of a Crime so black and hateful had made her Escape; so they e'en contented themselves with burying him in the same place, where afterward the City of *Stockholm* was Built.

King Alric *and* Eric,

King *Agnius* left behind him two Sons, namely *Alric* and *Eric*, who Succeeded him. These two Brethern first quarrel'd in their own Lodgings about the Succession of the Crown; but afterwards mounted their Horses and rode into the Fields to fight it out. But being unarm'd they unbridled their Horses, and whip'd one another to Death with their Bridles. At the same time *Gunner* Reign'd in *Gothland*, who was a Warlike King, but very Cruel. In resentment of the Injuries he had receiv'd from *Regnald* King of *Norway*, he Invaded that Kingdom, and put all to Fire and Sword. *Regnald* taking the Field march'd against him, after he had hid his Daughter *Drotta*, and his Treasure in a Cave: But the *Goths* beat his Army, slew himself, and wasted *Norway* more than before. King *Gunnar* impos'd great Taxes upon the Conquered People, and sent them a very furious Dog for their King. Then he sought after *Drotta* the Kings Daughter, and after he had found her, carried her and all the Royal Treasure into *Gothland*, where he was Married to her. By this *Drotta* King *Gunnar* had his Son *Hildigar*, upon whom he confer'd the Kingdom of *Norway*, as soon as he was of Age: But *Hildigard* exercising great Curelty upon the *Norwegians*, and refusing to alter his Methods, notwithstanding frequent Exhortations to the contrary, his Father banish'd him; Upon which he fled to *Sweden*, and for a long time did many considerable Services to the King of that Country. Nevertheless the *Goths* being uneasie under *Gunnar*'s Tyrannical Government, committed themselves to the Conduct of a very considerable Person call'd *Bocarci*, and Murder'd *Gunner*. After which *Bocarci* Married *Drotta*, the Queen Dowager, by whom he had a Son named *Haldan*, who was afterwards King of *Denmark*.

King Ingo.

Alice left two Sons, *Ingo* and *Alver*, the first of which reviv'd the *Swedish* Pretentions upon *Denmark* and *Russia*, in which View he prepar'd to attack the *Danes*, and gave Commission to his Brother to fall upon

on the *Russians*: But the *Deanes* understanding that *Ingo* had a Design upon them, thought fit to prevent him, rather than to stay his coming. Accordingly he made an Incursion into *Sweden*, upon which *Ingo* granted them a reasonable Peace; yet *Alver*, accompany'd by *Hildegar* the Son of *Gunnar* the King of the *Goths*, march'd against the *Russians*; but *Hildegar* perceving they could not end the War by a General Battle, thought fit to put it upon a Duel, and accordingly Challeng'd the bravest of his Enemies to decide this Controversie with him. The Prince of *Russia* accepting the Challenge, pitch'd upon *Haldan*, (who had lately come from *Denmark* to serve in the *Russian* War) to fight with *Hildegar*, who knew his own half Brother very well, but was not known to him: For which reason *Hildegar* muster'd up all the Reasons and Pretences he could to prevent *Haldan* from being his Adversary; but all his Remonstrances being to no purpose, he was oblig'd to come to a Combate, in which he was mortally Wounded. When he saw his last Minute approaching, he discover'd himself to *Haldan*, who was sensibly touch'd with the misfortune of having given the mortal stroke to his own Brother, without knowing it was he. After that King *Alver* return'd to his own Country, without obtaining any Victory, or acquiring much Reputation. Upon his arrival he found that his Wife *Bava* had in his absence Prostituted her self to his Brother; in resentment of which Affront he run his Brother thro' with his Sword, and his Brother, after he had receiv'd his Mortal Wound, gave *Alver* another of which he died upon the spot: So they were both bury'd in a Plain near *Upsal*, call'd *Fanewald*. *Haldan* taking leave of *Russia*, where he had purchas'd Glory, went to *Denmark*, and there married a Princess of the Ancient Royal Line, with whom he had the Kingdom. Finding his Wife Barren, he consulted the false Gods, and receiv'd this Answer, that he ought first to appease the Manes of his half Brother by Sacrificies: Which he afterwards perform'd, and then had a Son, call'd *Havald*, and Sirnamed *Hildelan*, who after his Father's Death enjoy'd a Glorious Reign in *Denmark*.

Alver

King Hugler. *Alver* was succeeed by his Son *Hugler*, who lov'd Money more than War; and being influenc'd by that sordid Temper, heap'd up vast Treasures, which tempted *Haco*, one of the greatest Lord of *Norwry* to Invade *Sweden*, and kill *Hugler* with his two Sons: By which means he possess'd himself of all his Treasures, together with the Crown of *Sweden*, which he he kept for three Years. *Jovandar* and *Eric* the Sons of King *Ingo*, endeavouring to dispossess *Haco* of his Kingdom of *Sweden*, made several Descents by Sea upon *Norway*, where they kill'd *Gadlog* Lord of *Helgaland*, and *Haco's* Cousin. But afterwards *Haco* slew *Eric* in a Duel, and his Brother *Jovander* sav'd his Life by slight. However *Haco* receiv'd in that Duel of which he afterwards died; and instead of Interring him, his Corps were put into a Ship with other dead Bodies, which being set on Fire was sent out of the Harbour with full Sail. In the mean *Harald* King of *Denmark* had possess'd himself of the *Gothish* Provinces, *Schonia*, *Halland*, and *Blekingia*: But King *Jovanger* design'd to recover them by force of Arms. *Harald* having notice of his design, and fearing he had not strength enough to cope with the united Force of the *Swedes* and *Goths*, struck in with the King of *Norway*, who at the same time had a violent Passion to revenge his Father's Death. In the interim *Jovandar* taking the Field attack'd the *Danes* and *Goths* at once, and after he had defeated them recover'd his lost Provinces, took the Sister of *Havald* Prisoner, and sent her to *Sweden* with a rich Booty. Upon his return to *Sweden* he married that Princess, and had by her a Son call'd *Haquin*. *Havald* afflicted with the sense of his Loses, and being assisted by the *Norwegians*, renew'd the War. But *Jorandar* being fully resolv'd to mantain his Conquests, attack'd *Denmark* by Sea and Land, and defeated his Enemies near *Jutland*. *Havald* perceiving he could have no advantage of *Jovander* by open force, desir'd an interview with him, and agreed to a seeming perfect Reconciliation, that he might surprize him unawars. *Jovander* too easily crediting his Pretences, sent a great part of his Troops back again to *Sweden*, and continued in *Denmark* only with a few of his Domesticks, without the least distrust of *Havald* his Brother-in-law. In the mean time

time the *Danes* and *Norwegians* ſeaſing upon King *Jovandar* at *Limfiord*, perfidiouſly hang'd him in the moſt ſhameful manner imaginable.

Haquin.

Haquin firnamed *Ring*, the Son of *Jorander*, being too young to reſent the ſcandalous Death of his Father, was oblig'd to put off his Deſigns to a more favourable oppertunity; accordingly he pretended to live in a good underſtanding with King *Harald* his Uncle, to preſerve himſelf in the peaceable poſſeſſion of *Sweden* and *Gothland*: But when he arriv'd to a more advanced Age, and found himſelf ſtrong enough to coap with the *Danes*, he began to charge *Harald* with Male-adminiſtration in the Guardian-ſhip; and that during his Minority the *Danes* had a ſecond time poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Schouia*, *Halland*, and *Blekingia*; and alſo with the perfidious Murder of his Father *Jorandar*. *Harald* giving but a triffling Anſwer to his Charge, *Haquin* immediately declar'd War againſt him: The two Kings drew together on both ſides a vaſt number of Troops both by Sea and Land, which were all tranſported to *Brulla* Heath, near the Weſt of *Gothland*. The North had never heard of two ſuch numerous Armies; for *Haquin*'s Fleet conſiſted of 500 Ships, and the *Daniſh* was not inferiour to it in number: *Haquin* appear'd at the Head of his own Troops by Land, and *Ubbo* a very famous and noted Hero, by Nation a *Friſon*, commanded the *Daniſh* Army; for *Harald*'s old Age unqualify'd him for ſuch a Poſt, tho he did not fail to appear in Perſon at the Battle. When they came to an Engagement, they fought very warmly on both ſides, till at laſt the *Danes* were routed, and *Harald* himſelf together with General *Ubbo* and 3000 of the moſt conſiderable Men among the *Danes* died upon the place, not to mention a vaſt number of other Troops: On the other ſide, the *Swedes* loſt 12000 perſons of Note, with a great number of others that were leſs conſiderable; King *Haquin* gave magnificent Funerals to *Harald* and the Principal *Danes*, and thus *Denmark* fell into the Hands of the *Swedes*. The King deſigning to affront the *Danes*, gave their Kingdom to a young Woman of a Warlike diſpoſition, upon condition of paying him a yearly Tribute. He annex'd *Schonia* and the Provinces of *Halland* and *Blekingia* to the Kingdom of *Gothland*, the Adminiſtration

ſtration of which he confer'd upon his Coſin *Olon*, with the Impoſition of a yearly Tribute: In the interim the *Danes*, looking upon their ſubjection to a Woman, as an intolerable Infamy, choſe *Olon* for their King with the conſent of *Haquin*'s, and left only *Jutland* to *Hetha*, for ſo the female Warrior was call'd. But they had quickly occaſion to repent the Change they had made, by reaſon of the tyrannical Government of *Olon*, who was privately made away by the hands of an Aſſaſſin: However, they made no ſcruple to accept his Son *Amund* to be their King. The later part of the Reign of *Haquin*, King of *Sweden*, *Gothland* and *Denmark*, was both peaceable and happy; and he out of gratitude to the Gods of *Upſal* for ſuch ineſtimable Bleſſings, offer'd them magnificent Sacrifices. After which it was reveal'd to him in a Dream, that if he ſacrificed his Son *Othen* to theſe pretended Deities, he would certainly live 60 Years longer than he ſhould do otherwiſe; accordingly he offer'd him up in Sacrifice. After that time he had another Dream, declaring that if he ſacrific'd one of his other Sons every ten Years, he ſhould add to his Life ſo many decades of Years. This cruel mercileſs Father made no ſcruple to follow theſe deteſtable Councils; after he had in this manner cut the Throats of ſeven of his Sons, when he ſaw himſelf bow'd down and declining with Age, he alſo ſacrific'd the eight to gain another decade, during all which time he was oblig'd to keep his Bed. At laſt, that decade being almoſt expir'd, he made a Victim of his ninth Son, and in the decade following was fed like a Child through a Horn: Notwithſtanding all which he had full reſolution, to have, offer'd up the tenth and the laſt of his Children: But he being the only Heir of the Crown, the *Swedes* abhorring his Cruelty would never conſent to his Death: So then old *Haquin* ended his days, and was bury'd near *Upſal* under a high Mountain.

King Egil. *Egil* ſucceeding his Father in all his Kingdoms, was apprehenſive of being diſpoſeſs'd by *Thunno*, who had been Treaſurer General in his Fathers time, and after his Death ſeiz'd upon a great part of the Royal Treaſury. This *Thunno* being cited to give an account of his Adminiſtration, and to produce his Vouchers, fled into a Wood, where he drew together a great under

number of Robbers and Scoundrels, whom he maintain'd upon his own Charges: Being at the Head of ſuch a Gang, he began firſt to rob Paſſengers upon the Road, and afterwards to ſack the Provinces of the Kingdom of *Sweden*. To extirpate this Crew of Theives which had thus got head in the Kingdom, King *Egil* reſolv'd to Attack 'em in their remoteſt places of Safeguard: But that Deſign not anſwering his expectation, he fought 'em eight times and had always the worſt of it. Upon which he call'd in *Amund* King of *Denmark* to his Aſſiſtance, and by his Aid routed that Robber with all his Accomplices. After that he had a peaceable Reign: At laſt as he was a hunting, a mad Bull run upon him, and tho' the King drew yet he miſs'd his aim, upon which the fierce Beaſt run his Horn into his Breaſt, and gave him a wound of which he died immediately.

After the Death of *Egil*, *Othar* his Son being poſ- *King O-*
ſeſs'd of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, bended his firſt *thar.*
thoughts upon the choice of a Wife, and ſent *Ebbo* one of the greateſt *Swediſh* Lords, with a conſiderable Retinue to bring him the Siſter of *Sivard* then King of *Denmark*. As *Ebbo* proceeded in his Voyage to *Denmark*, he was Attack'd upon the Road by Robbers, and having loſt the greateſt part of his Retinue and Baggage, ſav'd his own Perſon with great difficulty. When *Ebbo* return'd to *Sweden*, the King ſuſpecting that *Sivard* was not willing to give him his Siſter, fancy'd that the Robbers had been laid in Ambuſh by him; and thereupon declar'd War againſt the *Danes*, over whom he carry'd a glorious Victory in the Province of *Halland*. After that he recover'd *Schonia* which he had been ſubdu'd a little before, and diſmember'd from the *Gothiſh* Kingdoms, giving the Government of it to *Stibbo*, the greateſt of all his Generals. Then continu'd for a long time to infeſt the *Daniſh* Provinces, till at laſt he found out his Miſtreſs, whom he brought with him in great triumph to *Sweden*. While King *Sivard* fled from *Halland* to *Jutland*, *Viſimir* Prince of the *Slavians*, encourag'd by the bad Eſtate of *Sivards* Affairs, Attack'd him on that ſide, and having ſubdu'd the *Peninſula* of *Jutland*, took his two Daughters Priſoners, one of which he ſold in *Norway*, and the other in *Germany*,

and

and carry'd *Jarmerick* the King's Son as an Hoſtage with him. However *Sivard* eſcap'd himſelf, tho' with great difficulty, and continu'd Poſſeſſor of *Zeland* upon the Condition of paying a certain Tribute to the *Sluvians*. After this thinking to Conquer *Schonia*, and maſter *Sibbon*, he was routed in a Battle, in which he receiv'd a Mortal Wound. *Buthlus* his Brother and Succeſſor was likewiſe Tributary to the *Slavians*, but he did not pretend to the Conqueſt of *Schonia*. Soon after *Jarmerick* eſcap'd out of Priſon, and made himſelf Maſter of *Denmark*, having expell'd his Uncle *Buthlus*. At that time *Othar* King of *Sweden* had put to Death his Vaſſal *Sibbo* for being familiar with his Siſter: *Sibbo's* Friends deſigning to reſent his Death, had recourſe to *Jarmerick*, promiſing to put into his hands the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Gothland*, together with the Province of *Schonen*. *Jarmerick*, overjoy'd with ſo fair an oppertunity of repoſſeſſing *Schonen* declar'd War againſt *Othar*, after he was reinforc'd by the *Swediſh* Malecontents. *Othar* with undaunted Courage march'd firſt againſt the *Danes*, but was routed and kill'd in the Field: The *Danes* would not allow him burial, but threw him upon the top of a high Mountain to ſerve for Food to the Fowles. Nay farther, to augment the Ignominy, they ſent a wooden Raven to the *Swedes* with this Inſcription, *That their King* Othar *was not worth more than that Raven*. And for that reaſon, Poſterity ſirnam'd *Othar Wendelroka*; King *Jarmerick* purſuing his Victory poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleckingia*; but carry'd his Victory no further.

King Adelus. *Othar's* Succeſſor was his Son was *Adelus*, who at firſt did not offer to revenge his Father's death, being diſcourag'd by King *Jarmerick's* late Victory over the *Slavians* and and *Livonians*. But at laſt the effect of his impatience broke out, and he Attack'd *Jarmerick* by Sea; and after an Engagement of three days, agree'd with his Enemy, upon condition that he ſhould take his Siſter *Suavilda* in Marriage, and live in a good underſtanding with the *Swedes*. Soon after the Solemniſation of the Marriage, *Suavilda* being unjuſtly charg'd with unlawful Commerce with *Broder* her Son-in-Law, ſhe was notwithſtanding her innocency condemn'd to Death, and was trampled

under foot by Horſes. *Adelus* in reſentment of his Siſters Death, as well as his Father, invaded *Denmark* with a puiſſant Army. King *Jarmerick* being equally hated by his Subjects and Forreigners, fled to a ſtrong Caſtle, which the *Swedes* ſtorm'd with extraordinary Courage and Valour; and having taken him they cut off his Arms and Legs, ſiez'd upon his Treaſures, annex'd *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Blekingia* to the Kingdom of *Gothland*; but left the Kingdom of *Denmark* to *Broder Jarmerick*'s Son, obliging him to pay *Sweden* an yearly Tribute. At laſt King *Adelus*, out of a grateful remembrance of his Victory, went to offer a Magificent Sacrifice to the *Upſal* Deities, and as he rode round the Temple, his Horſe ſtumbled, and falling broke his Neck. *Adelus* his Succeſſor was *Oſtan*, from whom one of the moſt conſiderable Families in *Sweden* revolted, probably upon the account of ſome private Injury. To ſtifle the Sedition, King *Oſtan* reſolv'd upon an Expedition to *Gothland*; but being ſurrounded by his Enemies, he was burnt in a Houſe he had retir'd to.

Ingard, the Son and Succeſſor of *Oſtan*, was a very great Warriour: In his time *Shio* poſſeſs'd the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and having a covetous Eye upon *Schonen*, endeavour'd by all means to procure the Alliance and Friendſhip of the King of *Gothland*, hoping to marry his Daughter, and to have that Province for her Dowry; but her Father had no mind to abreviate ſo great a part of his Kingdom, and for that reaſon married his Daughter to *Ingard* the King of *Sweden*. *Suio* King of *Denmark* was ſo provok'd, that he preſently Invaded *Schonen*, and made himſelf Maſter of it by force of Arms: Nay farther, he entertain'd a private Correſpondence with the *Swediſh* Queen, and carried her away from *Sweden* to *Denmark*. Upon which King *Ingard* was no leſs enrag'd, than the *Gothiſh* King was upon the loſs of *Schonen*. So the two Kings joyn'd in their Reſentments, and declared War againſt *Denmark*, which continued for a long time, till at laſt, the *Danes* being defeated in an Engagement, they not only brought back the Queen, and repoſſeſs'd *Schonen*, but likewiſe made themſelves Maſters of *Denmark*. By this means *Ingard* came to Reign both in *Denmark* and *Sweden*, as well

King Ingard.

as

as in *Gothland*, which fell to him by the Death of his Father-in-law: However he was not contented with all these Possessions, but subdued several other Nations who being uneasie under his Government, craftily Surpris'd and Assassinated him in an Island of the *Baltick* Sea, where he had liv'd securely without any apprehension of danger.

King Amund.

After *Ingard* his Son *Amund* succeeded, who out of Revenge for the Death of his Father, wasted the Country of the People I mention'd but now, and carried off into *Sweden* a very rich Booty. From that time he turn'd his Mind from War, and only study'd the Repose and Tranquility of his States, and to enjoy a more lively sense of the effects of Peace. He fell'd and burn'd down the great Woods, and turn'd 'em into Arable Ground, which redounded not only to his own but his Subjects Advantage, and the felling these Woods, Sirnam'd him *Brant-Amund*: And farther was at the charge of levelling several Roads. But his Brother *Sivard* being passionately covetuous of the Crown, made an Insurrection against him, and when the two Brothers came to a Battle in the Province of *Nericia*. King *Amund* lost both his Life and his Crown. Thus *Sivard*, Sirnam'd *Fro*, advanc'd himself by his Arms to the Crown of *Sweden*: But that not satisfying his Ambition, he declar'd War against *Sivald* then King of *Norway*; and having routed his Army, and kill'd him in a Battle, made himself Master of the Kingdom, in which he committed all sorts of Tyrannical and Insupportable Insolences. In this Extremity the *Norwegians* call'd in to their Assistance *Regnar* King of *Denmark*, who was Originally of *Norway* by his Father's side. When that Prince arriv'd in *Norway*, a vast concourse both of Men and Women floc'kd about him. At last they came to an Engagement, in which *Sivard* lost his Life; and so *Sivald* the *Dane* took Possession of *Norway*. *Sivard*'s Successor to the Crown of *Sweden* was *Hirot*, alias *Harald*. We are at a loss to know whether he was the Son of *Amund*, or of *Sivard*, or whether he was their Brother. Before his Accession to the *Swedish* Crown he was King of the *Goths*. At that time a great Body of *Goths* and *Danes* endeavour'd to settle themselves in the Country of the

Vandals

Vandals at *Veneta*, a famous Trading City; but being overrun by the other Citizens, they desir'd and obtain'd assistance of *Hirot* King of *Sweden*, and *Getherick* King of *Denmark*, and having taken the City Levell'd it with the Ground; upon which the greatest part of the Citizens retir'd to *Birca* in *Sweden*. About the time of *Hirot*'s Accession to the *Swedish* Crown, the King of *Denmark* divorc'd his Wife *Landyerta*, and demanded in Marriage *Thora* the Daughter of *Hirot*; but pursuant to the custom of those times, her Father would not give her to him till he merited her by some Heroick Action. To that end the King of *Denmark* fought with Mad wild Beasts under his Mistrisses Window; and having overcome them obtain'd his Mistris, by whom he had several Sons, particularly *Biorn*, *Sivard*, *Ivard*, and *Agner*, who were all noted for their Cruelty and bloody Temper.

After the Death of *Hirot*, *Ingel* the Son of King *Amund*, having been bred up under the care of *Suibdager*, and being then arriv'd at the Years of Discretion, obtain'd the Crown of *Sweden* by the Interest of his Friends. 'Tis said, that during his Youth he was of a very meek Temper, for which reason *Suibdager*, who took care of his Education, gave him often times the Hearts of Wolves to eat, which made him of a fierce and bloody Disposition. Upon his Accession to the Crown, he very civily invited all the petty Kings, that were Soveraigns of *Swedish* Provinces, to assist at the Ceremonies of his Coronation, and in their presence sate down on the Footstool that was before his Throne: Upon which, according to the ancient Custome, they presented him a Horn set in Gold full of Wine, and then rising up he made a Solemn Oath to extend the Limits of the *Swedish* Kingdom as far again as they were already, or else to lose his Life in the Enterprise: After that he drank up his Wine, and plac'd himself upon the Royal Seat. The next Night he set Fire to a House in which Seven petty Kings were then lodged, who being all burn'd, he seiz'd upon their several Territories The other little Soveraigns, who had not assisted at the Coronation, were alarm'd at so black an Action, and unanimously made Head against *Ingel*, and defeated him in a Battle. *Ingel* finding 'twas necessary in that juncture

King Ingel

to serve himself with his usual Treachery, clapt up a Peace with them, and dissembled a great deal of Meekness and Civility. After which, he invited them to a Feast, and perfidiously burnt them all alive, as he had done the others. Thus were the twelve petty Soveraigns utterly extirpated, who rightfully possess'd several Cantons in *Sweden*. King *Ingel* employ'd one *Viger Spache* to collect the *Swedish* Laws into one Body, which he did, being a Person very well qualify'd for that Office. The King had a Daughter call'd *Asa*, of a very cruel and bloody Temper, whom he marry'd to *Gudrot* Prince of *Schonen*; and she having Murder'd her Husband and his Brother, deliver'd the Kingdom into the Hands of its Enemies, and then fled to *Sweden* to her Father. In revenge of so enormous and execrable a Crime, *Ivar* the Son of *Regner*, a fierce and cruel Man, invaded *Sweden*; upon which King *Ingel* dreading his arrival, and following his Daughter's Advice, burnt himself and her with the greatest part of the Royal Family. However his Son escap'd the Flames, and retir'd to *Wermland*, where he caus'd Houses to be built in several Places, having first grub'd up vast quanties of Wood that cover'd that Province; for which reason he was call'd *Trætella*. *Charles* one of the first *Swedish* Lords, possess'd himself of the Kingdom: But *Regner* who could not brook the Injury done to his Son in bereaving him of the Crown of *Sweden*, kill'd *Charles* in a Duel, and by that means made himself Master of *Sweden*, which he gave to his Son *Bero*, alias *Biorn*, the Son of *Hirot*'s Daughter.

King Bero *or* Biorn, *in whose Reign Christianity was introduc'd into* Sweden.

While *Bero*, or *Biorn*, Reign'd in *Sweden*, *Ansgarius* a Monk of the Monastery of *Corbey*, and afterwards Bishop of *Bremen*, was sent by the Emperor *Ludovicus Pius* to plant the Christian Faith in *Sweden*. The King of *Sweden* denying him Audience, and refusing him the liberty of Preaching the Gospel, was himself dethron'd, and underwent infinite hardships; For *Esbern*, the first Peer in *Sweden*, whose Daughter *Regner* had Violated, raised an Army to revenge that Injury, but himself and most of his Men were kill'd in a Battle; yet other *Swedes*, who could not brook the *Danish* Yoke, reviv'd the War, and outed *Regner* and his Son *Biorn*, of the Kingdom of *Sweden*.

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After that *Biorn* poſſeſs'd himſelf of one of the Provinces of *Norway*, and in Conjunction with his Brother, turn'd Pyrate in the *North* Seas, and much incommoded thoſe who liv'd upon the Coaſts. King *Amund* ſucceeded him in the Throne; but did not keep it long. In his Reign the *Chriſtians* in *Sweden* were horribly Perſecuted; and among the reſt Father *Hilard* ſuffer'd Martyrdom. Upon which the King was expell'd the Kingdom; and afterwards he betook himſelf to Pyrating, and exercis'd unheard of Cruelties upon the *Vandals* and *Engliſh*; but at laſt met with Condign Puniſhment. In this while *Olaus Trætelga*, of the Province of *Wermland*, having Marry'd the Daughter of a *Norwegian* Lord, by her had ſeveral Sons, the Eldeſt of whom *Haldan* Sirnam'd *Huilbeen*, ſucceeded his Grandfather in the Kingdom of *Norway*. The *Swedes* offer'd their Crown to *Olaus*; and he to ſecure himſelf in the peaceable poſſeſſion of it, demanded the Daughter of King *Regner* in Marriage to his Son *Ingo*, which *Regner* readily granted, and by this means *Olaus* peaceably ſway'd the Scepter of *Sweden* and *Gothland*. Soon after *Anſgarius* the Monk return'd to *Sweden*, and for ſome time liv'd at the Court of *Olaus*, who then reſided at *Birca*, one of the greateſt and ſtrongeſt Cities in *Sweden*, that was able to ſend 12000 Men into the Field, without any ſenſible dimunition of the number of its Inhabitants. The King gave *Anſgarius* a favourable Audience, who exhorted him to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, and the King not only gave his Subjects the liberty of profeſſing it, but was alſo Baptiz'd himſelf in the Chriſtian Faith. Afterwards *Olaus* underſtanding that *Eric*, ſirnam'd the *Infant*, King of *Denmark*, was dead, and that *Helgo* had bereav'd his Son *Canut*, who was then under Age, of the Crown; he deſign'd to make uſe of that favourable opportunity, not only to regain *Schonen* but to poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and to make Repriſals for the long Oppreſſions of the *Swedes* under the Reign of *Regner*'s Son. Accordingly he rais'd an Army of ſeveral Thouſand Men, invaded *Denmark*, and made himſelf Maſter of that Kingdom. But after he had Reign'd there Five Years he reſign'd that Crown to his Son *Ennignup*, and return'd to *Sweden*, which was then

oppreſs'd with a great ſcarcity of Proviſions. The *Swedes* remaining ſtill in Paganiſm, preſs'd their King to Sacrifice to the *Upſal* Deities, that being, as they thought, the beſt Expedient to put an end to the Dearth: But the King anſwer'd that he would not Sacrifice to *Chimerical* Gods; upon which they charg'd at his Door the Barrenneſs of their Country, and ſo having ſeiz'd his Perſon, offer'd him up for a Sacrifice.

King Ingo, Eric Waderhat, Eric Segherſel, *and* K. Stenchil *the* Liberal.

After *Olaus*, the Crown of *Sweden* was poſſeſs'd by his Son *Ingo*, who being deſirous of a peaceable Reign, Marry'd the King of *Denmarks* Daughter, in hopes ſuch an Alliance would produce that effect. But that the Courage of the Youth might not abate by too long a Peace, he allow'd them to make Incurſions into *Ruſſia*, and ſome ſay that he himſelf dy'd in the Expedition. *Eric* ſirnam'd *Waderhat*, ſucceeded his Father *Ingo*, of whom it was ſaid, that his *Hat* was endow'd with ſuch an extraordinary Vertue, that it would make the Wind blow to what ſide he turn'd it too; and indeed he was reputed a great Sorcerer and Idolator. After his Death another *Eric* ſucceeded, who was ſirnam'd *Segherſel*, becauſe the whole Courſe of his Reign was happy, for he Conquer'd the Provinces of *Finland*, *Eſthonia*, *Livonia*, and *Courland*, keep them during his Life, and wreſted the Provinces of *Halland* and *Schonen* out of the Hands of *Swenon* King of *Denmark*, and at laſt diſpoſſeſs'd him of *Denmark* it ſelf; inſomuch that King *Swenon* was oblig'd to flie to *Norway*, from whence he croſs'd to *England*, and afterwards to *Scotland*, where he ſtay'd till after the Death of *Segherſel*, and then return'd to the poſſeſſion of *Denmark*. His Son *Stenchil*, ſirnam'd the *Liberal* from his generous Temper, embrac'd the Chriſtian Religion very zealouſly immediately after his Acceſſion to the Crown; and requeſted the Biſhop of *Hamburg* to ſend him two Prieſts, *viz.* *Adelwart* and *Etienne*, who demean'd themſelves ſo Religiouſly, that, ſoon after, he and a great number of People were Baptiz'd at *Sigtuna*, which in thoſe Days was a very Populous City. This Prince, by his Piety and good Example, brought many over to the Chriſtian Religion; he had a zealous Affection for the Goſpel, and a violent Aver-

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sion to Idolatry, which oblig'd him to pull down the Temple of the Pagan Gods at *Upsal*, and break all the Idols to peices, prohibiting People for the future to offer Sacrifice to them, under the pain of a Corporal Punishment. But this very Conduct, as commendable as it was, caus'd his Pagan Subjects to fall upon him near *Upsal*, who not only Murder'd him and the two *German* Priests, but burnt their Bodies to Ashes.

After the Death of *Stenchil*, his Brother *Olaus*, notwithstanding his Predecessors Misfortune, would not abandon the Christian Religion, but sent Ambassadors to *Ethelred* then King of *England*, desiring him to send him some able Preachers of the Christian Religion. *Ethelred* sent him three Clergymen of Exemplary Lives, namely *Siegfried*, *Eschild* and *David*, who came and Preach'd the Gospel to *Olaus*. The King was Baptiz'd near *Husbey*, with the Water of a Well that to this Day is call'd *S. Siegfried's Well*. His Example was presently follow'd by so great a number of his Subjects, that at one Communion they made an Offering of 70 Marks of Silver, which in those Days, and in that Country, was a very considerable Sum. This Prince was call'd the *Tributary*, because by the perswasion of the *English* Bishops, he sent the *Pope* a sort of Yearly Tribute, under a pretence of its being employ'd in the War with one *Sarrasen Romskot*, towards which all the *Swedes* that were worth three Marks of Silver, besides their Cloths and Arms, were oblig'd to pay Contribution to the See of *Rome*. From that time the Christian Religion was Propogated through all the *Swedish* Dominions, where it has been profess'd ever since. In this time one *Oluf Tryggeson*, then King of *Norway*, endeavour to wrest *Denmark* out the Hands of *Swenon*, who after the Death of *Eric Segherfel* had return'd to his Kingdom: But finding himself unable to compass that end by his own strength, he endeavour'd to engage *Olaus* in his Interests; to which end he desir'd his Mother-in-law in Marriage. *Sigrid*, who was yet a young Widow, was sent accordingly to *Norway*. *Swenon* perceiving that this Marriage and Alliance would be pernicious to him, endeavour'd by all means to divert the *Norwegian's* Affection to his Wife; and to that end offer'd

King Olaus *firnam'd the* Tributary.

him his own Daughter, who was a young handsome Princess, and so preferrable before a Widow. *Tryggeson* being inveigl'd by this offer sent *Olaus*'s Mother-in-law back again to *Sweden*. After which he sent an Embassy to *Denmark* to demand *Swenon*'s Daughter, expecting they would immediately give her; But the matter not being absolutely agreed, the *Danes* would take the affair into consideration. However *Olaus*, resenting the Affront that the Faithless and Inconstant *Tryggeson* had put upon his Mother-in-law, invaded *Norway* at the Head of a powerful Army, and having defeated the King in a Battle, hemm'd him in so close, and reduc'd him to that Extremity that he threw himself headlong from the top of a Mountain into the Sea: And thus *Norway* fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. After that, his Mother-in-law Marry'd *Swenon* King of *Denmark*, and bore him his Son and Succeessor *Canut* the Rich. Soon after *Norway* return'd into the Hands of a *Norwegian* by the following means; *Harald Grandske* Predecessor of *Oluf Tryggeson*, whom I mention'd but now, being engag'd in a War with the *Swede*, was defeated and kill'd in a Battle near *Upsal*, leaving behind him a Son call'd *Oluf*, who was then under Age. Upon his Death, *Tryggeson* usurp'd the Crown of *Norway*, and *Oluf* the Lawful Heir fled into *England*, where he stay'd till *Tryggeson*'s Death: After which, by the Assistance of the *English*, he fitted out a gallant Fleet, in order to repossess his Paternal Inheritance, but his Arms had no success, because *Canut* then King of *Denmark*, against whom *Oluf* had serv'd in the Wars between him and *England*, oppos'd his Design, and entertain'd a Correspondence and strict Alliance with the *Swede*. Notwithstanding all these Discouragements, *Oluf* would not drop his design; but continued with his Naval Forces to Incommode the *Danes* and *Swedes* by repeated Incursions, till at last he had courage to force the Passage of the *Sund*, to Invade the Kingdom of *Gothland*, and disturb the Navigation and Commerce of the *Baltick* Sea. Thereupon a Treaty was concluded between *Oluf* and *Canut*, by the Interposition of some Mediators; which gave such umbrage to the *Swede*, that he began to be apprehensive of *Olufs* possessing himself of *Norway* by Dint of Arms, especially considering that the Natives of that

Country

Country were inclin'd to his Intereſt. Upon which Conſideration he ſtruck up a Peace with *Oluf*,, and yeilded him not only the Kingdom of *Norway*, but his Siſter in Marriage, which was Celebrated at *Thorsberg*. *Oluf* was no ſooner poſſeſs d of his Father's Kingdom, but he bent all his Thoughts upon planting the Chriſtian Religion there, with a deſign to promote his private Intereſt; for he projected to ſeize the Eſtates of thoſe who refus'd to embrace *Chriſtianity*, and annex them to the Demeſne of the Crown. But on the other hand, the Nobility, who could not reliſh ſuch a piece of Tyranny, offer'd their Crown to *Canut* King of *Denmark*. *Canut* indeed purſu'd *Oluf* with an inveterate hatred, but durſt not declare War againſt him, partly upon the Conformity of their Religion, and partly becauſe it was contary to their late Treaty. Upon theſe Conſiderations, before he enterpris'd any thing againſt *Oluf*, he writ him Letters, importing that he gave him the Crown of *Norway*, upon condition of paying him Homage; but *Oluf* would not hearken to any ſuch Propoſals. Upon which a long War broke out between the two Kings, in which the *Swede* aſſiſted the King of *Norway*. In the mean time *Oluf*'s Subjects, who mortally hated him, roſe up againſt him by general conſent; obligding him to flie the Kingdom, and retire into *Sweden*; where he left his Queen, went to the Prince of *Ruſſia*, who had Married his Siſter, and ſtaid with him till the Death of him whom *Canut* had made *Viceroy* of *Norway*. Then *Oluf* taking the Field, reſolv'd to repoſſeſs his Kingdom; but his Enemies marching to the Frontiers of *Norway*, near *Sticklaſteth*, cut his Army and himſelf in pieces. From that time King *Olaus*, the *Tributary*, annex'd *Gothland* to *Sweden* for ever, to prevent the Wars that the ſeparation of theſe two Kingdoms might occaſion; and 'twas for the ſame reaſon, that the ſucceeding Kings of *Sweden* were a long time before they aſſum'd the Title of *King of Gothland*.

King Amund, *ſirnam'd* Kolbrenna; Amund Slemme; Haquin *the* Red; Stenchil *the* Young; Ingo *the* Pious; Philip; Ingo *the* Cour[illegible]us.

After *Olaus*, his Son *Amund* ſucceeded to the Crown of *Sweden*: He was an excellent good and juſt Prince, and was call'd *Kolbrenna*, i. e. a *Burner of Coals*, becauſe he made a Law, that whoever injur'd another, ſhould have part of his Houſe pull'd down and

and thrown into the Fire, in proportion to the damage he had committed 'Twas under his Reign that the Christian Religion made a very great progress, and Equity and Justice were nicely maintain'd. After his Death of *Amund* his Brother and Successor acquir'd a different Character from his Predecessor. For he did not much concern himself, either with Religion or the observation of Laws: He was call'd *Slemmer*, because he was the first, that, in conjunction with the *Danes*, determin'd the Limits of *Sweden* and *Schonen*, in order to put an end to the Wars that were oftentimes occasiond by the uncertain extent of that Country. However, the *Swedes* were not satisfied with that accommodation, imagining that their Right to that Province was too good to be yielded to another; for indeed the ancient Kingdom of the *Goths* extended as far as *Oresond* The reproach of this unjust Accomodation, joyn'd with his infamous Sirname, did so affect the King, that, in order to wipe out the Disgrace, he undertook an Expedition to *Schonen*, designing to regain that Province by open force: But *Canut* King of *Denmark* having got the start of him, block'd him up near a Bridge call'd *Stangelpelle*, and cut his Army in pieces, which so troubled him, that he slew himself: After the Death of *Amund Slemme*, the *Goths* elected *Haquin* sirnam'd the *Red*, to be their King; and on the other hand, the *Swedes* who pretended to have a better Right of Election than the *Goths*, plac'd *Stenchil* on the Throne: However these two Princes came to an amicable accomodation upon these terms, that *Haquin* who was then in years should possess the Crown during his Life, and after his Death, *Stenchil* should be Entitled to the possession both of *Sweden* and *Gothland*. By Vertue of this Agreement *Haquin* Reign'd peaceably for the space of thirteen Years: After which *Stenchil* the *Young* succeeded, who was Son of the Daughter of *Olaus* the *Tributary*, and withal a very brave and vertuous a Prince, who obtain'd three very considerable Victories in the *Danish* Wars. *Stenchil* the *Young* was succeeded by King *Ingo*, who Reign'd with so much Applause for his good Conduct, that he merited the sirname of *Pius*. It was he that entirely abolish'd

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the Worſhip of the falſe Gods of *Upſal*, of which there were ſtill ſome remains. But that ſo provok'd his Idolatrous Subjects, that they expell'd him the Kingdom, and afterwards ſurpriz'd him in the dead of Night, in the Province of *Schonen*, whither he had retir'd, and Murder'd him in his Bed. His Body was Tranſported from thence to the *Weſt* of *Gothland*, and inter'd in the Convent of *Wrnheim*. *Holſtan* ſucceeding his Brother *Ingo*, had a Peaceable and Glorious Reign, as well as his Son and Succeſſor *Philip*, whoſe Memory retain'd a Fragrancy after his Death: During his Reign *Cnut*, alias *Canut*, King of *Denmark* Married his Daughter *Folcke* to a Lord of the firſt Rank in *Sweden*. This Lord was the Original of one of the moſt Illuſtrious Families of that Kingdom, which from him was call'd *Flockingian*; but has been long extinct. He had two Sons of the *Daniſh* Princeſs, namely *Cnut* and *Bengt*; the firſt of which had a Son call'd *Jerldis*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. King *Philip*'s Succeſſor in *Sweden* was his Son *Ingo*, the 4*th* of that Name, who was ſirnan'd the *Courteous* by reaſon of his Piety, and Affability in Converſation. His Clemency and other Vertues render'd him very Famous, as well as *Raguild* his Queen, who was dignify'd with Divine Honours after her Death, and her Tomb at *Telge* was frequented for Indulgences. King *Ingo* had no Male Iſſue, and only two Daughters, *Chriſtian* and *Margaret*; the firſt of which was Marry'd to King *S. Erick*, and the ſecond to *Magnus* King of *Norway*. By the laſt Marriage *Ingo* deſign'd to engage the Friendſhip of the *Norwegians*; for *Magnus* laid claim to the Province of *Wermland*, and had ſent Troops to take Poſſeſſion of it; and the three *Northern* Kings, namely *Ingo* King of *Sweden*, *Erick* King of *Denmark*, and *Magnus* King of *Norway*, having an Interview at *Konghel*, they amicably adjuſted all their Differences, and King *Magnus* upon Marrying the *Swediſh* Princeſs diſclaim'd all Pretenſions to the Province of *Wermeland*. This Prince was very ſevere in executing Juſtice upon Criminals, eſpecially upon Robbers; and never ſhewing Mercy to thoſe who were guilty of Violence or Injuſtice; and for that reaſon was Poyſon'd in the Convent of *Wreta*, in the *Weſt* of *Gothland*,

land, by the *Ostrogoths*, who liv'd to the *East* of that Country, and endeavour'd to shake off the *Swedish* Yoke. In the Reigns of the five Kings last mention'd, *Sweden* enjoy'd the happiness of a Golden Age; for the Christian Religion was not only Supported and Fortify'd by the Piety and Exemplary Lives of their Kings; but the Subjects also liv'd securely under the Protection of the Laws, and a Regular Administration of Justice.

King Ragwald Knaphofde, *and* Suercher *the* Second.

After the Death of *Ingo* the *Courteous*, the *Ostrogoths*, not staying for the consent of the other Provinces, Elected for their King, one of the Principal Gentlemen of their Country, named *Ragwald*, whom they sirnamed *Knaphofde*; he was a strong robust Man, but of no Courage: Besides he was proud and presumptuous to the last degree, and being naturally Fierce, pretended to carry all before him by proud threatnings and violence. It was a Custome in *Sweden*, that when the King travell'd into the Provinces, he was accompanied by the Judges of the Low Country; this Man slighting the ancient Custome, travell'd to *Westgothland* without Retinue or Guards. But this peevish, stiff, and fantastical temper disoblig'd all the World; the *Visigoths*, who could not digest his unsufferable Insolency, enter'd into a Conspiracy against him and murder'd him at *Carleby*, not far from the City of *Scara*. The *Astrogoths* gain'd no Honour by electing King *Ragwald*; but repair'd it after his Death by electing and placing on the Throne an old and well accomplished Gentleman of that Country, whose name was *Suercher*, who being of a peaceable temper, conform'd himself to the Laws and Customes of the Country. He had all along a great care of the Churches, and was the first that brought Forreign *Monks* into *Sweden*. In the Year 1148, he founded the Monastery of *Alwastra*. In fine, after King *Suercher* had Reign'd long, with much Glory and Reputation, his Enemies caus'd him to be Assassinated as he was going to Church on *Christmas Eve*, between *Albec* and *Folstedk* in *East Gothland*, by one of his Domesticks whom they had corrupted. After which his Body was interr'd in the Monastery of *Alwastra*.

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After the Death of *Suercher*, the *Ostrogoths* elected his Son *Charles* to supply his place. But that Election being generally disapprov'd, did not stand long; for the *Swedes* assembling at *Upsal* by a general consent put the Crown upon the Head of *Eric* the Son of *Jesward*. This Prince had gain'd the affection of the People, by marrying *Christian* the Daughter of *Ingo* the *Courteous*, and Widow of *Jaroslaous* Duke of *Waldemir* in *Russia*. The *Swedes* and *Goths* perceiving the absolute necessity as well as conveniency of uniting their two Kingdoms, joyntly agreed, that *Eric* should possess *Sweden* and *Gothland* for Life, that *Charles* should succeed him after his Death, and after that their Posterity should Reign in Succession. But this compact, which lasted near 100 Years, prov'd very fatal to the Soveraigns as well as to the Subjects. King *Eric* made a fortunate Expedition against the *Finlanders*, who still continu'd in the Pagan Idolatry and refus'd to acknowledge the Authority of the Kings of *Sweden*. Having reduc'd that People, and oblig'd them to embrace the Christian Religion, he then liv'd in Peace, and employ'd all his thoughts in promoting the Interest and Advantage of his Kingdom. Accordingly he founded many Churches in several parts, and endow'd them with large Revenues; he made many good Statutes, and gather'd all the ancient Laws of the Kingdom into one Book, which from him was call'd *S. Erig's Lag*, allowing none but Christians the benefit of it; he sunk all the pernicious Customs that were in vogue in that Country, and without favour or partiality executed Justice upon all sorts of Criminals: For these Reasons, great numbers of the chiefest of his Subjects, who were more adicted to Vice than Vertue, combin'd against him, and privately sollicited *Magnus*, Son of *Henry Scatteler* King of *Denmark* by a Daughter of *Regwald* formerly King of *Sweden*, to disturb him, and at last perswaded him, to make himself Master of the Kingdom. For this purpose *Magnus* and his Father *Scatteler* march'd in the Spring to *Sweden* at the Head of an Army, and joyn'd the Rebels. King *Eric* having notice of their March, was not at all discourag'd; however he could raise but very few Troops, with which he march'd

King Eric, *firnam'd* The Holy.

and

and attack'd the Enemy in a Meadow near *Upſal*, where he fought briskly by himſelf againſt ten of his Enemies, till at laſt they overpowr'd him and cut off his Head. After that they riffl'd the Royal Palace and proclaim'd *Magnus* King of *Sweden*. In the mean time the *Swedes*, taking the Alarm at the Death of ſo good a King, roſe up in Arms to avenge it; and on the other hand the *Goths* immediately appear'd in the Field to aſſiſt them, under the Conduct of *Charles* the Son of *Suercher*. The *Swedes* took this *Charles* for their General, after he had made ſufficient proteſtations of his being innocent of the Death of *Eric*, of which many had ſuſpected him to be the Author. The *Swedes* and *Goths* march'd joyntly to attack their Enemy, and cut off *Scatteler* and *Magnus* with their whole Army, inſomuch that there was ſcarce one left to carry the News of the defeat to *Denmark*. This Victory being gain'd, the Conquerors employ'd their Booty in building a Church in the Field where they fought, not far from *Upſal*, and Chriſten'd the Church *Danemark*.

Charles *the Son of* Suercher, *and* Canut Erickſon.

Thus did *Charles* the Son of *Suercher* become King of the *Swedes* and *Goths*, tho' at the ſame time the *Swedes* would rather have given their Crown to *Canut* the Son of S. *Eric*. *Canut* perceiving that *Charles* was laying Traps for him, retir'd to *Norway*. 'Twas this *Canut* that ſent an Embaſſy to Pope *Alexander* III. deſiring the Biſhop of *Upſal* might be made an Arch-biſhop, and obtain'd his requeſt; but on the other hand the Pope requir'd that the Eſtates of all the *Swedes* who died without Children, ſhould deſcend to the Church, and even thoſe who had Children ſhould leave ſomething to it after their Death. Thus was that Cuſtome introduc'd in *Sweden* which continu'd till the time of Pope *Gregory* the X, when it was entirely aboliſh'd. To return to *Charles*. After a glorious and peaceable Reign of eight Years, he was ſurpris'd at *Wiſinglo* by *Canut* the Son of *Eric*, who was but juſt return'd from *Norway*, and kill'd upon the ſpot: To colour the Aſſaſſination, *Canut* alledg'd that *Charles* had a hand in his Fathers Death, and by his Hypocriſy had work'd himſelf into the Throne contrary to all Law and Juſtice. Upon *Charles*'s Death, his Widow fled immediately

mediately into *Denmark* with her Children, and intreated her Uncle by the Mothers ſide to aſſiſt her againſt the *Swedes*: Whereupon the King of *Denmark* took the Field, and the *Goths* likewiſe roſe up in Arms to revenge the Death of a Prince that had been ſo dear to 'em, and march'd under the Conduct of his Brother *Kol*. But *Kol* being kill'd in a Battle, the Confederate Army of the *Goths* and *Danes* were intirely defeated. After this important Victory, *Canut Erickson* Reign'd 23 Years in Peace, and Enacted very good Laws for his Country. He was very liberal to the Eccleſiaſticks, and among other things founded the Monaſtery of *Juleta*. In this Kings Reign, the *Eſthonians* and *Courlanders* invaded *Sweden*, kill'd *John* Arch-Biſhop of *Stecha*, ſack'd the rich and oppulent City of *Sigtuna*, and laid it in aſhes. *Canut* was interr'd in the Cloyſter of *Warnheim* at *Ericksberg* a Town in *Weſt Gothland*.

Canut Erickson being dead, *Suercher* III, Son of *Charles* poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Kingdom of *Sweden*. Indeed, *Eric* the late Kings Son had a mind to diſpute his Right; but finding he could not accompliſh his Deſigns, he agreed the Matter with *Suercher*, upon theſe terms, that *Suercher* ſhould poſſeſs the Crown for Life, and after his Death *Eric* ſhould ſucceed him. *Suercher* was a Prince of very good qualities, and Reign'd for ſome time with a good and prudent Conduct. But at laſt, meaning to ſecure the Throne to his Children by unlawful ways, he authoriz'd a perfidious Aſſaſſination of the Sons of *Canut*, who liv'd at that time in their Fathers Hereditary Countries. Nevertheleſs, one of theſe Children, *Eric* by name, eſcap'd the hands of the Aſſaſſins, and fled to *Norway*, where he ſtay'd ſome years; till at laſt the Uplanders making an Inſurrection againſt *Suercher*, invited *Eric* to take Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Sweden*, purſuant to the Right convey'd to him by his Grandfather, promiſing him withal to ſtand by him with their lives and Fortunes. Whereupon *Eric* march'd from *Norway* to *Sweden* with ſome Auxiliary Troops lent him by King *Ingo*. As ſoon as he arriv'd, the *Swedes* Proclaim'd him King; and marching againſt *Suercher* forc'd him to fly to *Weſt Gothland*, where he was oblig'd to call in the *Danes* to his Aſſiſtance.

Suercher *the* III.

Assistance. The next year King *Waldemar* sent him 16000 Men out of *Denmark* under the Command of his Brother *Laurence*, and *Ebbo Sonson Suerchers* Father-in-Law. *Suercher* being reinforc'd by these Troops, gave Battle to the *Swedes* and *Norwegians* under the Command of *Eric* near *Lateran* in *West Gothland*: In this Engagement all the *Danish* Generals were kill'd, and *Suerchers* Army was intirely defeated; only himself got off to *Denmark*, where he stay'd two years. In that time having drawn together a powerful Army, he march'd to *West Gothland*, and fought *Eric* just by the place of the former Engagement: In this Battle *Suercher* was kill'd, and so *Eric* possess'd *Sweden* in Peace. To remove all difficulties that might be started for the future, *Eric* renew'd the ancient Treaty with the Sons of *Suercher*, stipulating that *John* the Son of *Suercher* should succeed to the Crown of *Sweden* after his Death; and marry'd *Rickol* Sister of *Waldemar* King of *Denmark*. After a peaceable Reign he ended his days at *Wisingso*; and was bury'd at *Warnheim*. Pursuant to the above-mention'd Treaty, *John* succeeded him, who was a good King, but Reign'd only three years. He dy'd, as well as his Predecessor, at *Wisingso*, an Island that the Kings of *Sweden* chose to reside in for a long time.

King Eric Lispe, *or* Lisper.

After the Death of King *John*, *Eric*, the Son of *Eric John*'s Predecessor, succeeded to the Crown. This Prince was paralytick and stammer'd in his Speech, with reference to which defect he was sirnam'd *Lispe* or *Lisper*, but notwithstanding his Corporal Infirmities he was a brave and vertuous Prince. In his time the *Folckingians* a very considerable Family in *Sweden*, made pretentions to the Crown. To stifle their Pretensions, King *Eric* marry'd his Sister *Helen* to one of the chief of their Family named *Canut*, a venerable and very eloquent Person; he likewise marry'd his second Sister *Merete* to *Nicolas Tofta*, *Canuts* Cousin, and his third Sister *Ingebergh* to *Birger Jerl*, one of the same Family: And to compleat the Alliance, himself marry'd *Katharin* the Daughter of *Swenon* the *Folckingian*; but all these ties could not stifle the Ambition of that House; for of all its Branches *Birger Jerl* was the only Man that

that was true to the King, and *Canutus* the *Folckingian*, thinking he deserv'd the Crown better than *Eric Lispe* his Brother-in-law, revolted against him, and obtain'd a Victory, that oblig'd King *Eric* to fly to *Denmark*. Upon which *Canuts* Party proclaim'd him King of *Sweden*. King *Eric* returning from *Denmark* at the Head of a great Army, *Canut* proudly march'd against him, but was routed and kill'd in the first Engagement. His Son *Holinger* fled to the Province of *Gestritia*; but *Eric Lispe* pursu'd him, and cut off his Head, notwithstanding he was his own sisters Son. At last *Eric* dy'd without Issue, on *Feb.* 2. 1250. in the Isle of *Wisingso*, and left a good Character behind him.

King Waldemar *and* Birger Jerl

When *Eric Lispe* died, *Birger Jerl* was in *Finland*. In the interim one *Ivar Blade Grenberg* call'd a Convention of the Nobility to choose a New King; and, what by his Solicitations, what by Intrigues, procur'd the Election of *Waldemar* the eldest Son of *Birger Jerl*, who was the late Kings Sisters Son. *Birger Jerl* the Father of *Waldemar* had no sooner heard of *Erick*s Death, but he return'd to *Sweden* with all Expedition. Immediately upon his arrival he convocated the Nobility, and declar'd his disatisfaction with their Proceedings in giving the *Swedish* Crown to his young Son without his Knowledge. The Nobility perceiving he had rather have been King himself, told him briskly that they were not oblig'd to make either him or his Son King, since the late King *Erick* dy'd without Heirs, in case of necessity they could easily find another; that what they did was out of respect to the late King's Memory; and in fine, if their Conduct displeas'd him, they were ready to reverse the Election of his Son *Waldemar*. *Birger Jerl*, being alarm'd at this Answer, and perceiving if he made any noise they would give the Crown to *Ivar*, immediately turn'd the Tables, and pretended he was well pleas'd with the Election of his Son. So *Waldemar* was Crown'd in the Year 1251, at *Lindkopen*, the Administration of Affairs was put into the hands of his Father, till such time as he came of Age; and the Education of the young King committed to the care of an ancient Knight. 'Twas this *Birger* that compil'd the *Lands-Lag*, i. e. the

the *Code* or Book of the Laws of the Kingdom; and gave ſome Laws to the Cities, that he had taken from the old *Code* of *Birca*. He likewiſe order'd that every one ſhould provide himſelf with a Paſport, whether at home, or in going or coming from the Church. He brought the Women under the Royal Protection; for whereas they were formerly excluded from all Succeſſions, he provided that they ſhould enjoy the third part of their Fathers Eſtates after their Deaths, and half a Relations Eſtate, equally with the Male Heirs. In conſideration of theſe and many other good Services, his Son *Waldemar* dignified him with the Title of a Duke, whereas formerly he had no other Title but that of *Jerl*, which ſignifies an Earl At the ſame time the *Folckingians* were very ſtrong in *Sweden*, and much troubl'd that the Crown ſhould go to *Birger Jeral*'s Family, to the excluſion of theirs; upon which ſcore they ſet Intrigues on foot to ruin Duke *Birger*; and he on the other hand endeavour'd by all meanes to entrap *Charles*, the moſt conſiderable Perſon of that Family; but *Charles* took care to keep himſelf in places of Security; till at laſt the Jealouſie broke out into an open War, and both Parties appear'd in the Field The two Amies met at *Hedwardsbroo*, in *Meſmanland*; but the Bridge being broke down, they were oblig'd to fight along while by ſhooting at a diſtance one upon another. At laſt the Duke perceiving he could do nothing by open Force, and that ſome Biſhops and other Perſons of Quality interpos'd their Meditation; he invited the Heads of his Enemies, to his own Camp, under pretence of adjuſting the Terms of Accommodation, giving them all poſſible Aſſurance, both by Writing and Oath, that if the Negotiation prov'd ineffectual, he would return them in full Liberty to their own Army, without doing them any Injury; but as ſoon as they arriv'd he diſhonourable ſeiz'd them, and caus'd them all to be beheaded. However ſo prefidious an Action will not admit of any excuſe. *Collon* Biſhop of *Lindkopin* had likewiſe aſſur'd the *Folckingian*, upon Oath, that they ſhould come at no harm. To attone for this notorious Perjury, he undertook a Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, and dy'd by the way. One may eaſily imagine

gine that *Charles* the *Folckingian* was not well pleas'd with Duke *Birger*'s conduct, and tho' *Birger* courted him for a reconcilation, yet *Charles* would not truſt him, but retreated to *Pruſſia*, where he behav'd himſelf bravely in the Wars with the Infidels: But at laſt was kill'd in an unfortunate Battle, his Death was a fatal blow to the illuſtrious Family of the *Folckingians*. Duke *Birger* having ſecur'd the Kingdom againſt the *Eolckingians*, ſolemniz'd at *Jenkoping* the Marriage of his Son *Waldemar* with Princeſs *Sophia* the Daughter of *Eric* King of *Denmark*, who gave with her in Dowry the Cities of *Malmuyen* and *Trelleberg* in *Schonen*. *Birger* built and fortify'd the City and Caſtle of *Stockholm*. King *Waldemar* had been of Age a long time, and the Duke his Father was very old, yet this Duke would not quit the Reigns of Government, till after fifteen Years Adminiſtration that he dy'd at *Wiſingſo*, leaving behind him four Sons, namely *Waldemar* King of *Sweden*, *Magnus* Duke of *Sudermania*, *Eric* Prince of *Smaland*, and *Benoit* Duke or Prince of *Finland*.

Afterwards there happen'd great Diviſions among theſe four, which were very prejudicial not only to themſelves, but to their Country. Each of em kept a ſeparate Court; eſpecially *Magnus*, who liv'd as magnificently as the King himſelf, and ſurpaſs'd him in all ſorts of Noble Exerciſes. He was naturally very liberal and civil to all Mankind; by which Noble Qualifications he drew the moſt conſiderable Perſons of Quality to his Court, which gave Jealouſie to King *Waldemar* his Brother that he was aſpiring to the Crown. At the ſame time Queen *Sophia* incens'd *Waldemar* againſt *Magnus*, whom ſhe commonly ſlighted, and upon all occaſions made ſatyrical Reflections upon him. In the interim *Jutta* the Daughter of *Eric* King of *Denmark* left the Monaſtery of *Roſchkaild* and came to viſit her Siſter *Sophia* in *Sweden*, becauſe ſhe could not endure to live longer in *Denmark*, where ſhe had had the Mortification to ſee her Father kill'd by her Brother *Abel*. Upon her arrival, *Waldemar* fell paſſionately in love

with her, and got a Child upon her. But *Jutta* was puniſh'd for her Inceſt being condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment; and the King, by committing ſo ſcandalous a Crime, drew upon himſelf the univerſal hatred of his People. For which reaſon, correſpondent to the ignorant Cuſtom of thoſe times, he reſolv'd to expiate the Guilt by a Pilgrimage to *Rome* and *Jeruſalem*; leaving the Adminiſtration of Affairs in his abſence to his Brother *Magnus*. When *Waldemar* return'd from his Pilgrimage into *Sweden*, the hatred between the two Brethren, that had been long cover'd, began to break out into mutual defiance. King *Waldemar* charg'd *Magnus* among other Crimes with aſpiring to the Sovereignty of *Sweden*, and *Magnus* faſten'd as many reproaches as he could upon *Waldemar*. To prevent the troubleſome conſequences of this difference, the States of *Sweden* aſſembl'd at *Strengener* in *Suthermania*; where all the Brother Princes debated very warmly about the Diviſion of the Kingdom, and their Fathers Hereditary Lands; excepting *Bengt* or *Benoit* the youngeſt of the Brethern, who quitted his Portion to the reſt, and became Biſhop of *Lindkopin* a *Gothiſh* City. But they were all ſo hot upon the Matter, that there was no poſſibility of bringing them to an accomodation. *Magnus* and *Eric* would by no means truſt their Brother *Waldemar*; but were not able to conteſt with him, becauſe the King of *Norway* was on his ſide; and for that reaſon went to *Denmark*, and enter'd into a Treaty with King *Eric*, in which he agreed to let them have a conſiderable number of Troops, in conſideration of 6000 Marks of fine Silver which they were to pay him. With theſe Troops they went into *Sweden*, and were reinforc'd by their followers. King *Waldemar* having notice of their March, drew out a Potent Army to meet them: When he and his Army arriv'd near *Tyweden*, he ſent out a conſiderable Detachment to obſerve the Enemy, thinking they were at a conſiderable diſtance, and reſted with the Body of his Army at *Romlabada*, where he feaſted and enjoy'd himſelf. In the mean time *Magnus* falling upon the Detachment

Detachment near *Howa*, cut them all off, for they had no General Officers to command them.

Waldemar alarm'd by this defeat thought to make his escape into *Wermland*, but was pursu'd and taken Prisoner. Then he imputed all the fault of the difference to his Wife *Sophia*. However, *Magnus* call'd a Convention of the States of *Sweden*, in order to have Matters adjusted between the King and himself; but the Members of the Convention, being better affected to Duke *Magnus* than to King *Waldemar*, made a Division of the Kingdom, allotting to *Waldemar* East and West *Gothland*, together with the Provinces of *Smaland* and *Dalia*; and all the rest to *Magnus*. *The Division of the Kingdoms of* Sweden *and* Gothland.

After the conclusion of this Treaty, Duke *Magnus* sent his Auxiliary Troops back to *Denmark*; but the Soldiers not having receiv'd their pay, ravag'd and pillag'd the Country upon their march. And when King *Eric* demanded the 6000 Marks of Silver that were stipulated at the Treaty in *Denmark*, *Magnus* pretended to bate the value of the damage the *Danish* Soldiers had done to his Country. However, the *Danish* Troops continuing to ravage the Kingdom of *Gothland*, *Magnus* to make his Reprisals, made an Irruption into *Schonen* and *Halland*, where he committed great disorders; but when the *Danes* advanc'd to give him Battle, he durst not hazard it, because his Troops were haras'd and overcharg'd with Plunder; so that he return'd with his Booty to *Sweden*. To be reveng'd on *Magnus*, *Eric* King of *Denmark*, dealt under-hand with *Waldemar*, promising to assist him in the recovery of his whole Kingdom. *Waldemar* animated by these promises, let his Brother *Magnus* know he laid claim to part of the Kingdom of which he was possess'd; after which he went with his Wife and Children to *Norway* to sollicite the aid of his Father-in-Law. The King of *Denmark* sent him an Army, which advanc'd near *Wexio*, where *Magnus*'s Troops under the Command of *Uff Carson* met him, and routed the *Danes*, taking their Generals Prisoners, and put-

ting the reſt to flight, but this Defeat was ſo far from damping the Courage of King *Eric*, that on the contrary it encourag'd him the more. For next Year, having rais'd Troops in all the quarters of *Denmark*, he appear'd in Perſon at the head of a puiſſant Army, and having joyn'd *Waldemar*, march'd againſt the *Swedes*; his Troops ravaging the Country where ever they came. In the mean time, tho' Duke *Magnus* had a numerous Army, yet he would not hazard a Battle, but contented himſelf with putting a ſtop to the Enemies March, and preventing their penetrating further into the Country: So that, Winter approaching, and Proviſions being conſum'd, the *Danes* were forc'd to return, without any other fruit of their Expedition, than that of making a great many poor miſerable Families. At laſt they came to a Truce by the Mediation of ſeveral Perſons of Quality.

Duke *Magnus* having an Interview with King *Eric* on the Frontiers, treated him very civilly, and ſince all their differences were about the paying of the 6000 Marks of Silver, it was mutually agreed, that *Eric* ſhould be ſatisfy'd with 4000, and *Lodeſe* ſhould be put into his hands as a pledge till the Debt was ſatisfy'd. After that, King *Eric* did not trouble his head with *Waldemar*; ſo that *Waldemar* was forc'd to make a Ceſſion of the whole Kingdom to Duke *Magnus*, firſt before the Council at *Askenos*, and afterwards at *Moraſteen* before all the People; which, he ſaid, *he did very willingly, ſince his Wife* Sophia *was dead*. This done, he would ſtay no longer in *Sweden* but went to *Denmark*, and liv'd for the moſt part at *Malmuyen* and *Trettebori*, two places that he got in Marriage with Queen *Sophia*; but before *Magnus* could be poſſeſs'd of the Crown of *Sweden*, he had another difficulty to ſurmount, relating to the Sum he ow'd King *Eric*. The Caſe ſtood thus. One *Peter Portze* had laid out a certain Sum of Money for the King of *Denmark* in the preceeding War: When he came to demand his Money of the *Dane*, he aſſign'd him Duke *Magnus*'s Debt. *Portze* having

having ſollicited *Magnus* ſeveral times for the payment of this Money, and all to no purpoſe; he at laſt got a Caſtle put into his hands, to be poſſeſs'd by him till the Debt was ſatisfy'd. Soon after he invited Duke *Magnus* to a Feaſt; and the Duke, to prevent Charges took but a ſmall Retinue along with him. After the Duke was magnificently treated, when he was juſt going to take leave, *Peter Portze* told him he ſhould ſtay where he was, till he had pay'd every Farthing he ow'd him. Duke *Magnus* finding himſelf catch'd in a Snare, was forc'd to ſatisfie his Creditor, and not only ſo, but aſſure him upon Oath that he would never reſent what he had done.

King Magnus, *ſirnam'd* Ladolaſz.

After *Waldemar*'s Reſignation of all his pretenſions to the Crown of *Sweden*, Duke *Magnus* was Crown'd at *Upſal*, and aſſum'd the Title of *King of the Swedes and the Goths*, which the Kings of *Sweden* had not us'd from the time of *Olaus* the *Tributary*. But have conſtantly retain'd it ever ſince to this day. King *Magnus* had formerly married *Hedweigh* the Daughter of *Gerard* of *Holſace*, a very beautiful and vertuous Princeſs, by whom he had very fine Children. His Conrt was frequented by a great number of brave and worthy Forreigners, partly by reaſon of that Marriage, and partly becauſe the King ſhew'd a diſtinguiſhing reſpect to Men of Valour. The moſt conſiderable of theſe were *Ingemar Deuſcke*, for whom the King had ſuch a particular reſpect that he gave him *Helen* his Wife's Siſter in Marriage. The *Swediſh* Nobility, eſpecially thoſe of the *Folckingian* Family, were mightily out of humour, becauſe this Man and the other Forreigners were poſſeſs'd of all the chief Places of Truſt: Upon which they combin'd together, and deputed two Biſhops to remind the King of his Coronation Oath, and adviſe him not to prefer Strangers to the Natives of the Country. *Magnus* gave 'em Audience, and made Anſwer, *That he could not govern with Glory and Reputation, without the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Councellors as could ſerve him*

him both at Home and Abroad; that if the Natives would make themselves as capable of business as Forreigners were, they should never want Employment; and that he esteem'd the Vertue of Forreigners, more than the Nobles of the Country, who had nothing in 'em that was commendable. This plain Answer put the *Folckingians* yet more upon the fret; insomuch that they enter'd into a Conspiracy against *Magnus* and the Forreigners. 'Twas alledg'd that King *Waldemar* fomented a revolt under-hand, thinking to meet with some opportunity of retrieving the Crown that he had been forc'd to resign to *Magnus*. In the mean time *Girard* Count of *Holsace* set out for *Sweden* in order to visit the Queen his Daughter, and to save him the Fatigue of so long a Journey, King *Magnus* sent the Queen to meet him at *Skara* in *West Gothland*, appointing *Ingemar Denscke* and other Forreigners to attend her; and design'd to follow her himself in a little time. While the Queen was at *Skara*, many of the Nobility came thither, especially those of the *Folckingian* Family, namely, *John Philipson*, *Amund Sture*, *John Carlesson*, and *Philip de Rundi*; who to raise a quarrel with *Ingemar*, ask'd him how he came to thrust himself into the first and best Posts in the Kingdom in contempt of the *Swedish* Nobility. *Ingemar* giving them a haughty Answer, they fell upon him immediately, and murder'd him with several other Strangers; and imprison'd the Count of *Holsace* in the Castle of *Jensebourg*, but could not find the Queen, who hid her self in a Cloyster. Then they march'd to *Jenkoping* to make themselves Masters of the Castle

King *Magnus* took the Action very ill, but finding his Enemies very powerful both at Home and Abroad, did not think it proper to reduce them by open force. He politickly indeavour'd to appease the hot-headed Noblemen, by writing to them that he was pleas'd to see the *Swedish* Nobility and Gentry impatient under the Ostentation and Bravado's of Forreigners; that the Valour they shew'd in that Action merited praise and glory;

ry; that he never intended they ſhould be us'd in an unjuſt and unreaſonabie manner; and that for his part he would not meddle with them, only he deſir'd that they ſhould ſet Count *Girard* at liberty, who had done 'em no injury, and retire from before the Caſtle of *Jenkoping*. In fine, the Rebels being inveigl'd by ſmooth words, and thinking they had made their peace, releas'd Count *Girard*. Soon after, King *Magnus* call'd a Convention of the Nobility of *Weſt Gothland* at *Skara*, in which he complain'd of the Criminal conduct of the *Folckingians*: And finding that no Body ſtood by 'em, and that they had nothing to ſay in their Juſtification, he ſeiz'd them and ſent them to *Stockholm*, where they were all beheaded, excepting *Philippe de Runcki*, who was oblig'd to pay a great Ranſom for his Life. From that time the *Folckingians* could never raiſe themſelves, and King *Magnus* had a peaceable Reign, who caus'd his Queen *Hedweigh* to be Crown'd at *Suderkoping*.

King *Magnus* had a particular deſign to live in a good Underſtanding with the King of *Denmark*; to ſecure whoſe Friendſhip, he promis'd his Son *Birger* ſhould marry *Merete* the Daughter of *Eric*; after whoſe Death he ſent for the young Princeſs, who was then under Age, to be bred up in *Sweden*. Nay farther, to fortifie the Alliance, he marry'd his Daughter *Ingeborg* to young King *Eric*. He executed Juſtice in his Kingdom with great Severity; particularly he Entail'd heavy Puniſhments upon Plundering Meat or Drink out of Peaſants Houſes, or Forrage from their Stables, without paying for 'em; for which Cauſe he was ſirnam'd *Ladolaſz*, as if there had been no occaſion of locking or bolting Houſe or Stable Doors. In the Year, 1282, he call'd a Convention of the States of *Stockholm*, in which he repreſented the poor Eſtate of the Crown, and what ſcanty Revenues he had for maintaining the Dignities of a Crown'd Head. Upon which, after three Days deliberation, the whole Convention Voted him all the Mines of *Swe-*

den and *Gothland*; beſides the four great Lakes, namely, *Meler*, *Veter*, *Vener*, and *Hielmer*, with the Rivers belonging to them, and all the Profits ariſing from the Gulfs that receiv'd theſe Rivers, or from the Lakes of *Finland* and the two *Bothnia*'s; To all which they added the Incomes of the Mills and the Fiſhing of the *Baltick* Sea, with all the Incomes of Farms made out of Woods, when the Leaſes in being were expir'd: Nay farther, they inſpected the Conveyances of Eſtates, and whatever they found unjuſtly poſſeſs'd or in the hands of Forreigners, they joyn'd it to the Crown.

In the mean time *Waldemar* the Kings Brother being ſtill alive, had free liberty to go and come to *Sweden*, and not only led a very ſcandalous and debauch'd Life, but under-hand endeavour'd by all means whatſoever, to raiſe new Commotions, notwithſtanding his ſolemn Oaths to the contrary: Which mov'd both the Kings Counſellours and his Brother *Benoit* to perſwade the King to confine him in ſome Royal Palace. Accordingly *Waldemar* being taken and confin'd to the Caſtle of *Jenkoping*, dy'd there in the fourth Year of his Impriſonment. At that time there happen'd a great diſturbance in the Iſland of *Gothland*, occaſion'd by a difference between the Citizens of *Visbuy* and the Country People, the greateſt part of the laſt being cut in pieces by the former. The King inflicted ſevere Puniſhments upon both Parties, eſpecially the Citizens who had fortify'd their City without giving him notice; and farther, oblig'd them to promiſe in writing to continue dutiful and obedient to the Crown. At laſt King *Magnus* dy'd at *Viſingſo*, and was interr'd at *Stockholm* in the *Gray Friars* Church. His Son *Birger* being then only eleven years of Age, he appointed *Torkel Cnutſon* Marſhal of the Crown to be Guardian to him, and Protector of the Kingdom.

During the Minority of King *Birger*, *Torkel Cnutſon* his Guardian govern'd the Kingdom thirteen Years with great Reputation and Glory; and in his

his time the Revenues of the Crown were very conſiderable. He ſhut up the Son of King *Waldemar* in the Caſtle of *Stockholm*, to prevent his raiſing new Commotions; but at laſt both the Son and the Father being Dead, and that there was nothing to be fear'd at Home, he ſent a puiſſant Army into *Finland* againſt the *Carelians*, who in Conjunction with the *Ruſſians* had frequently ravag'd *Sweden*; and tho' the *Carelians* made a vigorous Defence, yet they were conquer'd, and at the ſame time Converted to Chriſtianity. And to keep 'em in awe for the future, as well as to put a ſtop to the Incurſions of the *Ruſſians*, the Protector built the Fortreſs of *Wiborg*. When King *Birger* came to be of Age, *Torkel Cnutſon* Marſhal of the Crown, procur'd him to be marry'd at *Stockholm* to *Merete* Daughter of *Eric* King of *Denmark*, who had been bred up in *Sweden* after her Fathers Death.

After the Solemnity of the Marriage, an Army was ſent to *Finland* and *Cerclia*, which advanc'd as far as *Ingria*, and to prevent the Incurſions of the *Ruſſians* by Sea, built a Caſtle call'd *Landskroon* or *Norbourg* upon the River *Nyen*. The *Ruſſians* brought an Army of 30000 Men into the Field, to put a ſtop to the building of a Fort that was ſo prejudicial to them, but were vigorouſly repuls'd by the *Swedes*: After which *Mathias Ketelmundson* ſent a Challenge to the braveſt Man in the *Ruſſian* Army, but no Body took it up. When the *Swedes* return'd Home, they left 300 Men in the Caſtle of *Landskroon*, well provided with all ſorts of Ammunition. But the Walls of the Caſtle being new built, did ſo ſpoil their Proviſions, that the Soldiers were ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper that reduc'd the 300 to 20. The *Ruſſians* having notice of the Condition of the Gariſon, Storm'd the Caſtle and raz'd it to the ground. Afterwards Marſhal *Torkel Cnutſon* apply'd himſelf to the Reformation of the Code or Laws of the Kingdom, and aboliſh'd the Cuſtome of ſelling and buying

buying Slaves, it being unjuſt, *That Chriſtians whom the bleſſed Jeſus had redeem'd with his precious Blood, ſhould ſell one another into Captivity.*

The next Year the King and his Queen were Crown'd at *Suderkoping*, where Duke *Waldemar* the Kings Brother marry'd *Chriſtian* the Marſhals Daughter. Duke *Eric* the other Brother marry'd *Ingeborgh* the Daugher of *Haquin* King of *Norway*, in expectation of Aſſiſtance againſt the King his Brother. The next Year the Marſhal of the Crown marry'd the Daughter of Count *Ravensborg*, and the King together with his Brethern and the chief Nobility of the Kingdom aſſiſted at the Solemnity; where the King took occaſion to declare *Magnus* his Son, then three Years old, Succeſſor to the Crown of *Sweden*; and the Dukes his Bretheren ratify'd the nomination by an Authentick Writ. When the Feaſt was over, the Marſhal laid down all his Places; but the King reinſtall'd him in them all, Inveſting him with more Power and Authority than he had before, in order to engage him the firmer in his Intereſt.

On the other hand, the Kings Brethren Duke *Eric* and *Waldemar* were unſatisfy'd with the Marſhal, pretending that he minded the Kings Intereſt more than theirs: For which reaſon they choſe *Ambior* great Bailiff of the Kingdom to be their Guardian, leaving the Marſhal with the King, and dividing their Shares of their Fathers Eſtate from the Kings: This made the King very Jealous of his Brethren by reaſon of their great Intereſt and Authority, and his ſuſpicion was increas'd by the inſtigation of the Queen who was a very ambitious Women, and of Marſhal *Torkel*, whom the Dukes had diſoblig'd by taking the Guardianſhip from him, and particularly Duke *Eric* by ſlighting his Daughter, and marrying the King of *Norway*'s.

Eric

Eric alſo King of *Denmark* contributed not a little to blow up the Quarrel, by reaſon of Duke *Eric*'s Alliance with the King of *Norway* his great Enemy. 'Tis alledg'd, that the Marſhal adviſ'd the young King to burden his Subjects with extraordinary Taxes, to enable him to keep up the Dignity and Magnificence of a Crown'd Head. For which end he likewiſe adviſ'd the King to appropriate to himſelf for the ſpace of ſix Years the Tithes that were ſet apart for the maintenance of the poor, and to Impriſon all the Biſhops that oppos'd it; which made not only the Clergy but the common People mightily diſaffected. In this Juncture the Marſhal invited the King and the two Dukes to a Feaſt at his Palace of *Arnaſs* in *West Gothland*, where he treated them very magnificently for ſome days; but when the Guests were about to depart and take leave of the Marſhal, the King call'd his Brothers aſide, and told them that he heard they were going out of the Kingdom with an intention to declare War againſt him, and that he wanted to know the occaſion of this diſaffection; adding withal that there was no other way to remove his Suſpition, than to ſign a certain Writing, which he had prepar'd before hand. The two Dukes were extreamely ſurpris'd with ſuch a Propoſal; but being apprehenſive that the King had ſome Deſign upon them, they readily ſign'd the Writing, and comply'd with all his Demands. The chief Articles of that Paper imported, that they ſhould not depart the Kingdom without His Majeſty's permiſſion; that they ſhould not approach his Perſon without his leave, and only with what Retinue he pleas'd to order them; That they ſhould attempt nothing againſt him openly or under-hand; and in fine that they ſhould be true and faithful to him in all things, as well as to his Queen and Children.

This Inſtrument being Sign'd, the King went to *Wiſingſo*, flattering himſelf he had given a propitious

Turn

Turn to his Affairs, tho', after all, this Conduct only inflam'd their Jealouſie. Soon after the King cited them to *Wiſingo*, to anſwer ſome Charges laid againſt them: Duke *Eric* went alone to know what the Charge was; and found it to be this: That they had exported Counterband Goods; that when they travell'd through the Country they carry'd Arms with them, and upon the Road had committed ſeveral Outrages on Paſſengers; To which the King added, that one of their Domeſticks, had given his Porter a box on the ear, for not opening the Door as ſoon as he knock'd, and in fine, that they kept ſo ſtately and haughty a Court, that he could not but take umbrage at it. The Duke endeavour'd to clear himſelf of all the Articles of the Charge, but all the defence he could make, had no impreſſions on the King. But on the contrary he affronted Duke *Eric*, and coveted the leaſt colour for any opportunity of impriſoning both his Brethren. For which reaſons they would truſt themſelves no longer with him, but fled immediately to *Denmark*, hoping by *Eric*'s interceſſion to obtain the peaceable Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates in *Sweden*. But after all, the King of *Denmark* ſided chiefly with the King of *Sweden*, becauſe he was doubly his Brother-in-law, each of 'em having marry'd the others Siſter. The Dukes were no ſooner out of *Sweden*, but their Brother ſeiz'd upon all their Eſtates; and afterwards having an interview with the King of *Denmark* upon the Frontiers of *Sweden*, he engag'd him intirely in his Intereſts. Upon which, the Dukes ſuſpecting they were not ſafe in *Denmark*, croſs'd over to *Norway*, where *Haquin* gave them a kind reception, promiſing to aſſiſt them, till they were reinſtated in their rightful Poſſeſſions; and for their preſent Subſiſtance, allotted them *Nyclebourg* and *Kongel*, upon the Frontiers of *Sweden*, with all the Lands under thoſe Jurisdictions: the Dukes being poſſeſs'd of thoſe places, ſally'd out, ravag'd *Weſt Gothland*, and having burnt the City of *Lodeſe*, built a Fortreſs call'd *Daleborg* to cover that Country,

try, and took many Gentlemen Priſoners that ſided with the King of *Sweden*. King *Birger* ſent an Army to *Weſt Gothland*, to diſlodge the Dukes, and to demoliſh *Fort Daleborg*. When theſe Troops arriv'd in *Darlecarlia* they encamp'd near *Agnebro* between *Daleborg* and *Norway*, where they beat down a Bridge to hinder the Enemies ſending Succours to the Fort. But Duke *Eric*, by the perſwaſion of *Matthias Kettelmundſon*, made his Cavalry paſs the River ſo ſecretly that the Enemy knew nothing of it; and in the Night, when *Birgers* Troops were diſpers'd up and down in a profound ſecurity, fell upon them, and ſlew a great many.

This Diſaſter ſo enrag'd the King of *Sweden*, that he came himſelf into the Field at the Head of 10000 Men, and march'd towards *Gothland* to Demoliſh *Daleborg*. In the mean time the King of *Norway* had ſent ſome Thouſands of Recruites to the Dukes; but, while the two Armies were Marching up to one another, ſome of the *Swediſh* Counſellours interpos'd, and perſwaded the King to be reconcil'd to his Brothers, and grant them what they formerly poſſeſs'd in *Sweden*. On the other hand the King of *Norway* gave *Kongel* to Duke *Eric*, and *Marberg* in the Province of *Halland* by way of *Fief*, having firſt drawn it it out of the hands of *James* Duke of *Holſace*, to whom it had been ſometime Mortgaged.

The difference between the three Brethren being thus adjuſted, and each of 'em being unwilling to take the fault upon himſelf, they joyntly laid it upon *Torkel* the old Guardian, and charg'd him with all the diſorders that had enſu'd upon it, which occaſion'd King *Birger* to Impriſon the old Gentleman, and Arraign him as guilty of Maleadminiſtration and breach of Truſt in his Guardianſhip, and as having Uſurpt upon the liberty of the Clergy, and form'd ſeveral pernicious Plots, for which

which he was beheaded at *Stockholm* in a place call'd *Suyder-malm*. And Duke *Waldemar* put away the Marshals Daughter to whom he was marry'd. Such and no better was the recompence that the three Brothers gave their old Tutor for all his great and good Services.

After this ancient and wise Lord had ended his days in so deplorable a manner; the Dukes aspiring at the Soveraignty, attempted to dethrone their Brother: For which end having privately drawn together a Body of Men, they surpris'd the King at his Palace of *Hatuna*, and having taken him Prisoner forc'd him to resign the Crown to Duke *Eric*, and surrender him the City of *Stockholm*. But the Inhabitants of that Place would not obey the orders of an impriſon'd King; wherefore the Dukes order'd *Matthias Kettelmundſon* to besiege it, and shut up the King in the Castle. Then they scour'd up and down the Country with the rest of their Army, in order to make themselves Masters of all the places of Strength. In the midst of these Troubles, *Magnus* the eldest Son of King *Birger* was privately carry'd off by one of his own Domesticks, and convey'd to *Denmark*, King *Eric* being his Mothers Brother. *Eric*, out of a compassion to his Brother-in-Law and his Nephews hard Circumstances, cross'd over to *Sweden* at the head of a numerous Army, to reinstate *Birger* on his Throne. But the Dukes marching up to him in good order and with a great deal of Resolution, he durst not hazard a Battle, but made a Truce for one Year, in order to gain time to treat about the Kings release and then return'd into *Denmark*. The Duke made use of this opportunity to conquer all the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and engage all the Subjects of it in his Interest. Afterward, they endeavour'd to incite the King of *Norway* against the King of *Denmark*, that the last might be incapacitated to assist *Birger*. But the King of *Denmark* manag'd *Haquin* King of *Norway* so discreetly, that he perswaded him not to give his Daugh-

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ter in Marriage to Duke *Eric*, before the Duke deliver'd to him the City of *Warberg* in *Halland*. This demand ſo diſoblig'd the Duke, that he return'd immediately to *Sweden* without effecting any thing. This while Duke *Waldemar*, his Brother, had procur'd 800 Horſe out of *Germany*, with which he Ravag'd the Country of *Schonen*, and cut off the King of *Denmark*'s Proviſions, who had drawn together a numerous Army: But the Winter approaching, they came to a Conference at *Linugby* in *Smaland*, at which they concluded a Truce for ſome time, and enter'd into a freſh Negotiation, though to no purpoſe.

The next Year the Foreign Cavalry Wintering in *Weſt Gothland*, made ſuch Havock and Ravages in the Country, that the Peaſants being provok'd beyond Patience by their Inſolencies, fell upon the Troopers, and killing part of them, the remaining Body, in reſentment of that Action, cut a great many of the Peaſants in pieces, which was a great loſs to the Country. Thereupon King *Eric* deſigning a third Deſcent upon *Sweden*, made an Irruption into *Weſt Gothland*. But ſome of the Chief Nobility, by their Mediation obtain'd a Truce, and procur'd a Treaty to be Sign'd, by which King *Birger*, with his Wife and Children were ſet at Liberty, and in the ſpace of a Year and an half the whole Difference was to be adjuſted at *Markerid* in *Smaland*, either by an Amicable Accommodation, or the Meaſures of Juſtice. Upon this King *Erick* return'd to *Denmark* and the Dukes call'd a Council of the Kingdom at *Arboge*, to adjuſt the Terms upon which King *Birger* was to be releas'd. The Members of that Convention were ready to Sign all the Articles the Dukes propoſed to them; particularly that King *Birger* ſhould intirely forget all that was paſt, and be ſatisfy'd with what part of the Kingdom they allotted him.

Upon ſuch Conditions as theſe the King was ſet at Liberty, and the Dukes in Conjunction with the

the Council, tender'd him the Oath of Fidelity; but not long after, the King went to *Gothland*, and from thence to *Denmark*, where his Brother-in-Law receiv'd him favourably, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Kingdom: and thereupon King *Birger* return'd to *Sweden*.

In the interim there happened ſome miſunderſtanding between *Haquin* King of *Norway* and King *Eric*; by reaſon that *Eric*, notwithſtanding his re-poſſeſſion of his whole Eſtate in *Sweden*, ſtill retain'd in his hands the Caſtles of *Warborg* and *Kongel*, which *Haquin* had given him in his laſt extremity. *Haquin* reſolv'd to re-take *Kongel* by open Force; but finding that impracticable, he built the Caſtle of *Bahus*, to keep *Kongel* in Aw; upon the News of which, Duke *Erick* March'd into *Norway* with his Troops, and having carried the City of *Aſzle*, went to Beſiege *Aggerſhauſz*.

The King of *Norway* having notice of the Siege, ſent Three Thouſand Men to relieve the Place; who were all cut off: Though after all, Duke *Eric* was oblig'd to retire and abandon the Town he had beſieg'd. On the other hand the King of *Norway* Invaded the Provinces of *Wermland* and *Dalecarlia*, which he Ravag'd mightily.

Theſe miſunderſtandings over-perſuaded King *Eric* to a perpetual Rupture with Duke *Eric*; to which end he deſir'd that *Haquin*'s Daughter, who was betroth'd to Duke *Eric*, ſhould be Marry'd to *Magnus* the Son of King *Birger*, alledging for an argument, that Duke *Eric* had render'd himſelf unworthy of his Alliance by his Scandalous Ingratitude. Upon this, *Haquin* promis'd his Daughter to *Magnus*, with Six Thouſand Marks of Silver for her Dowry, and a promiſe of the Kingdom of *Norway* if he dy'd without Male Iſſue. At the ſame time a Peace was concluded between the two Kings, of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Soon

Soon after *Erick* King of *Denmark*, gather'd a ſtrong Army of *Danes* and *Germans*, to the number of 6000 Men, in which were many *German* Lords, and among the reſt the Duke of *Mecklenbourg*. *Birger* and his Troops joyn'd him, expecting that ſo formidable a force would quickly diſlodge the Dukes: However the Dukes advanc'd againſt this Numerous Army as far as *Holewedk*; but did not think it proper to Hazard a Battle; and ſo contented themſelves with ſecuring the Paſſes, and cutting off the Enemies Proviſions and Forrage. In the mean time, the two Kings, *Erick* and *Birger*, having taken the City of *Jenkoping* and put a Garriſon into it, got thro' a Wood and Penetrated to Eaſt *Gothland*, ſo that the Dukes were oblig'd to quit the Field, *Erick* retiring to *Calmar*, and *Waldemar* to *Stockholm* to cover the Province of *Upland*. On the other hand the King of *Norway* beſieg'd *Kongal* and carried it. Upon the retreat of the two Dukes, the two Kings beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Nikoping*; And the more Vigorous oppoſition the Garriſon made, the more exaſperated were the two Kings, that they could not carry ſuch a Sorry Hole. However they would not raiſe the Siege, tho' it conſum'd their time, and occaſion'd their Neglect of things of greater importance, and at the ſame time was a great Diſcouragement to their Troops. At laſt, the *Daniſh* Nobility ſollicited the King to return before the great Froſts came on, unleſs he had a mind to loſe his whole Army. And indeed, if they could not maſter ſuch a Sorry Place, what hopes could they have of carrying *Calmar* and *Stockholm*, where the Dukes were in perſon? Beſides, there was a great Scarcity of Proviſions, the Country being waſted all about 'em; they durſt not diſperſe their Troops, for fear of falling into the hands of the Enemy; and if they kept 'em in one body, they muſt have Starv'd for Hunger. Notwithſtanding all theſe remonſtrances, the King could not be took off from his deſign; ſo that the Nobility that were with him, meeting with a refuſal, return'd to *Denmark*, and left the King to take his Fortune by himſelf. Their departure had certainly put the King's perſon in great danger, and he had found great difficulty in returning to his Country, if the Duke of *Mecklenbourg* and the Cavalry had not ſtay'd with him. In the mean time Duke *Erick*

had retaken the City *Jenkoping*, and encamp'd near *Axelwald* in *West-Gothland*, hoping to defeat, or at least to annoy the King of *Denmark* upon his return; being assured, that it was impossible for him, either to Winter in that Country, or keep all his Troops about his Person. But after all, the Duke suffered the *Danes* to pass through *Smaland*, and return home without attacking them. The King of *Denmark* being thus oblig'd to return to his own Country, Duke *Erick* overtook him in *West-Gothland*, and desir'd an amicable conference with him, offering a Sincere Reconciliation with his Brother *Birger*, in order to put an end to the Ravaging and Desolation of the Country; adding withal, that he intreated the King of *Denmark* to exhort King *Birger* to stand to what Treaty should be concluded between 'em, and seriously represented to him, that he would never gain any thing by open force. Accordingly they agreed to an Interview at *Helsinbourg*, where the two Dukes were present, and came to an accomodation with King *Birger*, putting all things upon the Foot of the Treaty they had made two Years before at *Arboga*; in which it was Stipulated, that Duke *Erick* should have *West-Gothland* with the Povinces of *Dalecarlia*, *Halland*, and *Wermland*; that the Province of *Upland*, with the Island of *Oeland* and part of *Finland*, should be alloted to Duke *Waldemar*; and that King *Birger* should possess all the rest; provided still, that the Dukes should pay Homage to the Kings for their Lands, as being Vassals of the Crown. So that upon the whole, this War produc'd no other alteration of Affairs, but the Ruine and Desolation of the Country.

After this accomodation, Duke *Erick* and *Waldemar* retook *Kongel* from the King of *Norway*; but soon after were reconcil'd to him: And *Erick* obtain'd his Daughter, notwithstanding her Father had promis'd her to *Magnus* the Son of *Birger*; and Duke *Waldemar* his Brother Marry'd *Ingeborg* the Daughter of *Haquins* Brother. The Three Brethren keeping each of 'em a Court in the Kingdom, and Vying with one another for Pomp and Magnificence, the ordinary Revenues could not Answer the charge, and there was a downright necessity for charging the People with excessive Imposts. This occasion'd an Insurrection in *Gothland*,

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in which the King was expell'd, and the greateſt part of the Court knock'd o'th Head. But ſoon after the Rebels were Pardon'd upon a promiſe of future ſubjection, and the ready Payment of the Taxes, which amounted every Year to about 110 Livers of Silver, beſides an obligation to give him the Thirteenth part of all the Mettals they ſhould take from the Mines, in caſe they diſcover'd any. The *Smalanders* revolted upon the ſame account, and pitch'd upon one *Bugge*, as their Head to maintain their Liberties and Ancient Priviledges, but the King quickly made away with *Bugge*, and ſo ſtifled the commotion, and reduc'd the Mutineers. After that, all things were in a profound Tranquility for ſome time, bating that a Plague and Scarcity prevail'd, and violent Storms occaſion'd extraordinary loſſes. When Duke *Waldemar* went from *Colmar* to *Stockholm*, he viſited King *Birger* at *Nikoping* who made him a Princely Welcome treating him very magnificently, deſiring withal, that as he return'd he would bring his Brother *Erick* with him: To all which he added, that 'twas true, they had been at Variance for a long time, but he would do by them in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould find him to be a true Brother. Duke *Waldemar* putting a good Conſtruction upon his Smooth words, overperſwaded his Brother *Erick* to come along with him, notwithſtanding his violent reluctancy; for *Erick* was always jealous of King *Birger*, and his jealouſy was the more enflam'd, when before his arrival at *Nikoping*, he was privately adviſ'd to take care of King *Birger*; Upon which he would fain have return'd immediately; but his Brother *Waldemar* overperſwaded him to the contrary, by repreſenting that he ought not to be influenc'd by ſuch idle Stories, and extolling the Civil Treatment and marks of Friendſhip that he receiv'd from the King. So, the two Brethren went to Viſit the King their Brother in the Caſtle, who gave 'em a very good reception, and ſeem'd to be ſo over-joy'd at their arrival, that they could not but think themſelves happy in coming thither. In the Evening they were entertain'd with a Magnificent Feaſt, and Drank very hard. At Bed time, the Retinue of the two Dukes were ſent to Publick Houſes in the Town, becauſe there was not ſufficient Accomodation for 'em all in the Caſtle; ſo that the Dukes were left

alone with their Pages and *Valets de Chambre's*, and were thus conducted to their apartments. In the Night time, when they were fast a sleep, the King caus'd their Doors to be broken open, and themselves to be Siez'd. Duke *Erick*, made some opposition, but was Horridly beaten and wounded in several places. King *Birger* himself was present at the Tragedy, and among other reflecting words, ask'd 'em if they remembred the Trick they plaid him at *Hatuna*, adding withal, that he would play them another that would Gall them as much. Having strip'd 'em half Naked, he put an Iron Collar about their Necks, and Irons on their Hands and Feet. All their Domesticks that lodg'd in the City were either Murder'd or Imprison'd. When this black Action was over, the King went immediatly to *Stockholm*, thinking to surprise that place; but the News of his Conduct towards his Brethren was got there before him: Upon which, the Citizens Sally'd out, and put him to Flight, and advanc'd with all expedition to *Nikoping*. The King perceiving they would certainly Assault that place, and that a general Insurrection would ensue, was mightily out of Humour, being apprehensive that the *Swedes* would master the Castle, and relieve his Brethren; to prevent wich he lock'd up the Tower with Keys and Iron Bolts, prohibiting any one upon pain of Death to open the Gates before his return; and then threw the Keys into the deepest place of the River, and went to *Stockbourg*. However, *Nykoping* was forthwith Besieg'd, and an incredible Number of Men Flock'd thither to assist at it, but before they could master the place, the Dukes were Dead, in complyance with the Kings barbarous Commands, who order'd 'em to be Starv'd to Death. Duke *Waldemar* liv'd to the Eleventh Day, but Duke *Erick*, being bruis'd and wounded, Died on the Third. These Princes were no sooner Dead, but their Corps were expos'd before the Castle, to discourage any body from engaging in their interests: But after all, *Matthias Ketelmundson* openly declar'd that he would continue the War against King *Birger*, to serve Duke *Erick*'s Sons, and afterwards Transported the Corps of the deceas'd Princes to *Stockholm*, and interr'd 'em in the Parish Church of that City.

King *Birger* being ſenſible of the ſtrength of his Enemies, call'd his Son *Magnus* from *Denmark* to aſſiſt him. *Magnus* procur'd about 600 Horſe from King *Erick* his Mother's Brother, for which he Mortgag'd the Province of *Smaland* and *Wiſingſo:* and then went to joyn his Father in *Eaſt-Gothland.* But *Matthias Ketelmundſon* meeting them near *Lindkopen* put 'em to flight, and forc'd 'em to paſs the *Holueden* and retire to *Weſt-Gothland*; where King *Birger* found the whole Countrey up againſt him. For a great number of Peaſants aſſembled near *Carleby*, with whom he agreed upon a ſuſpenſion of Arms for Three Days; and finding in the mean time that many of 'em were diſpers'd, fell upon 'em unawares before the Truce expir'd, and cut moſt of 'em to pieces. Then King *Birger* went to *Eaſt-Gothland*, and becauſe no body appear'd againſt him, put his Troops in Garriſon in the Cities, fancying that he had ſuſtain'd the firſt Brunt, and that the Duke's Party would not ſtir for the future; In the mean time *Knut Porſe* fell upon his Partiſans in *Sudermania*, and made moſt of 'em Priſoners; and *Matthias Ketelmundſon* came down with a conſiderable body of Troops from *Upland*; but when the *Daniſh* Cavalry at *Nikoping* had notice of his arrival, they left their Foot, and March'd through *Weſt-Gothland* to *Denmark.* And the King not knowing how to raiſe any more Troops, was forc'd to quit the Field, and retire with his Queen to the Iſle of *Gothland*, leaving *Magnus* to be Governour of *Stokelbourg.* But *Stokelbourg* was forthwith inveſted by the *Swedes*; and the Veſſels that *Birger* ſent to his Son with Proviſions fell into the hands of the Enemies: Nay farther, *John Brunck* Mareſhal, *Oluf Snalebeck*, *Lydert Fols*, and *Valram Skyke*, who had a great hand in fomenting the Commotion, were taken Priſoners. At laſt the Caſtle was taken through want of Proviſions, and *Magnus* was carried Priſoner to *Stockholm*; but the reſt made a favourable Compoſition for themſelves. After this Expedition, *Matthias Ketelmundſon* was made Protector of *Sweden*, and impower'd to carry on the War againſt King *Birger.* As ſoon as he had that Commiſſion, he made a Tour round the Country, and put all things in order. In that very Winter he made an incurſion into *Schonen*, and after great Ravages, carry'd off a great many Pri-

soners, among whom there were several Noblemen. To colour the Invasion, he alledg'd that the *Danes* had assisted King *Birger* when he fell upon the Peasants near *Carleby*. This done, a Convention was call'd at *Stockholm*, in which *John Bruncke* was Condemn'd to death, and Executed in a Street that from him was call'd *Brunckeberg*. At last King *Birger* being advised that the *Swedes* made preparations to attack him in the Isle of *Gothland*, retir'd to *Denmark*; where King *Christopher* gave him but a cold reception, especially because the Queen his Sister never mean'd him well, even in his prosperity. However, out of compassion, he gave him the Castle of *Spiekabourg* together with the Government of *Holbeck*.

King *Magnus Smeick*, the Son of *Birger*.

Upon King *Birger*'s retreat from the Isle of *Gothland*, *Matthias Ketelmundson* call'd a Convention of the States of *Sweden* at *Upsal*, in order to choose a new King, pursuant to their ancient custom. Accordingly the Crown was confer'd upon *Magnus* the Son of Duke *Erick*, a Child of Three years of Age, who, soon after this Election, came to be King of *Norway*; because *Haquin* his Grandfather by the Mother side dy'd without Male Issue. The next year he call'd another Convention of the States at *Stockholm*, to deliberate what they should do with *Magnus* the Son of *Birger*, who was hated by all Mankind. Having taken the matter into consideration, and finding no opportunity of being reveng'd upon *Birger* the chief object of their hatred, they condemn'd his Son to death; notwithstanding they had promis'd him his Life in the Capitulation at *Stockelbourg*, and some years before both the States and Senators of the Kingdom had unanimously Elected him King of *Sweden*. The Allegations, upon which he was condemn'd, were, that, he had brought Foreign Troops into the Kingdom, and assisted King *Birger* in defeating the Peasants in *West-Gothland*. Soon after, poor *Magnus* was beheaded in a place call'd *Heyligengeestholm*. Some fancy'd, that the Friends of *Torckel Knutson*, the Mareshal of the Kingdom, that had been beheaded, contributed not a little towards the death of *Magnus*, who had no other way left to be reveng'd upon *Birger*. *Birger* and his Queen receiving the deplorable news of the death of their two Sons, dy'd of Grief. And thus the Three Brethren ended their

their days in miſery; the occaſion of which was in a great meaſure owing to their Father, who gave riſe to their quarrels, by dividing the Kingdom equally among them, and making them all great Princes.

The *Swedes* flatter'd themſelves with the hopes that *Magnus* the Son of Duke *Erick* would prove an excellent Prince; But they were quickly undeceiv'd, finding him an effeminate Man, and one that gave ear to Flatterers, beſides he reduc'd *Sweden* to a miſerable condition, and laid the foundation of all the misfortunes they ſuffer'd for 200 years after. Indeed, in the beginning, *Sweden* enjoy'd a tolerable tranquility for 28 years; and the People who had been cruſh'd with heavy Taxes and Contributions were well recruited. But on the other hand *Denmark* was in a ſorry condition: for the *Holſatians* ſeiz'd moſt of their Kingdom, and mightily oppreſs'd the People. Upon which, the Inhabitants of *Schonen*, perceiving that King *Chriſtopher* could not protect them, took up Arms to ſhake off the Yoak, and cut off a great number of their Enemies. After which they deſir'd the protection of *Magnus* King of *Sweden* and *Norway*, promiſing all due Obedience. *Magnus* confirm'd their ancient Laws and Priviledges, and promis'd to defend them, upon which the *Holſatians* retir'd from *Schonen*, and *John* Count of *Holſace*, to whom that Countrey had been Mortgag'd for 80000 Merks of Silver, offer'd to give up his right, if they would pay him his Money. The *Swediſh* Counſellors perſwaded the King to accept his offer, and ſo poſſeſs that Country in Peace, rather than run the riſque of a hazardous and doubtful War. Accordingly *Magnus* compounded the matter with Count *John* for 62000 Merks of Silver, and went to *Lunden* in *Schonen*, where he confirm'd all the Peoples Ancient Priviledges. When *Magnus* came of Age, he Married *Blanche* the Daughter of Count *Namur*, and, *Matthias Ketelmundſon* his Guardian dying ſoon after, took upon him the adminiſtration of Affairs; but got no Glory by it, for he liv'd a very diſorderly Life, and ſlighting all Aged Perſons, reſpected only thoſe who were Young and of equal ſtanding with himſelf. Afterwards, when *Waldemar* King of *Denmark*, made pretenſions to *Schonen*, Twelve Arbitrators were mutually choſen to decide the Controverſy; but to no pur-

poſe. Some time after, the Two Kings with their Council had an interview at *Warberg*, where the King of *Denmark* was confronted by his own Letter Dated *Novemb.* 18. in which he acknowledg'd down-right That the inhabitants of *Schonen* were in the right of it in chooſing *Magnus* to be their King. Thereupon he ſign'd a Writing, by which he intituled the King of *Sweden* to *Schonen*, *Bieking*, *Lyſter* and the Iſle of *Huena*; and in conſideration of 8000 Merks of Silver, gave him the Province of *Halland*: So that the Frontiers of *Sweden* and *Denmark* were then ſeparated by the *Sund*. This Treaty was ratified and confirm'd by a ſolemn Oath on both ſides. On the other ſide, King *Magnus* promis'd to aſſiſt *Waldemar* againſt his enemies, and allow the *Danes* a free Trade in the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Norway*. *Magnus* having reign'd in Peace for Twelve years after the death of his Guardian, out of pure ambition reſolv'd upon a fruitleſs expedition againſt the *Ruſſians*; and for that end oppreſs'd his Subjects with heavy Taxes. To accompliſh the intended Expedition, he took into his Service a Body of *German* Horſe Commanded by *Henry* Count of *Holſace*. In the beginning of this Expedition, he penetrated very far into the Countrey, and made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of *Notebourg*, and all the adjacent Country; but after all was over-reach'd by the *Ruſſians*, who got him to agree to a ſuſpenſion of Arms for Two Months. By which means they gain'd time to recall their Troops that were then employ'd againſt the *Tartars* and *Lithuanians*; and after that Surpriz'd *Magnus*, and forc'd him to depart *Ruſſia* in a ſcandalous manner, and Cut in pieces the *Swediſh* Garriſon of *Notebourg*. Nay, the whole Province of *Finland* had been reduc'd to utter deſolation, if the King had not quitted to his Enemies part of *Caretia*; which the *Swedes* afterwards retook, notwithſtanding the *Ruſſians* inſiſted on the Treaty concluded with *Magnus*. The King having contracted many Debts upon this expenſive War, not only laid freſh Taxes upon his People, but Mortgag'd ſeveral Crown-lands, and among the reſt the City of *Calmar* to Count *Henry*, who kept it for a long time. Upon this the People mutiny'd, being encourag'd ſo to do by Pope *Clement* IV. his Bull of Excommunication againſt King *Magnus*, for having apply'd to his

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own uſe, in the *Ruſſian* War, *St. Peter's Pence*, which King *Olaus* the Tributary had appropriated to the See of *Rome*. To which we may add the diſobligation occaſion'd by his diſtinguiſhing reſpect to one *Bengt* the Son of *Algot*, a Judge in *Weſt-Gothland*, whom he created Duke of *Halland*; and who was belov'd by Queen *Blanche* to an indecent ſcandalous degree. On the other hand, the Council of the Kingdom (whether to engage him to a juſter Government, or to put another in his place) perſwaded him to make his Two Sons, *Erick* and *Haquin*, the former King of *Sweden*, and the other King of *Norway*. And thus the Nobility having another King Partner with *Magnus*, roſe up againſt him, and firſt of all expell'd the Favourite *Bengt*, whom they afterwards murder'd in *Schonen*. *Magnus* coming to underſtand their deſign in the Election of his Two Sons, had a mind to reverſe that Deed; and for that end ſent *Blanche* his Wife into *Denmark*, to deſire aſſiſtance againſt his Subjects. This Conduct did but more provoke the Nobility, for they dreaded that King *Waldemar*, who was a cunning ſort of a Prince, would worm *Magnus* out of the Crown of *Sweden*: and for that reaſon embarqu'd more ſteadily in the Intereſts of *Erick* whom they had choſen King, in ſo much that they engag'd him in an open War with his Father. This fatal War coſt *Sweden* a great expence of Blood and Treaſure. At laſt a ſuſpenſion of Arms was agreed upon, and a Convention was call'd at *Jenkoping*, in which *Albert* Duke of *Mekelbourg*, *Magnus*'s Siſters Son, and *Adolph* Count of *Holſatia*, Duke *Albert*'s Son in Law, interpos'd their mediation. After many Debates, they agree'd, that King *Magnus* ſhould take his Son *Erick* as equal partner with him in the Crown, *i. e.* That *Magnus* ſhould for his ſhare retain *Upland*, *Gothland*, *Wermeland*, *Dalecarlia*, the North part of *Halland*, *Weſt-Gothland*, and the Iſland of *Oeland*. And that the Son ſhould poſſeſs *Schonen*, *Bleking*, *Smaland*, *Finland*, and the South of *Halland*. By this Treaty, King *Magnus* was likewiſe oblig'd to put into the Hands of *Erick* and the Council, all the Letters, Papers, and Conveyances relating to *Schonen*; becauſe the King of *Denmark*, loving to Fiſh in Muddy Waters, had a mind to ſnatch up that Province during the diſorders of *Sweden*. Notwithſtanding

ſtanding this accomodation, the Nobility and Commons were better affected to *Erick*, than to his Father: This vex'd Queen *Blanche* mightily; beſides, ſhe was affraid that her Son would Marry, and ſo bring a Queen to Rival her, who might ſtand fair to have more Credit and Authority than ſhe. Theſe Conſiderations mov'd the Father and Mother to ſend for their Son, under the pretence of imparting to him a buſineſs of importance. The Son came to wait upon 'em without any ſuſpicion: But as ſoon as he Arriv'd, his Mother gave him a Draught of Poyſon of which he Died in 20 Days; and at the Point of Death he utter'd theſe words; *Thoſe who gave me a Being, have Cruelly Diſpoſſeſs'd me of it.*

Erick being Dead, King *Magnus* repoſſeſs'd the whole Kingdom, after ſolemn Promiſes and Proteſtations that for the future his Government ſhould be Proof againſt all reproach. Notwithſtanding theſe Proteſtations he ſought all opportunities of being reveng'd on the Council and Nobility, who in contempt of him had prefer'd his Son. To compaſs this end, he had recourſe to *Waldemar* King of *Denmark*; who gave him good words, and perſwaded him to give up *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking* (which he had bought of the *Danes*) under the pretence, that his Son *Haquin* King of *Norway*, to whom *Margaret*, King *Waldemar*'s Daughter, was betroth'd, ſhould allot them for her Maintenance. King *Magnus* gave up all the Papers and Writings that Entituled him to the Poſſeſſion of theſe Countries, without acquainting the Council or the States of the Kingdom with it, which unaccountable proceeding, ſo prejudicial to the intereſt of *Sweden*, occaſion'd his being Sirnam'd *Smeeck*, which in *Swediſh* ſignifies *Flatter'd*; alluding to his being enveigled by the Careſſes and Flattery of *Waldemar*. Immediately King *Waldemar* took Poſſeſſion of *Schonen* at the head of a ſtrong Army, with which King *Magnus* pretended to be diſſatisfied, and reſolved to repoſſeſs it; but that was only a *Feint*. In the mean time King *Magnus*, being diſoblig'd by his Subjects in the Iſland of *Gothland*, becauſe they refuſed to pay greater Taxes than they had agreed to pay to King *Birger*, gave *Waldemar* to know that he would be glad to ſee that People chaſtis'd. Upon which King *Waldemar* readily invaded the Iſland of *Gothland*; Cut of

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18000 Peasants that took up Arms in their own defence, and pillag'd the whole Country. But after all, the Ship, in which all the Gold and Silver they had taken was put on Board, had the Misfortune to be Shipwrack'd, and the Governours *Waldemar* had left in the Island were all Massacred upon his departure. From this Island, *Waldemar* cross'd over to *Oeland*, where he Cut in Pieces 500 Peasants, demolish'd the fortress of *Borcholm*, and pillag'd the whole Island. In fine, the more the *Swedes* were injur'd and oppress'd, the more was *Magnus* overjoy'd. However, the *Swedes* address'd *Haquin* King of *Norway*, praying he would prevent the ruine of *Sweden*, which their Enemies ravag'd without any opposition, since his Father *Magnus* did not mind it. Upon which *Haquin* Attack'd his Father, and shut him up in the Castle of *Calmar*, taking upon himself the Administration. The Council hoping their Affairs would be in a better condition than formerly; desir'd *Haquin* to make an open Rupture with *Waldemar*, and not to enter into an Alliance with him by Marrying his Daughter, but to Marry one of the House of *Holsatia*, in order to fortify his interest against the *Danes*, that he might be able to dislodge 'em out of *Schonen*, and make reprisals for the Injuries they had done to *Sweden*. King *Magnus* being Prisoner in the Castle of *Calmar*, pretended to be pleas'd with these Propositions, which were afterwards ratified by all the States and Counsellors of the Kingdom. They imported, that *Haquin* should Marry *Elizabeth* the Sister of *Henry* Count of *Holsatia*; that if the Count oppos'd the Marriage, he should Forfeit his Title to the City of *Calmar*; and if King *Magnus* and his Son *Haquin* did not stand to the proposed Terms, the Council and States of *Sweden* should be discharg'd of their Oath of Allegiance to the Father and Son; and have Free Liberty to Proclaim Count *Henry* their Lawful Soveraign. Then Deputies were sent to receive the Young Princess, who was deliver'd to 'em at *Ploen*, whither Count *Henry* her Brother Convey'd her: But the first Night they put to Sea, they were driven upon the Coast of *Denmark*, King *Waldemar*, who wanted to have his own Daughter Married to King *Haquin*, Arrested *Elizabeth* in *Denmark*. Presently, *Albert* Duke of *Mekelbourg* and *Henry* Count

Count of *Holſace* declar'd War againſt the *Dane*, to oblige him to releaſe *Haquin*'s miſtriſs. But *Waldemar* did ſo influence *Haquin* by his intrigues, that he over-perſwaded him to deſert the Princeſs of *Holſatia*, and reſolve to Marry his Daughter *Margaret*. In the mean time *Waldemar* ſent the Princeſs and her Retinue to *Sweden*; but King *Magnus*, who was juſt come out of Priſon, receiv'd her ſo Coldly, and Treated her in ſuch an Affrontive manner, that ſhe retir'd out of Grief to the *Cloyſter* of *Wadſtein*. When the Gentlemen that had Conducted the Princeſs, and ſome of the Council repreſented to King *Magnus*, that he had broke the Treaty with the Duke of *Holſatia* relating to his Siſters Marriage, he Baniſh'd 'em out of the Kingdom, to the Number of Twenty Four; and the next Summer Married his on *Haquin*, to *Waldemar*'s Daugther. *Waldemar* having a mind to haſten his Son in Law's Acceſſion to the Crown of *Sweden*, caus'd Poyſoned Wine to be fill'd at Table to King *Magnus* and Queen *Blanche*. The Queen Dy'd immediately; but the King's Phyſitians preſerv'd his Life by the uſe of proper Remedies. However, *Chriſtopher*, *Waldemar*'s Son, having by miſtake Drank of the ſame Wine, was alſo Poyſoned.

Duke *Albert* of *Mekelbourg*; his Acceſſion to the Crown of *Sweden*.

The *Swediſh* Lords that *Magnus* Baniſh'd, poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Iſland of *Gothland*, where they ſtaid all the Winter: And when they heard that King *Haquin* had Marry'd the King of *Denmarks* Daughter, contrary to his Royal Promiſe made to the States of the Kingdom, Elected *Henry* Count of *Holſatia* to be their King, purſuant to the Conditions Stipulated in the Contract of Marriage between *Haquin* and *Henry*'s Siſter: But that Wiſe Prince, being then very Old, and wit al acquainted with the Conſtitution of the affairs of *Sweden*, thank'd them for the Honour they had done him; and adviſ'd them to have recourſe to *Albert* Duke of *Mekelbourg*, who was King *Magnus*'s Siſters Son, and conſequently could not be look'd upon as a Forreigner in *Sweden*. In the mean time thoſe of the ſame party, who continued in *Sweden*, and knew nothing of their Intention, had reſolv'd to offer the Crown to *Iſrael* the Brother of S. *Brigitte*: But he, to avoid that Honour, retir'd to *Riga*, where he dy'd ſoon after. The Baniſh'd Lords no ſooner ſignify'd their

their minds to Duke *Albert*, but he conſented they ſhould chuſe his Second Son King, who was of the ſame Name with himſelf. Upon this, the Lords return'd to the Iſland of *Gothland*, with the Prince, and there proclaim'd him King. After which, the Duke his Father came with ſome Ships, in which they all went to *Stockholm*, and without much trouble made themſelves Maſters of the City and Caſtle, for the Baniſh'd Lords had a ſtrong faction in them, and King *Magnus* had drawn upon himſelf the Hatred of Mankind. After the taking of *Stockholm*, the Nobles that oppos'd King *Magnus* met, and boldly drew up their reaſons, why they could not continue their Allegiance to *Magnus*, nor own him for their King. The principal Reaſons were; that by Calumnies he Scandaliz'd all the World; That he did not keep his word or promiſes, tho' back'd by ſolemn Oaths; That by giving up the Papers and Conveyances to the King of *Denmark*, he had Maliciouſly alienated *Schonen* and *Halland* from the Crown of *Sweden*; That he encourag'd the Ravaging of the Iſlands of *Gothland* and *Oeland* by the *Danes*; That he had made an Alliance with the *Daniſh* King by Marriage; That he had oppreſs'd his Subjects with Heavy Taxations; and in fine, that he had endeavour'd to extirpate the Chief of the Nobility. Having thus dethron'd King *Magnus*, according to the forms of Juſtice, as they imagin'd, they caus'd the Council to proclaim *Albert* King at *Stockholm*, and the next Year the Proclamation was repeated at *Mora-Wieſe*. But at the ſame time King *Magnus* had ſtill a conſiderable party in the Kingdom; beſides, he receiv'd Supplies from his Son *Haquin*, and *Waldemar* King of *Denmark*, and was ſtill maſter of ſome Forts. Accordingly having drawn together a conſiderable body of *Daniſh* and *Norwegian* Troops, he and his Son march'd as far as *Upland*, with a deſign to Diſlodge Duke *Albert*; But *Albert* having rais'd an Army, gave him Battle near *Lindkoping* where he was routed and oblig'd to quit the Field. In this Engagement King *Haquin* made his eſcape, tho' he was wounded; but *Magnus* was taken Priſoner and carried to *Stockholm*. Then King *Albert* laid Siege to all the Caſtles that ſtood for *Magnus*, but could not preſently Carry them, becauſe the two Kings, *Haquin* and *Waldemar*, had a great many Men in *Swe-*

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den with whom they reliev'd the Beſieged. Particularly the Caſtle of *Aboo* in *Finland* held out a long time, and *Nile Thureſon*, great Baliff of the Kingdom, was kill'd before it. The ſucceeding Seven Years, *Sweden* was in a Deplorable condition, for the People were ſtrangely Trampl'd upon by forreign Toops, which render'd King *Albert* very odious to his Subjects. Beſides, King *Haquin* was ſo powerful, that he forc'd *Albert* to quit the Field, and Beſieg'd *Stockholm*; but finding he could not carry it by open force, came to an accomodation. The Conditions of the Treaty were, That King *Magnus* ſhould be Releas'd, paying 12000 Merks of Silver for his Ranſom; that *Magnus* ſhould reſign his Crown and his Title to *Schonen* in favour of Duke *Albert*; That he ſhould retain the Revenues of *Weſt-Gothland*, *Wermland*, and *Dalia*, for Life; And ſhould ſpend the reſt of his Days in *Norway*. To ſecure this Treaty, Sixty Gentlemen engag'd to come to *Stockholm*, and deliver themſelves Priſoners to King *Albert*, if the King did not perform all the Conditions of the Treaty.

The Ancient *Swediſh* Race extinct after 220 Years ſtanding.

Magnus ſpent the latter part of his Life in *Norway*; and at laſt Drowned himſelf at *Bolmenford* near to *Liungolm*. King *Haquin* did not ſurvive his Father long. He had a Son call'd *Olaus* by his Wife *Margaret*: But the Child Dying Young, the Mother took upon her the Adminiſtration of Affairs. This Young Prince was the laſt of the Ancient Line of the Kings of *Sweden*, which Commenc'd from S. *Erick*, whoſe Deſcendants Inherited the Crown of *Sweden*, for above 220 Years. Soon after *Waldemar* King of *Denmark* Dy'd likewiſe without Male Iſſue; after his Death, the *Danes* call'd to the Throne his Daughter *Margaret*, Queen of *Norway*, partly becauſe ſhe was very well qualified for Swaying a Scepter, and partly becauſe the *Danes* had a mind to Tack *Norway* to *Denmark*.

Sweden miſerable under King *Albert*.

In the mean time K. *Albert* being Sole Soveraign of the whole Kingdom, and Maſter of all the Caſtles and places of ſtrength, began to ſlight the *Swedes*, and and fill the beſt Poſts of the Kingdom with Foreigners. Tho' moſt of the Foreigners were Men of no great Merit, yet they were prefer'd before Perſons of the firſt Quality, and by the King's intereſt Marry'd to the beſt Families in *Sweden*. This Conduct extreamly

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Diſoblig'd his Subjects, and their Diſaffection was farther augmented by this Conſideration, That the King had very much oppreſs'd the Country, by Maintaining a War with the King of *Denmerk* in order to retrieve *Schonen*, tho' to no purpoſe; ſo that *Sweden* was never in greater Miſery, nor in a more Deplorable Condition than at that time. Beſides, K. *Albert* Borrow'd Mony from all the Prieſts, and Churches, and whereever he could have it; but never Repay'd a Farthing: Add to all this, that he Waſted the Revenues of *Sweden*, and ſent a great many preſents to *Mekelbourg*. After they had continu'd in this miſerable ſtate for ſome Years, and the Country was ſo exhauſted that nothing could be rais'd out of it, let the Taxation be what it would, King *Albert* call'd a Convention of the States, in which he told them, That the Revenues of the Crown were too ſmall to keep up the Royal Dignity, without the People Contributed towards it; That for that end he Wiſh'd they would appropriate to the Crown the Third Farm, whether Secular or Eccleſiaſtick, all over the Kingdom; and that hereafter he would not Burden the People with Heavy Taxations. The Convention intreated him, not to take away the Poſſeſſions left them by their Anceſtors, nor to abridge their Liberties and Priviledges; and repreſented to him, That if he would but clear his Court of the Strangers he entertain'd, he would have enough to keep up the Regal Dignity; That they deſir'd he would give over his uſeleſs Liberality, and reſume the Fiefs he had put into the Hands of the *Germans*, for which end they were willing to advance him a Conſiderable Sum; and in fine, that, by obſerving ſuch Meaſures, he might Live upon the Revenues of the Crown, as well as the Kings his Predceſſors. But *Albert* Slighting theſe Remonſtrances, and intending to carry all by a Strong Hand, he Seiz'd upon the Third Farm in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom; which Raſh, Illegal Action, was a ſtrange amazement to all that had any thing to loſe; and mov'd 'em to ſeek out expedients to clear themſelves of ſuch intollerable oppreſſion; but on the other Hand, thoſe who had little or nothing to loſe, ſided with the King, hoping to reap ſome profit by the Ruine of the Rich and Wealthy.

Q. Margaret, who possess'd the Three Northern Crowns for a long time.

King *Albert* continuing to oppress the Nobility of *Sweden*, and to bestow all Places of Profit and Trust upon his own Countrymen; the Gentry assembled in a Body, and openly told the King, That he ought to suffer them to enjoy their Rights and Previledges, and that pursuant to the Laws of the Kingdom, and his Coronation Oath, he ought to give the Fiefs and the Governments of the Castles to the Natives; and if he did not, they would take other Measures. But the Nobility, perceiving themselves not strong enough to withstand King *Albert*, only told him, that they renounc'd the Oath they had taken, and the Allegiance they had Sworn to him. After that they went to *Denmark*, to implore the *Danish* Queens Aid, against the Injustice and Insolence of *Albert*. On the other Hand, that Queen had already gain'd the Affection of the leading men among the *Swedes*, and Engag'd them in her Interests. But after all, notwithstanding the Enmity that was between her and *Albert*, by reason of some Rallying, reflecting words which he had spoken of her, She, by a turn of Politicks, receiv'd the *Swedish* Proposal very Coldly, and would grant them no assistance, unless they would Swear, that if she had the better of King *Albert*, the Kingdom of *Sweden* should come under her Government; which, as She Alledg'd, was but reasonable, since She ventur'd the two Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, upon the uncertain Success of that War: Whereupon the *Swedes*, preponderating, that if they did not get her assistance, King *Albert* would utterly ruine them, they were forc'd to accept of such hard Conditions.

Margaret chosen Queen of Sweden.

This done, the *Swedish* Malecontents declar'd *Margaret* Queen of *Sweden*; and having drawn together some Troops, began to Wage War with King *Albert*: But King *Albert* having a strong part in *Sweden*, and being Master of the best Forts, his Enemies had many difficulties to Graple with, and the War was so much the longer; The Kingdom was oppress'd with infinite Evils and Disasters. For the Subjects being divided into two Factions, that were much incens'd one against another; they made such Havock and Ravaging wherever they came, that no body was safe. Besides, the Country was intirely drain'd of its Mony, by the Taxes that King *Albert* had rais'd. Upon which, King *Albert* perceiving

ceiving that he could not continue the War for want of Money, whether through Ambition or through Diſpair, Challeng'd Queen *Margaret* to a Battle at a prefix'd time in an open Field near *Falk ping* in *Weſt-Gothland*. Accordingly Preparations were made on both ſides for the Battle. King *Albert* had on his ſide *Girard* Count of *Holſatia*, and *Oton* Count of *Rupin*, with a great many *German* Lords and Gentlemen, who affronted Queen *Margaret*; Satyrically upbraiding her with Uncleanneſs with the Abbot of *Soru*, and ſent her a long Stone to whet the Swords and Spears of her Troops, which is yet to be ſeen in the Church of *Roſchild*. King *Albert* made an Oath, That he would not put his Royal Cap upon his Head, till he had Puniſh'd *Margaret*'s Treachery, re-conquer'd *Schonen*, and reduc'd the Two Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*. The Queen of *Denmark* drew together a numerous Army of *Germans*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians* commanded by *Ivar Liicke*, beſides a great Number of *Swedes* under the command of *Erick Ketilſon*.

The two Armies met at the place and time appointed, and after a bloody Battle the Queens Troops carried the Victory; Inſomuch that King *Albert* was taken Priſoner, together with his Son *Erick*, and a great many Cavaliers, Nineteen of whom were kill'd upon the ſpot, and Eight on the Queen's ſide. This Battle was fought the ſame day that *Magnus* was taken Priſoner by *Albert*, Twenty three Years before. *Albert* was carried to *Newlodeſe*, and from thence to *Lind Reine-holm*, where he and his Son *Erick* continu'd in Priſon Seven Years, juſt as long as *Magnus* had done before him. *Sweden* had been in a very low opprels'd condition under the Reign of *Albert*; yet after his Impriſonment, their poverty and want was greater, and the Country lay in greater deſolation. For the Princes of the Houſe of *Mekelburg*, the Count of *Holſatia*, and the Hans Towns of *Germany*, having warmly eſpous'd King *Albert*'s Intereſt, commenc'd a very Fierce War, in order to reſcue him: And what render'd them yet more redoubted, was, that they were Maſters of the City of *Stockholm*, together with the Caſtle of *Calmar*, and ſeveral other places; from which King *Albert*'s Troops ſally'd out, and Ravag'd the Country in a deplorable

King Albert Defeated and Taken Priſoner.

plorable manner. They Burnt *Enkoping*, *Westeraas*, and *Lindkoping*, without any oppoſition. Neither could theſe places be beſieg'd; for the Troops of *Mekelburg*, which lay in *Roſtock*, and *Miſmar*, could ſupply them with Men and Ammunition as often as there was occaſion. The Peaſants indeed aſſembled ſometimes to oppoſe King *Albert*'s Troops; but being ſeveral times ſurpris'd, were all cut off.

Stockholm *oppreſs'd by the* Germans.

At the ſame time the Citizens of *Stockholm* were reduc'd to great miſery; for moſt of the *Germans* crouded into that place, and charg'd the Citizens with a deſign of giving up the City and Garriſon to Queen *Margaret*. Every day the Streets were infeſted with a company of barbarous and inſolent Scoundrels, who were call'd *Hattebroder. i. e.* A Fraternity of Hats; from their wearing Hats of the ſame form. Theſe wretches firſt of all gave the Citizens ill Language; and then impriſon'd ſome of the Heads of 'em in the Caſtle. This occaſion'd a great Tumult; for both Parties took up Arms. But the Tumult was appeas'd by the wiſe Conduct of the Council, and the Governour of the Caſtle; and the people of two Nations were order'd to promiſe upon Oath to live in union, and not to inſult one another under the pain of Corporal Puniſhment. It was likewiſe provided, That in caſe the *Swediſh* Lords carried the Victory, the *Germans* ſhould not be the worſe us'd; and if on the other Hand, King *Albert* continued Maſter of the City, the *Swedes* ſhould receive no Injury. However, this Accomodation laſted not long; for ſoon after the *Germans* drew up into a Body at the Town-Hall, where the Governour of the Caſtle call'd a Meeting of the Council and ſome of the Citizens, under the pretence of deliberating upon an Affair of importance. As ſoon as they came, he read a Liſt of the Names of thoſe who were accus'd of High Treaſon, and order'd to be taken up. Immediately, thoſe they could catch, were laid up in the Caſtle; and ſo cruelly tortur'd, that ſome of 'em dy'd under the Torment. In the mean time, there arriv'd a great many more from *Mekelbourg*; ſo that the *Germans* alone had the Ctiy at their command. After which, they gave out, That thoſe who dy'd under the torture, had confeſs'd ſeveral things relating to treaſon-

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able Plots carried on againſt them as well as others; and for that reaſon, the reſt who ſurviv'd their Torment, were in the Night privately convey'd to *Scheeven*; And then being ty'd Hand and Foot, were ſhut up in a Houſe, which was afterwards ſet on Fire. Nay farther, the Princes of *Mekelburg* gave publick Intimation at *Roſtock* and *Wiſmar*, that whoever would put to Sea at his own Charges, and Pirate upon the *Danes*, *Norwegians*, and *Swedes*, ſhould have free acceſs to unload and lodge their Booty at their Ports. They gave the ſame liberty to the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Gothland*, and the *Pruſſians*; becauſe the Knights of the Holy War ſided with King *Albert* in this War. By this means the *Baltick Sea* ſwarm'd with Pyrates; who joyning together made a Deſcent upon that Country, and committed horrible Robberies: Theſe Pyrates call'd themſelves *Fetaliens*, *i. e. Pourveyors*; for in effect they were oblig'd to furniſh *Stockholm* with Ammunition and Proviſions. But at laſt they came to ſuch a head, that they reſpected their Friends as little as their Enemies: Inſomnch that the *Hans Towns* found a great deal of difficulty in ſubduing them after the War was ended.

Pyrats in the Baltick Sea.

After this troubleſome War had laſted ſeven Years, a Negotiation of Peace was ſet on foot: And the *Swedes* had a meeting at *Helſingbourg* with the Ambaſſadors of *Mekelbourg*, *Pruſſia*, and the *Hans Towns*. But the Conference broke up without any effect; by reaſon of a Scuffle between the *Danes* and *Germans*, in which the Burgo-maſter of *Stralſond* was kill'd; upon which, all the other Ambaſſadors return'd Home. Afterwards, another Meeting was agreed upon at *Aleholm*; at which the Duke of *Mekelbourg*, with all thoſe that ſided with him, appear'd in the Preſence of Q. *Margaret*. In this Interview they ſtipulated Releaſing the King, together with his Son and Count *Rupin*; provided, That in the ſpace of Three Years, King *Albert* made an abſolute Ceſſion to Queen *Margaret* of all his Rights and Pretenſions to the City of *Stockholm* and the Kingdom of *Sweden*; and in caſe of any Infringement of the Treaty on his ſide, That he ſhould be oblig'd to return to Priſon. For the greater Security, Queen *Margaret*, oblig'd King *Albert* to put into her

The Treaty of Peace between Queen Margaret *and King* Albert.

hands the Cities of *Lubeck*, *Hambourg*, *Dantzick*, *Thoorn*, *Elbing*, *Stralsond*, *Stettin* and *Campen*, as cautionary Towns; which were to pay 60000 Merks of Silver, in case he counteracted any Article in the Treaty. In the mean while a Suspension of Arms was mutually agreed upon for Three Years; during which time, there should be a free Trade, the City of *Stockholm* should continue in the Hands of the *Hans Towns* for their Security, and each of 'em should retain what they possess'd in the Island of *Gothland*.

Thus did *Albert* return to his own Country of *Mekelbourg*, after he had Reign'd in *Sweden* 23 Years. However he did not quit the hopes of recovering his Kingdom; in which view he design'd to lose the 60000 Merks stipulated in the Treaty, and went to *Prussia*, where he made an Alliance with the Knights of the *Croisade*, who having retaken the Island of *Gothland* from the *Fetalians*, put it into his Hands. He left his Son *Erick* to reside and keep his Court in this Isle, and then went to *Mekelbourg*, where his Subjects advanc'd him vast Sums of Money. But about Two Years after, his Son *Erick* died in the Island of *Gothland*, and the Knights of the Holy War took the Island into their own Possession. After the Death of *Erick*, *Albert* his Father gave over the Thoughts of repossessing *Sweden*; thinking it improper to take so much Trouble, and run so great a Risque, only for his own Person. And upon that Consideration, after the Three Year mention'd in the Treaty were expir'd, he deliver'd up to Queen *Margaret* the City of *Stockholm*, and all the other Places he was possess'd of in *Sweden*; and made a full Cession of all his Rights and Pretensions to the Crown. This done, he spent the After-part of his Life at *Mekelbourg*.

Margaret's *Aversion to the* Swedes.

By this means *Margaret* became a most puissant Queen, being invested with the Soveraignty of the Three Northern Kingdoms, which she govern'd with great Wisdom and good Conduct. After her Death, her Memory was reviv'd by the *Danes*: But the *Swedes* were not so well satisfied with her Government, because she took all opportunities to oppress them; and did not prefer the *Swedish* Lords to the Possession of their Fiefs or Castles; and in fine, because she conferr'd

ferr'd the places of Dignity and Truſt upon none but a very ſmall number, the moſt conſiderable of whom was *Abraham* the Son of *Broder*, for ſhe gave him *Halland* and *Verrend*; and in a word, Her Friendſhip to him was ſuch, that many put an ill Conſtruction upon it. When the *Swedes* reminded her of their Privileges and Laws which excludes Foreigners from the Poſſeſſion of their Caſtles and Fiefs, ſhe always Anſwer'd, That ſhe would take a particular Care of their Writings and Seals, as well as of the Fiefs and Caſtles. She could never forget the vehement Oppoſition that the *Swediſh* Council made againſt her Marriage with *Haquin* King of *Norway*; and the Excluſion of her Husband and Father from the Crown of *Sweden*, upon the account of that Marriage. And what moſt cauſed her Averſion to the *Swedes*, was the Impriſoning of King *Magnus*, as well as the War that *Haquin* was oblig'd to engage in, to get him releas'd. Add to all this, that ſhe laid heavy Taxes upon her Subjects, and drew a great deal of Mony out of *Sweden* to *Denmark*: For among ſeveral other Taxations, ſhe caus'd every Chimney to pay a conſiderable Sum; and at other times laid a certain Impoſt upon every Head of Cattel, which the Country People call'd *Rumpeſhet*.

As ſoon as Q. *Margaret* had reſtor'd the Repoſe and Tranquility of the Three Northern Kingdoms, all Methods were us'd to unite 'em into one. To bring the *Swedes* over to this Project, 'twas repreſented to 'em, That King *Albert* and his Son *Erick* would never quit their Pretenſions to the Crown of *Sweden*, while there was no appearance of any other Sovereign but Q. *Margaret*; and for that reaſon, 'twas abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould ſpeedily fall to the Election of a King to be her Succeſſor in *Sweden*, to cut off King *Albert*'s future hopes. In the mean time, the Queen had call'd to her Court, *Henry* the young Duke of *Pomerania* her Siſters Son; and leſt the Name of *Henry* ſhould ſhock the *Swedes*, ſhe alter'd it to *Erick*. And tho' that Prince was very young, yet Q. *Margaret* by her plauſible Tongue and ſmooth Words, accompliſh'd her Deſign; Inſomuch that the *Swedes* choſe this *Henry* or *Erick* for their King, and Proclaim'd him ſuch at *Morawieſe* Two years after the Releaſement of King *Albert*; *Of King Erick Comeran.*

with this Proviſo, That Queen *Margaret* ſhould take upon her the Adminiſtration of Affairs during his Minority. Afterwards, the Queen perſwaded the States of the Kingdom to allow her for the Maintenance of her Court, *Eaſt* and *Weſt Gothland*; the Provinces of *Wermeland*, *Weſtmanland* and *Dalecarlia*, together with all the Mines: Of all which ſhe was impower'd to diſpoſe as ſhe pleas'd, whether by Mortgaging them or Alienating them. At that time the States reſum'd all the Crown Lands that King *Albert* had given away; degraded all the Noblemen he had made; and in fine, demoniſh'd all the Caſtles that had been lately built.

A Project for Uniting the three Northern Crowns.

The next year a general Convention was held at *Calmar*, in which the Counſellers and the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the Three Kingdoms were preſent. They Crown'd young *Erick*, and he Swore to maintain the Priviledges of the States. At that Convention there was a Motion made for uniting the Three Northern Kingdoms; and the neceſſity, uſefulneſs, and advantage of that Union was very dexterouſly repreſented. Among other things, this Pretence was made uſe of, That a favourable Opportunity was then offer'd of Uniting the Three Kingdoms, ſince the Three Royal Lines were equally extinct, and that was the only proper means, at one blow, to put an end to all the Troubles that annoy'd 'em. All theſe Reaſons were likely enough; and 'tis very probable the Project had ſucceeded, if the *Danes* had not deſign'd by this Pretence the Oppreſſion of *Sweden* and *Norway*. However, the Articles of Union were drawn up; in which the States of the Three Kingdoms mutually engaged upon Oath, to continue for ever under the Government of one King; with theſe Proviſo's, That each of 'em ſhould retain their particular Name, Rights, Liberties, Privileges, and good Ancient Cuſtoms, without any manner of alteration; That the King ſhould not have it in his Power to introduce new Laws or Rights in any of the Three Kingdoms, without the Conſent of all the Subjects; That each Kingdom ſhould have a Bailiff and a Marſhal to protect them, and Adminiſter Juſtice in the King's Abſence, as well as a Steward of the Houſhold to furniſh Neceſſaries for the ſuſtenance of the Court,

Court, while the King resided in the respective Kingdom; That each Kingdom should have a Chancellor to take care of the Seals and whatever relates to the Chancery, besides a Chancellor of the Court who should always attend the King, that every Subject of both Kingdoms might have his Business at Court sooner dispatch'd; That the King should be oblig'd to visit his Three Kingdoms every Year, and stay Four Months in the Year in each Kingdom; unless he was diverted by Affairs of greater importance; and in that case, That he should have it in his Choice to reside for that year in which of the Kingdoms he pleas'd; That when the King went from one Kingdom to another, he should carry with him Two Counsellors, that the Affairs of that Kindom, if any happen'd, might be expedited by them in conjunction with the Chancellour; That neither the King, nor any of the Kingdoms, should be capable to engage in a War without the knowledge and unanimous consent of all the Three Kingdoms; That when a War is unanimously resolv'd upon, the Troops sent from the Two Kingdoms, to the Third, should be furnish'd with Provisions and all Necessaries till they arrive on the Frontiers, but should be maintain'd by that Kingdom, that wants their Assistance, after their arrival in its Territories. 'Twas further Resolv'd, That when the King dy'd, the Bailiff and Marshal of the Kingdom, in which his Death happen'd, should give speedy Notice of it to the other two Kingdoms, and seriously exhort the Deputies appointed for the Election of a new King, to be mindful of their Duty, and repair to *Helmstadt* to proceed to the Election. Those who were invested with that Power, were an Archbishop, Two Bishops, a Bailiff, a Marshal, some Intendants of the Low-Countries, some Gentlemen, the Burgo-masters of the Principal Cities, and Two of the most Ancient Peasants in each Jurisdiction, amounting to the Number of Fourty Persons in each Kingdom. Another Resolution was, That if the deceas'd King left any lawful Heirs in the Male Line, and if any of these were capable of the Government, he should be intitled to a preference in the Election; But if he dy'd without such Issue, 'twas left to the choice of the 120 Deputies

to pitch upon either a Stranger or a Native. If the Person in their view was not a Stranger but a Native, they were to proceed to the Election in the following manner: First of all, they were oblig'd to write down the Names of the Three Kingdoms upon three pieces of Paper of the same size and form, and put 'em before a Child of seven years of Age; and the Kingdom, whose name the Child pitch'd upon, was intitled to the Election of the new King, that none of the three might have any reason to complain of a Preference. After this Lottery, all the Members of the Convention were oblig'd to promise upon Oath to Vote for a new King, not by Pre-possession or Favour, nor with any regard to private Interest, but pursuant to the Dictates of their Reason, as near as they could. And, in fine, If they could not agree upon the Election, by reason of Contests which commonly happen among so many Heads; they were ordered to single out four Men out of every Kingdom, two Ecclesiastick and two Secular; which twelve were to meet in one House, and make Oath not to depart the House till they came to an unanimous Conclusion upon the Election of a new King.

Why the Swedes did not Sign the Union Treaty.

But the *Danes* never intended to stand to this Treaty, but only under that Pretence to bring the *Swedes* under the Yoak of their Government: It gave occasion to Bloody Wars that lasted for a long time. This *Union-Treaty* was sign'd at first only by Four Bishops, and Thirteen Gentlemen; upon Condition, That six Copies of it should be engross'd on Parchment, and sign'd by the King, the Queen, and the States of the three Kingdoms; and that each Kingdom should have two of these Copies: But the *Swedes* and *Norwegians* seeing thro' the Intention of the *Danes*, stood out a long time before they would sign it. King *Erick* being then under Age, Queen *Margaret* had the Administration of Affairs during his Minority. 'Tis true, she procur'd her Subjects Peace, with their Foreign Enemies. But from the very beginning of her Regency, the *Swedes* and *Norwegians* complain'd, that she did not observe the Articles of the Treaty, for that she burden'd the Subjects with heavy Taxes, and carry'd all the Money out of *Sweden*, to be spent in

Den-

Denmark, where she resided for the most part; and gave the *Fiefs* and Castles of the Kingdom to Foreigners, contrary to all their Laws and Priviledges. But after all their Complaints, they obtain'd nothing but her vain Promises to give 'em Satisfaction. At last the whole Mystery of the Union came to light, when Queen *Margaret* gave this Lesson to the young King; Sweden *will Furnish you with Provisions, and* Norway *with Cloaths*; *But* Denmark *will be your Only Weapon of Defence.*

A Treaty between Queen Margaret *and Knights of the Order of the Cross.*

About Eight Years after the Coronation of King *Erick*, Queen *Margaret* endeavour'd by all means to retrieve the Possession of the Island of *Gothland*, without paying any thing to the Knights of the *Holy War* in *Prussia*, to whom that Island was Mortgag'd. In this View she dispatch'd *Algot Mausson* and *Abraham Bronderson* at the Head of some Troops, who render'd themselves Masters of the Island, before the Knights had any notice of it: Only the City and Castle of *Wisby* they could not subdue so easily; for that reason, they built Five little Forts surrounded with good Walls, both for their own Security, and for a Check upon the Inhabitants. Soon after, the Knights sent Two Ships with Succours to the Besieged; which dispossess'd the *Swedes* by open Force, and raz'd their Forts to the Ground. The Queen perceiving she could not carry the Island by force of Arms; and the Knights on the other hand, being convinc'd that they could not maintain their Title to it, without a great deal of Charge, they came to an Accommodation; by which the Queen engag'd to Pay 'em the Half of the 20000 Nobles that they had expended; upon Condition, that the Country should be hers. To make up this Sum, she laid heavy Taxes upon the *Swedes*, under pretence of re-uniting the Island to *Sweden*. But after all, the *Danes* possess'd it a long while; and it is only of late that it came to the Crown of *Sweden*.

The Death of Queen Margaret

When King *Erick* came of Age, Queen *Margaret* oblig'd him to Marry *Philopot*, Daughter to the King of *England*; And the Marriage was celebrated at *Lundh* in *Schonen*. That Princess brought him a great Medal of Gold which weigh'd several Thousand Ducats.

Ducats. After the Marriage, King *Erick* took upon him the Administration of the Government, without much minding Queen *Margaret*; for while she was yet alive, he Cut off the Head of her Favourite *Abraham Bronderson*; to whose Memory she afterward Erected a Monument in the Cathedral Church of *Lundh*; and soon after Died of the Plague on Board a Ship before *Flensbourg*.

King Erick *loses his Crown by engaging in a War with the Duke of* Holsatia.

Before the Death of the Queen, a War broke out between King *Erick* and the Duke of *Holsatia*, the last being Guardian to Count *Girard* his Brother's Son, whom King *Erick* design'd to dispossess of the Country of *Sleswick*. In the beginning of this War, King *Erick* receiv'd great Succours from the *Hans Towns*, as well as from the Duke of *Mekelbourg*, and *Saxony*: But afterwards they all shrunk from him, and struck in with the Duke of *Holsatia*. King *Erick* continued this War so long, that he lost his Three Kingdoms by it: For, to Supply the Charges of so Tedious a War, he was oblig'd to oppress the *Swedes* with excessive Imposts; and all those who held Fiefs of the King, where constrain'd to advance him vast Sums of Money; which at the same time put them under a necessity of over-charging their Vassals and Farmers. In fine, There was no Remedy for the Tyranny and Oppressions of the *Danish* Officers and Governours; for when the *Swedish* Ministers represented it to the King, he gave them no Credit. Besides, the Gentlemen were intirely exhausted, being oblig'd to serve both by Sea and Land upon their own Charges, and to Pay their own Ransom when they were taken Prisoners. So that the *Swedes* were reduc'd to a Necessity of consuming both their Treasure and Blood, in pursuit of an unjust War, for the Advantage of the *Danes*, in which themselves had no Interest. At last, most of the Silver being exported out of the Kingdom, King *Erick* caus'd Copper Money to be Coin'd; and the very Memory of their Ancient Liberty, seem'd to be intirely lost; for all the Writings and Records of their Immunities and Priviledges, were convey'd out of *Sweden* into *Denmark*. At the same time, the *Hans Towns* having declar'd against King *Erick*, the Trade of *Sweden* was wholly interrupted for some Years; so that the Merchants got

got nothing, tho' they pay'd exceſſive Contributions. Farther, King *Erick* preferr'd a *Dane* to be Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, againſt the Will of the Chapter, hoping by the Authority of that Prelate, to induce the *Swediſh* Council, to conſent to what he thought fit. Beſides many other Notorious Actions, that wretched Prelate Robb'd the Church of *Upſal* of about 20000 Ducats: Being afterwards depos'd, he was made Biſhop of *Yſeland*, where his notorious Crimes ſo provok'd the *Yſelanders*, that they put him into a Sack, and threw him into the Sea. In this War, Queen *Philipot* repuls'd the Enemy before *Copenhagen* with a grea deal of Vigour and Reſolution, at the ſame time that the King had deſign'd to mew himſelf up in a Cloyſter. Next Year, while King *Erick* was in *Sweden*, ſhe being encourag'd by her former Succeſs, without her Husband's Knowledge, fitted out a Fleet of 75 Sail with 1400 Men on Board, in order to make a Deſcent upon *Stralſond*: But the Enemy gave the *Danes* ſo warm a Reception, that they Shatter'd the whole Fleet. When King *Erick* return'd into *Denmark*, and was inform'd of his Loſs at Sea, he was ſo provok'd, that he beat the Queen with his Fiſts; which troubl'd her ſo much, that ſhe Miſcarry'd: This brutiſh Action, joyn'd to King *Erick*'s keeping Company with other Women, put the Queen ſo much out of Humour, that ſhe retir'd to the Cloyſter of *Wadſtena*, and dy'd there ſoon after.

The Inſolence of the Daniſh Ge. *nerals and Governours in* Sweden.

To all the foregoing Heads of Oppreſſion, we may add the petulant and inſolent Carriage of the Foreign Generals and Governors, which reduc'd the People to Deſpair. Among all theſe Officers, the moſt Noted was *Joſ. Erickſon* of *Weſteraas*, a Sworn Enemy to the Country People: For he Butcher'd a great many of 'em, ſome he Hang'd up in Chimneys till they were Stifl'd with Smoak, others he put to Death upon ſeveral falſe Pretences, to gain an opportunity of poſſeſſing himſelf of their Eſtates. Sometimes he would put Women to draw a Plough, like ſo many Oxen or Horſes; which afterwards occaſion'd their Miſcarrying. When Complaint was made to the King of theſe Wretched and unaccountable Men, he gave

gave no Ear to it; but on the contrary ſaid, they forg'd falſe Accuſations againſt 'em through Envy and Hatred: Inſomuch that ſeveral who came to Court to make complaint, carry'd nothing home with them but hard Words and Blows. But foraſmuch as the People of *Dalecarlia*, where *Erickſon* was Governour, were unacquainted with ſuch Treatment; they began to Threaten him openly, and Swore they would Murder him if ever they met him in their Valleys; adding, That his Domeſticks might indeed come and Demand what was Lawfully due to him, but he ſhould not dare to come himſelf. At the ſame time there liv'd at *Coperbourg* a certain Lord of a Noble Family, whoſe Name was *Engelbreckt Engelbrechtſon*. This Gentleman indeed was none of the moſt Proper, Handſome Men; but had a good Heart and a great Spirit; and being touch'd with a Compaſſionate Senſe of that Miſerable People, he undertook to get *Erickſon* Puniſh'd. For which end, he caus'd all their Grievances to be ſign'd by the Inhabitants who were Vaſſals, or held Fiefs of the Governour of the Caſtle, and carry'd them to *Denmark*; where being admitted to Audience by the King, he boldly complain'd of *Joſſe Erickſon*; adding, That if his Majeſty found his Complaint to be either Groundleſs or Unreaſonable, he was willing he ſhould Cut off his Head. And notwithſtanding, that *Erickſon*'s Friends ſpoke to King *Erick* of the Complaint, as being a frivolous thing, and that himſelf writ Letters to the King, Proteſting, That all theſe Complaints and Accuſations were falſe and groundleſs; yet *Engelbrecht* continu'd to Sollicit his Majeſty, till he gave him a Letter to the Council of *Sweden*; the Purport of which was, That the Council ſhould inform themſelves of the Difference between *Erickſon* and the Country People within his Juriſdiction; and then give his Majeſty an Account of the Matter. After due Enquiry, the Council ſent word to the King, That all the Allegations againſt *Erickſon* were true, and requeſted his Majeſty to ſend another into his Place, to obviate ſuch great Inconveniencies. With this Anſwer *Engelbrecht* return'd to Court; but after all, was treated as a Man that came to give in falſe

falſe and groundleſs Accuſations; and withal, was told, That he ought to go home and never return again; for if he did, he ſhould have occaſion to repent it. Upon this Reception, *Engelbrecht* return'd, and at parting told the Officers of the Court, That he was not a Man to be ſcar'd with Threats, and that he would return a Third time. Being return'd to his own Country, he acquainted the Peaſants with his Reception; upon which they reſolv'd to take Vengeance of *Erickſon* themſelves, and having choſen *Engelbrecht* for their Head, March'd with all expedition to *Weſteraas*, and Beſieg'd the Governour in his Caſtle; For they were not much affraid of the King, who was then engag'd in a Troubleſom Foreign War. As ſoon as the Councillors had Notice of this Commotion, they repair'd to *Weſteraas*, to endeavour by good Words and fair Promiſes to perſwade the Peaſants to return Home. But all their Remonſtrances were to no purpoſe, till *Erickson* was turn'd out of his Government; who was forc'd to deliver up the Caſtle to the Council, and immediately put it into the Hands of *Melcior Gorſe*, another of the King's Officers; and after that, the Peaſants return'd Home. *Erickson* was ſo nettl'd at the Loſs of his Place, that he threaten'd to give ſuch a Character of them at Court, that a worſe Governour than he ſhould be ſent them. To which *Engelbrecht* made Anſwer, That he doubted not but he might do ſo; and that they could expect no better Uſage, while the Government of the Country continu'd in the Hands of Foreigners. The *Dalecarlians* hearing this, roſe up in Arms, and unanimouſly Swore to venture their Lives and Fortunes in expelling all the Generals that King *Erick* had in *Sweden*; and that if any of their Neighbours refus'd to enter into the League with them, his Houſe and Goods ſhould be expos'd to Plunder, and his Life to Danger. At laſt, *Engelbrecht* appear'd in the Fields at the Head of ſome Thouſands of the Peaſants, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Caſtles he met with, and Levell'd them with the Ground. Such was the Fate of the Caſtles of *Cogenes*, *Kopingshans*, and *Hogewalle*, which the Governours had deſerted to

ſave

ſave their Lives. *Engelbrecht* continuing his March to *Weſteraas*, was met upon the way by *Melchior Gorſe*, who voluntarily Surrender'd his Caſtle, the Government of which *Engelbrecht* gave to *Nils Guſtaefson* a *Swediſh* Gentleman. He call'd in the Nobility of *Weſtmania* and *Nerilia*, to aſſiſt him in freeing his Country from the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of Foreigners; and having March'd to *Upſal*, all the Province of *Upland* joyn'd with him. After that, he Sunk one Third of the Yearly Taxes, which roſe very high in the Reign of King *Erick*.

The Swedes revolt from King Erick.

'Twas by his Sollicitation that *Erick Purke* endeavour'd to diſpoſe the *Norlanders* to an Inſurrection, which was eaſily brought about; for the People were buoy'd up with the hopes of ſeeing themſelves once more free'd from the Oppreſſion they had ſo long endured. This *Erick Purke* made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of *Taxholm*, and reduc'd it to aſhes. Then paſſing to the Iſland of *Aland*, he inveſted *Caſtleholm*, which *Otton Poganiſh* the Governour immediately ſurrender'd. This done, he joyn'd *Engelbrecht*, in order to carry on the Siege of *Gripſholm*; but the Governour of that Place no ſooner heard of their March, but he pack'd up his Baggage, ſet fire to the Caſtle, and fled to *Stockholm*; thither *Engelbrecht* follow'd with a numerous Army, in order to beſiege it; but the Governour of the Caſtle made a Truce with him till next *November*. *Engelbrecht* having left *Stockholm*, march'd to *Oerebro*, where the Governour ſtipulated to put the Caſtle into his hands, in caſe King *Erick* did not ſend him Succours in ſix Weeks. And the City of *Nikoping* made ſuch another Capitulation; But *Kinſtedeholm*, and *Steckebourg* were reduc'd by force. The Peaſants having laid down a firm Reſolution, to expel and extirpate all the Foreigners: And there being ſome of the Foreigners who by a long Abode in *Sweden*, had learn'd the Language of the Country; *Engelbrecht* gave 'em theſe words, *Huidh heſt Korngulf*, to diſtinguiſh the true Natives from ſuch Foreigners; ſo that whoever could not diſtinctly pronounce theſe words, was to be cut off. At laſt, the whole Nation being in a general Ferment, the Council of the Kingdom met at *Wadſtena*, to concert what Meaſures were proper to be ob-

obſerv'd in that Critical Juncture. But *Engelbrecht* ſurpris'd the whole Aſſembly at the Head of 1000 Peaſants; and let 'em know, that his only Aim in what he had undertaken, was to deliver his Country from the unſupportable Tyranny of the *Danes* and *Germans*; and entreated all the Members of the Council, and the other *Swediſh* Lords, to aſſiſt him in ſo juſt and reaſonable a Deſign. But when they objected the Allegiance they had ſworn to the King, he reply'd, That the King had likewiſe promiſed upon Oath, both at his Coronation and ſeveral other times, to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of *Sweden*; to Introduce no new Impoſts; to Inveſt the Nobility with the Fiefs of the Kingdom, and always to promote the Honour and Advantage of *Sweden*: That all the World knew very well how he had kept his Promiſe; That the King ſwore firſt, and they laſt; That ſince he had violated his Coronation-Oath, they were not oblig'd to ſtand to their Oaths to him: And, in fine, That if they would ſide with King *Erick*, both their Lives and Eſtates were in danger. Theſe laſt Words ſo frighted all the Members of the Convention, that they forthwith ſent a Declaration to the King, in which they abſolutely renounc'd and diſclaim'd their Oath of Allegiance to him: And *Engelbrecht*'s Valet carry'd the Declaration. *Engelbrecht* having thus brought things to bear, according to his Wiſhes, brought over to his ſide all *Eaſt-Gothland*, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Caſtles and conſiderable Houſes in that Country. The Ancient Fortreſſes he ſuffer'd to ſtand; but the new ones that were built for the Oppreſſion of the Country, he laid in Aſhes, or raz'd 'em to the Foundation. After that, he maſter'd *Weſt-Gothland*, *Wermeland*, and *Halland*. But the Inhabitants of *Schonen* ſeeing thro' his Deſign, the Nobility of that Country took up Arms, and march'd againſt him, advancing as far as *Lageholm*, where the two Parties ſtood and look'd upon one another, becauſe neither of 'em would firſt paſs the River for fear of ſuſtaining a Diſadvantage. But at laſt they agreed the matter, and *Engelbrecht* return'd home with his Troops, the number of which amounted to about 100000 Men.

King Erick *beſieged in* Stock-holm.

This General Inſurrection oblig'd King *Erick* to a Peace with the Duke of *Holſatia*, and the *Hans Towns*. After which, he drew together a great number of Troops, in order to paſs over into *Sweden* and pacifie that Country; and tho' the Fleet which carry'd 'em over, was diſpers'd, and the greateſt part of it loſt in a Storm; yet that Veſſel which carry'd the King, arriv'd ſafe at *Stockholm*; where *Engelbrecht* met him, and penn'd him up ſo cloſe on all ſides, that he could make no Inroads into the Country. Upon which, King *Erick* finding he could do nothing by open force, offer'd to enter into a Treaty with the *Swedes*. When a meeting was held for that effect, the King ask'd the Commiſſioners, What was the Reaſon they offer'd to Dethrone him? They reply'd, That they had no ſuch Deſign; That they only mean'd to reſcue their Country from the Oppreſſion and Violence of the *German* and Foreign Governours; and deſir'd, that the Caſtles and Fiefs ſhould be poſſeſs'd by the Natives of *Sweden*; and if he would grant 'em theſe Demands, they were ready to return to their wonted Obedience, and pay him all the Homage that a King can reaſonably expect of his Subjects. But King *Erick* not accepting theſe Terms, ſeveral Senators and Noblemen, who had hitherto ſtood out againſt *Engelbrecht*, were ſo diſoblig'd by the King's Obſtinacy and Injuſtice, that they joyn'd with the Malecontents. However, a Truce was made for one Year; during which time, the Governours, put in by the King, could not poſſeſs the Countries they had formerly Commanded, theſe being to continue in the hands of the Governours whom *Engelbrecht* had prefer'd, till the Difference were adjuſted; after which time, they were to be accountable to King *Erick* for their Adminiſtration. Soon after, the King went from *Sweden* to *Denmark* Incognito; leaving a Garriſon of 600 Men in *Stockholm*. The King was no ſooner gone, but the Senators held a Convention at *Arbroga*, where they made *Engelbrecht* General of all the Forces in the Kingdom, and elected Governours for each Province, to reduce every thing into order. Soon after, another Convention was held at *Sigtuna*, were *John Gropelin*,

Gropelin, Governour of the Caſtle of *Stockholm*, aſſiſted on the King's behalf. This Man was a Native of *Pruſſia*, a very diſcreet, rational Man, who propos'd ſeveral ways of Accomodation between King *Erick* and the *Swedes*; and carry'd the Matter ſo far, that he perſwaded them to give him their mind in writing, in which was contain'd the Articles and Conditions of Reconciliation with the King. As ſoon as *John Gropelin* had this Paper in his hands, he went immediatly to *Denmark*, and ſhew'd it to King *John*. After that, 'twas thought proper to to call a Convention at *Helmſtad*, at which the principal Counſellors of the three Kingdoms were to aſſiſt, in order to make an end of the matter. Among the reſt, Archbiſhop *Oluf* was ſent to *Sweden* to aſſiſt at this Negotiation. This Prelate had been put out of his Dioceſs by King *Erick*, who put one *Thorlock* a *Norwegian* into his Biſhoprick. But when *Engelbrecht*'s Inſurrection happen'd, *Thorlock* fled to *Denmark*, and *Oluf* was recall'd by the Chapter, and reſtored to his Dignity. When the Convention firſt Launch'd into the matter, this Archbiſhop, to the diſapointment and amazement of all the Aſſiſtants, pleaded for the King with a great deal of warmth; and having a great aſcendant over *Engelbrecht*, carry'd the buſineſs ſo far, that the *Swedes* promis'd to receive King *Erick* again, and ſtand to the Treaty concluded at his Coronation, provided he would perform what was ſtipulated on his behalf. Purſuant to this Reſolution, The King might with ſafety return to *Sweden* in *Auguſt* next, provided he us'd no violent means; upon which Condition, the *Swedes* promis'd to live in a good underſtanding with *Erick*. At the ſame time, the *Danes* apprehending the Commotions in *Sweden*, would entirely break the Union of *Calmar*, they made ſuch preſſing ſollicitations upon that head, that it was renew'd and and ſign'd by all the Counſellors that were preſent at the Convention.

The Time appointed for King *Erick*'s Preſence in *Sweden* being near at Hand, the King had ſo much upon his Hands in *Denmark*, that he was oblig'd to put off his Voyage till next *October*, at which time he came

The Remonſtrances of the Swedes *to King* Erick.

to *Stockholm*; and the *Swedes* having Assembled at the Monastry of St. *Claire*, before the City, met his Majesty at a place call'd *Heiligen Geest Holm*, where they grievously complained of the Violences and Injuries done 'em by the Foreigners; but at the same time protested they were ready to forgive all that was yet past, provided they obtain'd a peaceful Possession of their Rights and Privileges for the future, and all the Castles and Fiefs were lodg'd in the Hands of the Natives; upon which Terms, they promised him all manner of Fidelity and Obedience. Tho' *Erick* had a great Aversion to these Articles, yet he thought it proper to dissemble his Aversion, and apparently to promise what they demanded, till he was Master of the Forts. In the mean time, he wanted mightily to have the Castles of *Stockholm*, *Calmar* and *Nykoping*, commanded by such Governors as he lik'd. However, he assum'd the Administration of Affairs, taking all Differences to be laid asleep. He made *Christer Nilson* great Bayliff, and *Charles Knutson*, Great Marshal of *Sweden*. This King behav'd himself very well, till he got all the Places of Strength into his Hands; but then he reviv'd his old Strain, and made as if he had no great Mind to keep the Promises that were extorted from him by force: He likewise cry'd out mightily upon the Council, alledging that *Engelbrecht* had never made so great a Progress, if they had not favour'd him under-hand, and gone along with him in his Projects. Having put all things to Rights in *Sweden*, and made *Erick Nilson* a *Danish* Gentleman, Governor of *Stockholm*, where there was a Garrison of 500 Men, he embark'd for *Denmark*, and lost a great many Ships and Men in a Storm. The *Swedes* considering that he had left *Sweden* in such a haughty uncivil way, and put into *Stockholm* a strong Garrison, commanded by a *Danish* Governour, began to be apprehensive, that for the future he would season his Government with Violence and Tyranny. And what inflam'd their Suspicion, they were inform'd that he had appointed D. *Bogislaus*, his Cousin, to be his Successor, without the consent of the States: Upon this, the States assembled at *Arboga*, where they call'd together all the Nobility, with a Burgo-Master from every City, to concert the Measures to be observed with

King

King *Erick*, ſince 'twas manifeſt, that notwithſtanding all the Promiſes he had made, the only thing in his View was to fill the Country with Foreigners. Their firſt Reſolution was, to write to King *Erick* in the Name of the whole Convention, and beſeech him, purſuant to his Oath, to ſuffer the *Swedes* to enjoy their Rights and Privileges, and to ſet forth, That if he did not ſatisfie their Requeſt, they would break the Union, diſclaim their Oath of Allegiance, and provide another Sovereign. In the mean time, ſeveral Inhabitants of *Stockholm* writ to *Engelbrecht*, to make himſelf Maſter of *Stockholm*, before the ſeparation of the Convention; for they were apprehenſive, that in caſe of a War, the Foreign Troops, of which the Garriſon conſiſted, would uſe them as they did before in the Reign of King *Albert*. Upon this, the Convention reſolv'd not to ſeparate till they had an interview with the Governor of *Stockholm*, in order to know what Orders he had from His Majeſty, and what they were to expect from him and his Garriſon. Accordingly *Engelbrecht*, *Charles Knutſon*, *Gotſchalck Bengtſon* and *John Carelſon* were commiſſion'd to diſcourſe him upon that Head. But he was ſo far from receiving them into the City, that he fir'd upon them from the Walls, as being declar'd Enemies. However, they obtain'd a Conference without the City, with two of the Burgo-Maſters, by Nation *Germans*, and ask'd 'em, Why they deny'd Entrance to the Counſellors of the Kingdom, ſince the Country was in Peace, and their Citizens Travell'd without Moleſtation where they would? The two Burgo-Maſters reply'd, They would acquaint the Governor of the Caſtle with their Complaint, and then return to give 'em an Anſwer. But *Erick Nilſon* would not hear their Propoſal, unleſs *John Kropelin* were preſent, which retarded the Negotiation for a long time, and oblig'd the *Swediſh* Lords to ſit upon Horſeback, expos'd to the Snow and the Weather. At laſt the Burgo-Maſters return'd; but gave them no other Anſwer, but that they had no Orders to give them entrance. This enrag'd the Deputies ſo much, that they Seiz'd upon the Burgo-Maſters (for in this Second interview they had no aſſurance of Safety) in order to Carry them to *Arboga*. The News

was no ſooner ſpread up and down the City, than the Citizens took up Arms, and having drove the Soldiers from the Gates, open'd them themſelves, and gave entrance to the *Swediſh* Lords, who immediately ſet up the Kingdoms Standard at the Corn-Market, and recomended Peace to every body. The Lords being thus poſſeſs'd of the City, ſent to ask *Erick Nilſon*, the Governor of the Caſtle, why he ſhut the Gates, and fir'd upon them as if they had been Enemies; notwithſtanding that their only deſign was an amicable Conference upon things of great Importance? But the Governour ſent them an Anſwer that did not pleaſe 'em, and ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle, which they immediately laid Siege to.

Charles Knutſon Declar'd Governour of *Sweden* and Generaliſſimo of the Troops.

The Negotiation with King *Erick* being thus broke up, and the greateſt part of the Convention having repair'd to *Stockholm*, there broke out an open War. The States aſſembl'd in the Cloiſter of the Monks, and Commiſſion'd 36 of their Number to chuſe a General. *Charles Knutſon*, *Engelbrecht* and *Erick Pucke*, were Candidates for that Important Poſt, as formerly having done conſiderable Service againſt King *Erick*. But the majority of Votes fell upon *Knutſon*, as being deſcended of one of the Principal Families in *Sweden*: And thus was *Charles Knutſon* Declar'd Governour of *Sweden*, and General of the Army. This Election Nettl'd *Engelbrecht*, who look'd upon himſelf as the Chief Actor in all the Steps of the Revolution, whereas *Knutſon* did not enter the Liſts till the buſineſs was half done. The People were likewiiſe diſſatisfy'd that *Engelbrecht*, their mighty Favourite, was ſlighted. And 'tis certain, that the Diſſatisfaction of the People, upon that ſcore, had been of dangerous Conſequence, if the Members of the Council had not accomodated the Matter upon theſe Terms; That for the future *Engelbrecht* ſhould Command in Chief as before; but in the mean time, *Charles Knutſon* ſhould continue at *Stockholm*, and endeavour to carry the Caſtle before the next Winter. Notwithſtanding this accommodation, there remain'd an inveterate grudge between the two Rivals; Particularly *Knutſon*,

ſon, endeavour'd by all means to get *Engelbrecht* out of the way, that upon his fall he might have the ſole management of all. The moſt conſiderable Men in the Kingdom, ſided with *Knutſon*, as thinking a Man of ſo mean a condition as *Engelbrecht*, unworthy of ſo High a Poſt. In the mean time, *Engelbrecht* goes to the Country, and poſſeſſes himſelf of all the Caſtles where King *Erick* had Garriſons, in *Sudermania*, *Eaſt-Gothland* and *Calmar*; this done, he made himſelf Maſter of *Bleking*, and laid Siege to *Lageholm*, in the Province of *Halland*. After that, he went to *Schonen*, where the Inhabitants March'd out to oppoſe him; but afterwards agreed the Matter as before. Then he took the Province of *Halland* with all its Fortreſſes; and laid Siege to *Elfsburg* and *Axelwalde*, where he was taken ill, and was forc'd to be carried to *Oerebro*. Upon his Arrival in this laſt Place, he receiv'd Letters from the Council of the Kingdom, ordering him to repair to *Stockholm* with all expedition. *Engelbrecht* being ſo weaken'd by his Diſtemper, that he could not Travel to *Stockholm* by Land, he and his Wife went on Board of a Ship, in Order to paſs *Hielmer Lake*. The firſt Night after he ſet out, he advanc'd no further than *Giocksholm*, and reſolv'd to paſs the Night upon a little Iſland juſt by that place. In the mean time, there was at *Giocksholm* one *Bengt Swenſon*, who had formerly differ'd with *Engelbrecht* about the Caſtle of *Oerebro*; but afterwards, the matter had been accommodated. This *Bengt Swenſon* had a Son call'd *Maul*, who hearing that *Engelbrecht* Lodg'd that Night upon the little Iſland, and retaining ſome reſentment of the Old Quarrel, went with ſome Servants to ſurpriſe him, and having kill'd him with an Ax, took his Wife Priſoner. The ſame Night he thought to have ſurpris'd the Caſtle of *Oerebro*; but his deſign did not take. Upon the News of this Aſſaſſination, the Peaſants repair'd to *Giocksholm* to revenge the Death of *Engelbrecht*; but *Swenſon* and his Son had already made their eſcape. In the mean time, they inter'd the Corps of the Deceas'd in the Caſtle of *Oerebro*. For a long time after his Death, he was rever'd as a Saint, and

The deplorable Death of Engelbrecht.

as a Man that dy'd for the Liberties of his Country, and was ill rewarded for the Services he had done 'em. It was diſcover'd in a little time who it was that had ſuborn'd the Aſſaſſin: For *Charles Knutſon* Marſhal of the Kingdom, took him under his Protection, and gave him a Paſs, ſo that no body could moleſt or ſtop him for his Crime. However *Erick Pucke* made a vigorous oppoſition againſt the Marſhal, and the difference between theſe two Lords was ſo inflam'd, that they had a deſign upon one anothers Lives. *Erick Pucke* Declar'd openly, That if *Engelbrecht* had not carried on the Affair himſelf, there was not one in the Country that would have had the Courage to undertake it. Beſides, *Charles Knutſon* had drawn upon himſelf the Hatred of a great many, by carrying himſelf very Saucily after his preferment, which he was encourag'd to do by his great Power. Another cauſe of their Diſſatisfaction was, That he kept a great many Cavaliers in his Service, and had no other deſign but to enrich himſelf, without taking Care for any body elſe.

A new Treaty between King Erick *and the States of* Sweden.

The Caſtles of *Stockholm* and *Calmar* being ſtill in the Hands of King *Erick*, the Chief Lords of the Kingdom were not averſe to a Peace with him. At laſt a Day was appointed, upon which the King gave them a meeting at *Calmar*, being attended with a great many *German* Princes, and Counts, and a Pompous Retinue. In this interview, the King having heard their Grievances, made a Freſh promiſe to the States of the Kingdom, to put the Government of the Caſtles and all other Places into the Hands of Natives, and to preſerve the Liberties and Privileges of the *Swedes*. But he could not obtain the Three Caſtles, that were formerly Granted him; upon which he gave *Bengt Swenſon* the Houſe of *Calmar*, with the Iſle of *Oeland* and *Bergholm*, perhaps in recompenſe for the Murder of *Engelbrecht*. After that, *Erick* went to the Iſle of *Gothland*, deſigning to return the next *September*, at which time he had order'd the Council and Nobility of *Sweden* to meet him, and be Witneſſes of his putting the Caſtles into the Hands of Natives, and thus puting an end to the troubles occaſion'd by that affair: But as King *Erick* return'd from

from the Island of *Gothland* to *Suderkoping*, at the appointed time, he Encounter'd by the way a Furious Storm, which Sunk most of his Fleet, and oblig'd the Ship in which the King was, to put back to *Gothland*. There was only one Ship that arriv'd at *Suderkoping*, but could give no account whether the King was dead or alive. In that Conjuncture, the *Swedes* consulting what to do, resolv'd, that the resolutions made at *Calmar* should continue firm, in spite of all the accidents that might happen, and that the great Bailiff and Marshal of *Sweden* should chuse a King in Name of the whole Kingdom. After that *Charles Knutson* the Marshal, by vertue of the *Calmar* Treaty, Summon'd the Governours of the Castles to deliver them up, in Order to their being put into the Hands of the Native *Swedes*. Tho' the Governours did at first refuse to deliver them without an express Order from his Majesty; yet they were so terrify'd with Threats, that they Surrender'd without delay, *Stockholm*, *Stegeberg*, *Axelwalde*, *Elfsbourg*, *Westeraas*, and *Aboo*; which were all fill'd with *Swedish* Garrisons, excepting *Aboo*, the Government of which they left to *Kropelin*, he having always behav'd himself like an Honest Man. The King being missing, all the Rights of Soveraignty were devolv'd upon the great Bailiff and the Marshal; and at last upon the Council, when they should come to fail.

King Ericks *Fleet Shipwrack'd.*

Thus did the *Swedes* at last obtain what they had so long desir'd; namely the possession of all the Fiefs and Castles in their own hands. For upon the main, they were very willing to submit to the Obedience of King *Erick*; only they would not suffer Foreigners to be Master of their Country, and see themselves us'd like Valets. *Charles Knutson* was no sooner arriv'd at *Stockholm*, but the Castle was surrender'd to him: So hat at that time he had the whole Kingdom in hist Power, and wanted nothing but the bare title of King. This nettled *Erick Pucke*, who could not abide that his Power and Authority should thus increase every day: And for that reason, he rais'd the Peasants, who had a great affection to him by reason of his love

All the Forts of Sweden put into *the hands of* Swedes

for *Engelbrecht*; and form'd a design of dispossessing *Knutson* of the Government. In effect, he besieg'd *Oerebro* and *Westeraas*, and being repuls'd from thence by the Marshal, retir'd to the Province of *Dalia*, where he easily rais'd a great Army, the People of that Country having a profound veneration for the Memory of *Engelbrecht*. After that he return'd before *Westeraas*, and oblig'd the Marshal to retire into the Castle. Thereupon the Marshal desir'd an Interview with *Erick Pucke*, promising to offer no Violence to his Person, and giving *Thomas* Bishop of *Stregnetz*, and some other Counsellors, as Surety, for his promise. *Erick Pucke* thinking himself Secure, gave *Charles Knutson* a meeting, and spoke to him in a haughty Stile; Upon which the Marshal took him Prisoner, and sent him to *Stockholm*, were the great Bailiff cut off his Head, notwithstanding he had a Pass from Marshal *Knutson*. This occasion'd great Animosities between Bishop *Thomas* and Marshal *Knutson*; it being plain, that the Latter had made away with *Engelbrecht* and *Pucke*, because they stood in the way of his preferment; and from the beginning of the War, had aspir'd to the Soveraignty, and set on foot all Artifices for preventing an Accommodation with King *Erick*. In the mean time, the Peasants made an Insurrection in the Province of *Wermeland Daab*, and fell upon several Governours that Marshal *Knutson* had put in that Country. The Boors of *Askestradh* likewise took the Field, and having march'd towards *Wadstena*, took Prisoner *Josse Erickson* the old *Danish* General, notwithstanding he had the Marsha's Pass, and having try'd him for his past Conduct, cut off his head.

An Insurrection in Sweden *against the Marshal.*

Knutson's *Perfidy.*

Deputies sent to Erick.

Next Year the States having notice that King *Erick* was still alive, met at *Stregnetz*; and resolv'd that affairs Should continue in the same State as they then were, in regard King *Erick* had given his consent in the *Calmar* Treaty, That all the Fiefs and Castles of *Sweden* should be put into the Hands of Natives. At the same time they wrote a Letter to the King, begging he would be pleas'd to meet them at *Calmar* on the 24th of *June*, in order to Approve

prove and Confirm what they had done in pursuance of the Treaty. The King promis'd to meet them; but when the Senators came at the appointed time, the King was not there; but had sent them word, That he would not stand to the Treaty of *Calmar*, unless they first deliver'd the Castles of *Stockholm*, *Nikoping*, and *Calmar*, to be dispos'd of at his pleasure. Upon this the States sent to *Denmark* Archbishop *Oluf*, *Mans* Bishop of *Aboo*, the great Bailiff *Christian Nilson*, and *Hans Kropelin*, to Sollicite the King to accept of the offers they had made him, and to return to *Sweden*, the Reason that the great Lords and most considerable Persons in the Kingdom were much dissatisfy'd with the Marshal's conduct, and wish'd the King would take upon himself the Administration of Affairs, provided he suffer'd them to enjoy their Liberties and Priviledges. But King *Erick* made them no other Answer, than that he would Govern as he pleas'd, and put Garrisons into the Castles himself, and would not be oblig'd to say *Yea*, and *Amen* to all their decisions. However the Deputies had conferences with the most considerable *Danish* Counsellors upon that head, and that in such a manner, that the King quickly felt the effects of them. In the mean time, Marshal *Knutson* had the Sole management of Affairs in *Sweden*, and enlarg'd every Day both his Riches and Power; but withal carry'd himself so haughtily, that he slighted all the other Lords of the Kingdom, and did what he pleas'd without minding them; and even in spite of them, offer'd to make himself Master of all the Castles. The great Bailiff *Christian Nilson*, and some other Lords, having enter'd into a League against him, endeavour'd to animate the *Dalecarlians* and *Wermelandians* to oppose him. Tho *Knutson* was acquainted with all that was hatch'd against him, yet he pretended Ignorance, and writ to the great Bailiff a very civil Letter, calling him his Father, and praying he would meet him at *Schoningen*, because he had some matters of Importance to impart to him. The Courier who carry'd the Lettter, was follow'd by some Horse-men, who hid themselves in a Wood, till

The Marshal's Treachery: and the Generosity of Nils Stenson.

till the Courier ſhould have obſerv'd the Situation and Avenues of the Bayliffs reſidence, in order to ſurpriſe him and carry him Priſoner to *Oerebro*. It being then *Chriſtimaſs* Holy-days, and moſt of his Domeſticks being Drunk, the great Bailiff was eaſily ſurpris'd and carried to *Oerebro*, where he was oblig'd to deliver up to the Marſhal all the Caſtles he had in his Power, and to promiſe upon Oath, for the future never to attempt any thing either directly or indirectly againſt him; nor to Avenge the affront he had then receiv'd. Upon this, the Marſhal gave him *Wibourg* and the Province of *Finland*, and offer'd to put into his hands his Son *Charles Chriſterſon*; but the Bayliff was ſo ſtately, he would have nothing from him. As ſoon as *Nils Stenſon*, who was Married to the Marſhals Siſter, heard how her Brother-in-law had us'd the great Bayliff; notwithſtanding his Alliance, he ſided with the Bayliff, and openly declar'd againſt the Marſhal's raiſing the Peaſants of *Eaſt-Gothland*, who Expell'd the Governours and Officers he had ſent, and kill'd ſome of them. Upon this, Marſhal *Knutſon* blocks him up in *Stecheholm*; but *Nils Stenſon* making his Eſcape, fled to the Iſland of *Gothland*, where King *Erick* gave him a very favourable Reception, and made him Marſhal of *Sweden*, having ſent Letters to *Sweden*, ordering all the *Swedes* to acknowledge him as ſuch, and obey him in the Kings behalf. After that, *Nils Stenſon* return'd to *Eaſt-Gothland* at the head of 2000 Horſe, where he was very troubleſome to Marſhal *Knutſon*, tho' he was too weak to make head againſt him. While *Nils Stenſon* made this diverſion in *Eaſt-Gothland*, the *Norwegians*, by King *Erick*'s orders, laid Siege to *Elfsbourg*, which was Commanded by *Thuron Stenſon* the Marſhal's half Brother, who Repuls'd and Defeated them. Some time after *Nils Stenſon* being taken Priſoner in the Country, was brought to *Norkoping*, where he dy'd in a few days: And the Marſhal Beheaded ſome of his Domeſticks at *Suderkoping*, whom King *Erick* had ſent to accompany him.

King Ericks invincible Obſtinacy, occaſions his loſs of the three Crowns.

Marſhal *Knutſon*'s good ſucceſs was very diſagreeable to ſeveral of the chief Lords of *Sweden*; and par-

particularly to one *Broder Swenſon*, who had ſerv'd a long time with *Engelbrecht* and *Erick Pucke* in the preceeding Wars. This Man went to the Marſhal, and upbraided him very briskly with abuſing his Power, commiting all ſorts of Inſolences, reſerving to himſelf alone all the beſt Fiefs and Caſtles, and his contempt of Perſons of merit. But the Marſhal caus'd him to be Apprehended and Beheaded immediately, while the World was yet a-ſleep. While *Knutſon* goes thus on, committing ſuch Violences without any oppoſition, the States had ſeveral meetings, in order to conſult whether they ſhould recall *Erick*, or what expedients they ſhould fall upon to compaſs their end. But all their conſultations were to no purpoſe, becauſe the King would not abate of his pretenſions, and continu'd to claim the abſolute Diſpoſal of the Fiefs and Caſtles which the *Swedes* ſtill refus'd him. 'Twas for this Reaſon that Marſhal *Knutſon* perſwaded the Senators of the Kingdom to write to the King with one conſent, that he behov'd to come to *Moraſteen* in the ſpace of Six Weeks, in order to an amicable Accommodation with them; and that if he ſtay'd but one day after the appointed time, they would never acknowlede him. In the mean time Archbiſhop, *Oluf* and ſeveral other Perſons of Note, importun'd the King to return to *Sweden*; becauſe the Marſhals Government was very unconſtant, and occaſion'd ſuch Tumults and Commotions. In fine, the whole Winter was ſpent in Treating of this Affair, and at laſt it was carry'd ſo far, that the Senators of the three Kingdoms reſolv'd upon a general meeting at *Calmar* the next *June*, in order to a final deciſion of the difference between King *Erick* and his Subjects. When Archbiſhop *Oluf* was upon the Road, in order to be preſent at this Aſſembly, he was Poiſon'd at *Nikoping* with an Almond-Paſty, by Marſhal *Knutſon*, who reſolv'd to make away with him, becauſe he took ſo much pains to re-eſtabliſh King *Erick* in *Sweden*. However, the other Senators came to *Calmar*, and were there met by ſome of King *Erick*'s Councellors; who gave them to know, in their Maſters Name, that he could not ſtand to the *Calmar* Treaty,

ty, unleſs he had the abſolute diſpoſal of the three Caſtles of the Kingdom. But the *Swedes* being reſolute in not granting that point, were oblig'd to return Home without coming to any concluſion. Things being at this paſs, King *Erick* ſet out from *Denmark* to the Iſland of *Gothland*, carrying with him all his Treaſures. Soon after he went to *Steckebourg*, from whence he wrote ſeveral Letters to Marſhal *Knutſon*, inviting him to come and ſpeak with him; But the Marſhal would not truſt the King, notwithſtanding all the Promiſes and Aſſurances he could give.

King Chri. ſtopher of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, his acceſſion to the three Crowns.

King *Erick* having thus retir'd from *Denmark*, and the *Daniſh* Counſellors perceiving that there was no hopes of his coming to an Accommodation with *Sweden*, enter'd into a Treaty with the *Swedes*, and declar'd to King *Erick*, That they were abſolutely reſolv'd to withdraw themſelves from his Obedience, and to chuſe another in his place, who might give more Satisfaction to the three Kingdom, and keep up a ſtricter Union among them. This News was convey'd to King *Erick* at *Steckebourg*: But before the *Danes* ſent him this Declaration, they had ſent an Embaſſy to *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Bavaria*, King *Erick*'s Siſters Son, who during his Youth, had been a long time at the Court of *Denmark*; to give his Uncle to know, that he was choſen King of the three Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*. I cann't poſitively ſay, whether the Archbiſhop and *Swediſh* Senators that were in *Denmark* the proceeding Year, had privately conſented to this Election. But 'tis certain, that Marſhal *Knutſon* and the States of *Sweden* knew nothing of the matter till Duke *Chriſtopher* arriv'd in *Denmark*: Which was a direct infringement upon the Alliance concluded between the three Kingdoms. Upon Duke *Chriſtopher*'s arrival in *Denmark*, Archbiſhop *Lund*, and his Brother-in-Law *Nicholas Roman*, were ſent to acquaint the Marſhal and the *Swediſh* Senators, then at *Calmar*, with the Duke's arrival; and at the ſame time, to enter into a Negotiation, in order to perſwade them to accept of the Duke for their King, and to keep up the Union of the three Kingdoms for the preſervation of their common Peace.

Theſe

These Commissioners cry'd up the excellent Qualities of that Prince, alledging, that some Years before, the *Bohemians* would have made him their King, but could never perswade him to accept of their Crown; and that by consequence, they were the more oblig'd to him for not refusing the Northern Crowns, that lay at a greater distance from his own Country than the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. This news was very surprising to the *Swedes*; and particularly unacceptable to Marshal *Knutson*: However, they made answer to the Commissioners, That they could not come to a Resolution upon a Matter of such importance, before a Convocation of the Council and States; the resolutions of which should be imparted to them. Immediatly, a general Convention was held at *Arboga*, to consult upon that Affair. At which time, the Marshal finding that the chief Senatours, were inclin'd to chuse Duke *Christopher*, and continue the Union, durst not oppose them: But withal told 'em, that he wish'd they would take into consideration the Trouble, Danger, and Charges he had been expos'd to for some Years, for the Defence and Government of the Kingdom; by which means he was so far overcharg'd with Debt, that without the Assistance of the Kingdom, he could never get clear of it: And that, laying that aside, he would be as ready as any Man to Vote for Duke *Christopher*. Upon this, the Council ask'd him what Assistance he desir'd of the Kingdom? and insinuated, that they knew nothing of his Debts: Then he ask'd the Province of *Finland* for his Life, and the Island of *Oeland*, and *Bergholm* for himself and his Heirs, with this proviso, That if they had a mind hereafter to reunite these to the Crown, they should pay him or his Heirs 40000 Merks of Silver. His Request was Granted, and the Council gave him a Patent for it under the great Seal; then they sent an Embassy to invite Duke *Christopher* to the Throne; and at the same time the Marshal Writ to him to the same purpose. But after all, before they would choose him King, they desir'd an interview with him at *Calmar* about the middle of *June*, in order to adjust the Rights, Immunities, and Privileges of the Kingdom,

dom, which the *Swedes* would never ſuffer to be abridg'd. Duke *Chriſtopher* perceiving it was neceſſary to gain Marſhal *Knutſon*, invited him to *Halmſtadt*, where he gave him a very Gracious Reception, and promis'd him more favour than he could deſire: For he not only confirm'd under his Seal, the Grant given him by the Council of *Finland* and *Oeland*; but aſſur'd him that no Man ſhould Diſturb him, or Arraign him for his paſt Government. So that that the Marſhal return'd to *Sweden* with a great deal of Satisfaction. In the mean time, the Commons of *Jutland* Mutiny'd againſt the Clergy and Nobility; and King *Chriſtopher* being oblig'd to go thither in perſon, could not reach *Calmar* before the latter end of *Auguſt*. At which time, the Marſhal and States of the Kingdom, receiv'd him with all Demonſtrations of Honour and Joy, and after they had adjuſted their Rights and Privileges, conducted him to *Stockholm*, where he made his entrance with the Archbiſhop on one Hand, and the Marſhal on the other, in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe of People. After that, he left *Stockholm*, and was acknowledg'd King at *Moraſteen*, purſuant to the Ancient Cuſtom.

K. Chriſtopher's *Coronation in* Sweden.

This done, he was Crown'd at *Upſal*, and at his Coronation Created 70 Chevaliers, ſome *Swediſh*, ſome *Daniſh*, and ſome *German*; the firſt of which was Marſhal *Knutſon*, who manag'd the whole Ceremony of the Election and Coronation.

The Swedes *diſſatisfy'd with* K. Chriſtopher.

Chriſtopher was no ſooner return'd to *Stockholm*, but all thoſe who were injur'd in the Marſhal's Government, put in their Complaints; particularly *Chriſtian Nilſon* the Bailiff, complain'd heavily of his Impriſonment. The King would gladly have turn'd off the Marſhal, for he was apprehenſive, that in his abſence he might Alienate the Affections of the People, as he had done to King *Erick*. However by the intreſt of Friends and good Words, huſh'd the matter for that time. After which, the Marſhel finding he was not very ſafe, retir'd to *Finland*, and having fortified *Wibourg*, maintain'd a body of Horſe their, and return'd no more to Court till the King dy'd. King *Chriſtopher* having Diſpatch'd his affairs in *Sweden*, return'd to *Denmark*. At that time, King *Erick* reſided

reſided in the Iſlle of *Gothland*, being well fortify'd at *Wiby*; and by his Pyracy took a great many Veſſels, that were for the moſt part *Swediſh*: Which nettled the Citizens of *Stockholm*. That King's Partiſans made likewiſe ſeveral deſcents near *Calmar* and *Weſternyck*, and committed great Ravages. When Complaints were made to King *Chriſtopher* upon this Head, he ſtill anſwer'd in a rallying way, That King *Erick* ought to have ſomething to ſubſiſt upon. Beſides, he follow'd King *Erick*'s ſteps, in beſtowing all the Fiefs upon Foreigners: Which oblig'd the *Swedes* to joyn with the *Danes* in oppoſing that piece of Injuſtice; and they carry'd their deſign ſo far, what by good, and what by bad words, that they forc'd King *Chriſtopher* to caſhier all the Foreigners. However, the *Swedes* having behav'd themſelves too haughtily in this Affair, King *Chriſtopher*, by way of Revenge, ſuffer'd King *Erick* to retain the Iſland of *Gothland*, and to annoy the *Swedes* as much as he pleas'd. After this Prince had Reign'd Four Years, he Married *Dorothy*, the Daughter of *John* Marquis of *Brandebourg*; and for that purpoſe, rais'd a vaſt Sum of Money by the heavy Taxes he laid upon his Subjects: But all that, beſides what he had ſcrap'd together in his four Years Reign, was loſt by a Storm upon the Sea. During the whole courſe of his Government, Proviſions were ſo ſcarce and dear in *Sweden*, that in ſeveral places Men fed upon the Barks of Trees: Which occaſion'd King *Chriſtopher*'s being call'd *Parck Koning*: And the Country was the more oppreſs'd with famine, for that King *Erick*'s Pyrates prevented all comers between *Gothland* and *Sweden*. King *Chriſtopher* likewiſe made uſe of odd expedients to oppreſs the *Swedes*: Knowing that the Nobles were divided among themſelves, and every one indeavour'd to raiſe himſelf upon the other's ruine, he freely beſtow'd the Fiefs and Caſtles upon thoſe that put in for 'em, tho at the ſame time they were in the poſſeſſion of others. This fomented their Troubles and Diviſions; for no man was ſure of his poſſeſſion any longer than till another to ask for it; and oftentimes a Seignory ſhifted Maſters Six or Seven times in one Year. In the mean time, the Letters of Inveſtiture from the Chancery were very chargable.

and

and the King engroſs'd one half of all that was pay'd.

An interview between the two Kings.

At laſt the repeated Complaints of King *Erick*'s Pyracies, oblig'd King *Chriſtopher*, out of decency, to make preparations for a War againſt him. Accordingly he croſs'd over to the Iſland of *Gothland*, at the head of a conſiderable Army, and was there met by Marſhal *Knutſon* and the Fleet. Upon which every Body expected he would quickly diſlodge King *Erick*: But the two Kings had an interview, and parted very good Friends; and King *Erick* continu'd in poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Gothland*; but King *Chriſtopher* the ſtanding for *Calmar*, was ſhipwrack'd by the way, and ſav'd his life very narrowly. After that, he caus'd take ſeveral ſhips belonging to the *Engliſh* and the Hans-towns; and intended to have made himſelf Maſter of *Lubeck*, which 'tis probable he had compaſs'd, if the neighbours of that City had not prevented it. So paſs'd the Reign of a Prince, of whom we can ſay but little, and as little ill.

King *Chriſtopher*'s Death.

The *Swedes* were all along very jealous and miſtruſtful of this Prince, and their jealouſie was inflam'd by this Voyage to *Gothland*: for they fancy'd that his Warlike preparations were made with no other view, than that he might get eaſily into the Iſle of *Gothland*, and there receive King *Erick*'s pernicious counſels againſt them; Foraſmuch as King *Erick* by his Long Reign had acquir'd a perfect knowledge of the Conſtitution of their Country. In the Year 1447 King *Chriſtopher* call'd a Convention of the Council and Nobility of *Sweden* at *Jenkoping* in the *Chriſtmas* Holydays. But upon his Journey thither he was taken ill at *Helſingbourg*, and dy'd *January* 4. 1448. Upon the News of his Death, the Senators at *Jenkoping* gave the Regency of the Kingdom to *Bengt Jonſon de Saliſtad*, and his Brother *Nils Jonſon*, to ſuch time as a Convention ſhould meet at *Stockholm*. After King *Chriſtopher*'s Death, all his moveable Goods, Ships, Artillery, Arms, and all the Mony he had drawn from *Sweden*, continu'd in *Denmark*: And notwithſtanding that by his Will, he left conſiderable Legacies to the Hoſpitals in *Sweden*, yet the *Danes* would not give 'em a Farthing.

After

After the Death of *Chriſtopher*, the firſt that appear'd in the Convention at *Stockholm*, was Marſhal *Charles Knutſon*, who brought with him from *Finland* ſo great a Body of Men, that all the Houſes and beſt Inns in *Stockholm* were fill'd with them. But *Bengt de Saliſtad* continu'd in the Caſtle. When all the Members were met, they were divided in two Factions. One was for ſtanding to the Union, and not meddling with the Election of a King, till the Councils of the Three Kingdoms had Aſſembl'd at *Helmſtad*. Of this mind were the two Regents, Archbiſhop *John*, Son of *Bengt Jonſon*, and ſeveral others. On the other hand, Marſhal *Knutſon*, and the Major part of the Convention were for proceeding immediately to the Election, without any regard to the Union; alledging that the Union was already broke, and in it ſelf null and invalid, ſince it had procur'd the advantage of one Kingdom to the prejudice of the other two. They added that the *Danes* had already broke the Treaty in calling *Chriſtopher* to *Denmark* without the knowledge or conſent of their Allies; that neither K *Erick* nor K. *Chriſtopher* had obſerv'd the Articles of Union, but on the contrary had done their utmoſt to oppreſs the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Norway*, and keep both the one and the other in Slavery; and in fine, that, if they ſtuck by that Union any longer, the *Danes* would certainly become the Lords and Maſters of the *Swedes*. This Argument was preſs'd home very vigorouſly by Marſhal *Knutſon*, who was back'd by the general Voice of the People; It was plain to all the World, that from the time of the Union, the Riches and Strength of *Sweden* were ſunk above one half. Nevertheleſs the oppoſite Faction oppos'd it very ſtiffly, both becauſe they had a mind to preſerve the Union, and becauſe they ſuſpected the Marſhal. The Diſpute was carry'd on ſo warmly for ſome days, that it was thought they would Maſſacre one another in the Convention Houſe. But at laſt, it was carry'd that they ſhould proceed to the Election of a King: Upon which, Three were nominated as Candidates for that Dignity, namely, the Two Regents and Marſhall *Knutſon*. But the laſt had Sixty Votes, whereas the other

K. Charles Knutſon.

Two had but Five. Thus did *Charles Knutſon* mount the Throne of *Sweden*. Being afterwards choſen at *Moraſteen* according to the Cuſtom, was Crown'd at *Upſal*, and at his Coronation made Thirty Knights.

The Swedes invade and afterwards quit the Iſle of Gothland.

Immediately after his Coronation, he notify'd his Election to the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, in order to know if they had a mind to take him for their King: And at the ſame time demanded that the *Danes* ſhould remit to *Sweden* the Treaſure of the Kingdom and their Fleet. But the *Danes*, having a mind to annex *Holſace* and *Sleſwick* to the Kingdom of *Denmark* offer'd their Crown to Duke *Adolphus*; and he declining it by reaſon of his great Age, they at laſt chuſe *Chriſtian* of *Oldenburg*, who was his Siſters Son. King *Charles* made it his buſineſs to be reveng'd upon King *Eric*, and to conquer the Iſland of *Gothland*. For this end he ſent *Magnus Green*, and *Birger Trolle* with a great Body of Troops, who quickly made themſelves Maſters of the Country, and took *Wisby*; And in all probability would have ſtarv'd out the Caſtle, if they had not ſuffer'd themſelves to be impos'd upon by a Suſpenſion of Arms that King *Eric* craftily deſir'd, offering to Surrender the Caſtle, if the Iſland of *Oeland* were granted him for his Subſiſtance. For in the time of the Suſpenſion, he took occaſion to furniſh himſelf with Proviſion, and to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Denmark* to deſire their Aſſiſtance; wiſhing that *Gothland*, ſince he could keep it no longer, ſhould rather fall into the hands of the *Danes* than the *Swedes*. King *Chriſtian* was very well pleas'd with the offer; and wrote immediately to King *Charles*, who was then at *Oeland*, to withdraw his Troops from the Iſland of *Gothland*, in regard it belong'd to the Crown of *Denmark*. King *Charles* made Anſwer, That he had no right to it; and order'd his Troops to carry on the Siege: But King *Chriſtian*'s Troops came and rais'd the Siege, and carry'd King *Eric* along with them, whom either by careleſſneſs, or elſe on purpoſe, they ſuffer'd to make his eſcape in *Pomeren*, ſo that he finiſh'd his days at *Rugenwald*, without minding any further Pretentions he might have to a Crown. Though the

Danes

Danes had the Caſtle of *Wisby* in their hands, yet they were not Maſters of the Cities in the *Low Country*. For which reaſon the King of *Denmark* made all poſſible Preparations againſt the next Spring, in order to diſlodge the *Swedes* by force of Arms: And to gain time, he ſent *Oluf Axelſon* to commence a Negotiation with the *Swedes*, and to perſuade them by good words into a Suſpenſion of Arms. *Oluf* arriving there with ſome Veſſels, put ſuch a handſom colour upon the matter, that *Magnus Green* and the other Generals agreed to a Suſpenſion of Arms till the middle of the next Summer, in which time Commiſſioners were to be ſent from the two Kingdoms to determin whether the Iſland of *Gothland* belong'd to *Denmark* or *Sweden*, the *Danes* in the mean time continuing in the Caſtle, and the *Swedes* keeping the Town and *Low Country* without any moleſtation on the one ſide or other. In the interim the *Danes* furniſh'd the Caſtle with all ſorts of Proviſions, and demoliſh'd the Forts that the *Swedes* had built before it, pretending they were uſeleſs, ſince the Affair was ſubmitted to Arbitration. King *Chriſtian* came in Perſon to *Gothland*, and Encamp'd before the City of *Wisby*, while the *Swedes* Supinely truſted to the Suſpenſion of Arms. Though the *Danes* pretended they would in no ways violate the Truce; yet they ſet Fire to the City and fell upon the *Swedes*, who repuls'd them from the Streets, and forced them to retire to the Caſtle. At laſt King *Chriſtian* finding his Enterprize ſucceſleſs, enter'd into a new Negotiation with the *Swedes*, in which a ſuſpenſion of Arms was agreed to for a Year; after which, Twelve Deputies were to be ſent to *Helmſtad* out of each Kingdom with full Power to paſs definitive Sentence. Though at the ſame time it was manifeſt that before the Union of the Three Kingdoms, the Iſland of *Gothland* was never under the Dominion of *Denmark*. However by this Negotiation, their aim was not ſo much to make themſelves Maſters of *Gothland*, as to unite the Three Kingdoms: To which Project *Magnus Green* and ſome others ſeem'd to liſten. In the mean time after a great deal of uſeleſs charge, the *Swedes* quitted the Iſland of *Gothland*.

K. Charles *made King of* Norway.

While King *Christian* continu'd in *Gothland*, the *Norwegians* ſent an Embaſſy to offer their Crown to King *Charles*, being uneaſy under the Union with *Denmark*. King *Charles* went immediately to *Norway*, and was choſen King by the People, without any oppoſition, but from a ſmall number of the Gentry. After that, he was Crown'd at *Drunthim*, and at the Solemnity of his Coronation, made Twenty Knights, two of whom he choſe for Governours, and then return'd to *Sweden*. Upon his arrival in *Sweden*, he call'd a Convention at *Arboga*, where Twelve Perſons were Commiſſion'd to go to *Helmſted* purſuant to the *Gothland* Treaty, one of whom was *Magnus Green*, whom the *Swedes* were not a little Suſpicious of Theſe Commiſſioners had expreſs Orders from King *Charles*, not to adjudge either *Gothland* or *Norway* to the King of *Denmark*; but rather to refer it to the Judgment of the Emperor or Pope, or the Deciſion of a War. In that interview the *Danes* pretended not only that they had a right to the Iſle of *Gothland*, but that King *Charles* ought to yield to the King of *Denmark*: And carrying the matter too far, endeavour'd by all means, to perſuade the *Swedes* to diſclaim their Allegiance to King *Charles*, and re-enter into the Union. However that Myſtery did not at firſt appear; and a Peace was concluded, providing that neither Party ſhould commit any Acts of Hoſtility upon the other, till the buſineſs before 'em were diſcuſs'd. In the progreſs of time King *Charles* ſmelling what was hatch'd againſt him, thought it proper to look to that Negotiation in time, before things went too far. To that purpoſe, he firſt of all turn'd *Magnus Green* out of his Fief of *Aboo*; becauſe he had not acted faithfully, neither in *Gothland* nor *Helmſtad*. The ſame uſage he gave to the Archbiſhop and ſome others, whom he knew to be oppoſite to his Intereſt. But after all, theſe proceedings only ſerv'd to give his Affairs a worſe turn. For, all that he ſo us'd, were deſcended of great Families, and reſolv'd to avenge the Affront he had put upon 'em. However he deſpis'd all ſuch Conſiderations, fancying that his Abſolute

Absolute Power was above the reach of such Attempts.

The two Kings, *Charles* and *Christian*, having an interview at *Calmar* and *Ronneby*, confirm'd the Peace that their Deputies had concluded at *Helmstad*, without including the Affair of *Gothland* and *Norway*; the *Danes* having possess'd themselves of a great part of the last. *A Treaty of Peace between the two Kings.*

Soon after, King *Christian*'s Troops march'd from *Gothland* by the Orders of *Oluf Axelson*, in order to make a descent upon the Neighbourhood of *Stockholm*; where they pillag'd and burnt several Houses, and then return'd with their Spoil to *Gothland*. King *Charles* construed this matter as if it came from the King of *Denmark*; and to revenge the affront invaded *Schonen* in the Winter at the Head of 70000 Men, having first Summon'd the Inhabitants to return to the Obedience of *Sweden*. But they standing out, the King order'd his Troops to ravage and burn wherever they came, particularly the Cities of *Helsingbourg*, *Lands-Kroon*, and *Lundh*; and likewise cut in pieces a great Body of Boors, that were drawn together near the Cloister of *Dalby*, to make Head against him. In fine, he laid that Country very desolate. The Straights of the *Sund* being then fill'd with Fleoats of them, 'twas impossible to send Succours from *Zealand* to *Schonen*. At that time King *Christian* was in the Country of *Marck*, where a Conference was held with the Marquis of that Country and some other *German* Princes. As soon as he receiv'd advice of the Ravages committed by King *Charles* in *Schonen*, he took into his Service a considerable number of German Horse, and set out immediately for *Denmark*. After that, he enter'd *West Gothland* with a powerful Army in Summer, and having taken *Lobese*, oblig'd the Nobility and People to acknowledge him for their King, and to send word to King *Charles*, that they disclaim'd their Allegiance to him, and renounc'd the Oath of Fidelity they had swore. Most of the Inhabitants of that Country were willing to obey King *Christian*'s Orders, especially the Governors that King *Charles* had put in, who had no mind to put

King Charles's *Expedition into* Schonen.

King Christian *declar'd King of* West Gothland.

Riches in danger. Among others, *Thuro Thureſon* voluntarily ſurrender'd to him the Caſtle of *Axelwalde*, and a great many Gentlemen follow'd his Example. To put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the *Danes*, King *Charles* marches out of *Upland* towards *Tyweden* at the Head of a puiſſant Army. But having advice upon his March, that King *Chriſtian* had ſent a Fleet of 46 Ships to *Stockholm*, under the Command of *Olof Axelſon* and *Magnus Green*, and that the Archbiſhop with a great many of the *Upland* Lords had gone over to the Enemy; upon this News, I ſay, he return'd with all expedition to *Stockholm*; and there repuls'd the *Danes* with a great deal of loſs on their ſide, and conſtrain'd em to retire to *Denmark*; though they burnt *Weſterwycko* in their retreat. Then he march'd with his whole Army to *Jenkoping*, in order to Invade *Eaſt Gothland*, and cut off thoſe that guarded the Paſſes of *Tyweden*, and all the Men that King *Chriſtian* had ſent before to level the ways upon the *Holueden*. After that, his Men took heart and paſſing the *Tyweden*, enter'd *Eaſt Gothland*: But after all, he could not come to an Engagement with King *Chriſtian*, becauſe the approach of the Winter, and the ſcarcity of Proviſions had obliged him to retire to *Helmſtad*. In the mean time *Thord Bonde* ſurpris'd the *Danes* in *Lobeſe*, where he found a Bag of Letters that *Thuro Thureſon* and ſome other Lords in *Weſt Gothland* had writ to the King of *Denmark*, by which King *Charles* might ſee how they ſtood affected unto him. Upon this *Thord Bonne* march'd ſtraight to *Axelwalde*, where he ſurpris'd the Caſtle, and took Lord *Thure* Priſoner, Though afterwards he made his eſcape and fled to *Denmark*. Thus *Thord Bonne* re-took all *Weſt Gothland*. The War being thus ended, the King ſummon'd the Archbiſhop and the other Lords to appear before him; and made a tolerable Accommodation with them. The Archbiſhop in particular took a ſolemn Oath, that for the future he would continue true and faithful to his Majeſty's Service. Though after all, the ſucceeding Events were not anſwerable to ſuch Proteſtations.

After

After that, there was an interview at *Wadstena*, in which vain indeavours were us'd to procure a Peace between the two Kings. They could find no medium to satisfie 'em both, and so the *Danish* Counseliours return'd home without doing any thing. Now, King *Christian* never suffer'd the *Swedes* to rest; for tho' he us'd no open Force against 'em for the first three Years, yet he amus'd 'em with false Alarms, and spread sham reports of a Design to Invade their Country. So that *Charles* was oblig'd to send Troops to the Frontiers perhaps three or four times a Year; and forasmuch as the Soldiers in these Marches and counter Marches, could not but gall the Peasants, these Mutiny'd upon that Head, and cry'd out that King *Charles*'s Troops oppress'd them as much as the Enemies. Now this was the only thing that the King of *Denmark* wanted: On the other side, the *Norwegians* who sided with the King of *Denmark*, gave King *Charles* a great deal of trouble. The chief of these was one *Torbiom Gast*, who with a Body of 3000 Men offer'd to make an Irruption into *West Gothland*: But *Thord Bonde*, whom King *Charles* had made Marshal of the Kingdom, defeated him, and took him Prisoner in the flight.

The Peasants Mutiny against K. Charles.

About the same time King *Charles* considering that the Kings his Predecessors had given greater Revenues to the Clergy than were necessary, to the great prejudice of the Revenue of the Crown; he appointed two Commissaries, namely *Eric de Vozgelwyck*, and Chancellour *Nicholas Ryting*, empowering them to alianate from the Clergy all the Estates that they possess'd without a Right. Then he publish'd a Declaration, prohibiting the Subjects to be over-liberal in their Gifts to Churches and the Ecclesiasticks, because it was prejudicial to the secular Estates as well as the State of the War. This procedure disoblig'd the Clergy mightily; and the Kings Enemies finding he was most effectually supported by Marshal *Thord Bonde*, who was the most accompliish'd and valiant General then in *Sweden*, resolv'd to make away with him: For which end they brib'd his own Bailiff, who cut his Head in two with a Hatchet while he was asleep, and then fled

K. Charles Abridges the Ecclesiastick Revenues.

The Death of Marshal Thord Bonde.

fled to *Denmark*. After the Death of Marshal *Thord Bonde*, King *Charles*'s Affairs were in a sorry condition. For in the Autumn of that same Year, *Magnus Green* came with *Danish* Troops into the Streights of *Calmar*; and after he had taken the Island of *Oeland*, laid Siege to *Stockholm* for six Weeks; After which *Eric Ericson*, King *Charles*'s Son-in-law, surrender'd the Castle to the Enemies, upon condition that he should march out with all his Men and Baggage: But the *Danes* did not keep their promise. Next Winter the Arch-bishop petition'd King *Charles* for the equivolent of some Ships that he had lost the preceeding Year in opposing the Enemies of the State. King *Charles* thinking himself not oblig'd to make Restitution, made a Reference of the matter to some Counsellors, who gave in their Verdict that the King ought to repair the Arch-bishops Damages. This Verdict displeas'd King *Charles* mightily, insomuch that the Councellors took leave of him with a great deal of dissatisfaction. King *Charles* had Enemies enough before this happen'd: But this and such like proceedings procur'd him still more. However he still confided in his Power, having the best Castles in his Hands, and 2000 Troopers in pay. Besides, being naturally of a haughty proud Temper, he contemn'd all all the World, and never could treat any Affair with gentle measures, but was always for carrying Things by Force. This was the true Cause of his Ruin. For a more moderate and engaging carriage would easily have gain'd all his Enemies.

Oeland and the Castle of Stockholm.

A Character of King Charles.

The Arch-bishop Rebels against K. Charles.

Next Summer King *Charles* went to *Calmar*, with a Design to retrieve the Island of *Oeland*. His absence gave the Arch-bishop an opportunity of putting in Execution the detestable Plot he had form'd against him. For he imprison'd all the Bailiffs and Officers of the Kings Houshold wherever he could meet with them; and then affix'd a Placart upon the Cathedral Church of *Upsal*, setting forth that he renounc'd the Oath of Fidelity he had taken to King *Charles*, and disclaim'd the Allegiance he had Sworn to him. To justifie his Conduct, he alledg'd the following Reasons: That King *Charles* cramp'd the liberty of the Ecclesiasticks as well as secular.

ſecular Perſons; That he was an Heretick; That he confer'd Places and Offices upon wicked and ill meaning Men; That he engag'd the State in long and tedious Wars; That he loaded his Subjects with inſupportable Taxes; That he deſpis'd all thoſe that gave him good Counſel; and in fine, that he ravag'd the Eſtates of others with an inſatiable Avarice. After that, the Arch-biſhop went into the Church, and having laid his Croſier and Mitre before the Tomb of St. *Eric*, put on a Sword and Armour, proteſting he would not re-aſſume his Epiſcopal Ornaments, till the Affairs of the Kingdom were in a better condition. This done, he caus'd the Kings Palace to be riffl'd; and having call'd the *Dalians* and *Weſtmanians* to meet him at *Weſteraas*, communicated to 'em the Deſign he had form'd againſt his Majeſty; and in regard there was a general Complaint againſt King *Charles*'s Government, he had no great trouble in making a conſiderable Party: King *Charles* being inform'd of what paſs'd, return'd with all Expedition to *Eaſt Gothland* with 1400 Horſe, and having drawn out of *Stockholm* ſome Thouſands of Foot, thought to ſurpriſe the Arch-biſhop. But the Arch-biſhop was upon his Guard; and upon the news of the King's arrival at *Stregneſz*, march'd with his Partizans in the Night-time, and ſurpris'd the Kings Army in their Beds, taking a great many Priſoners, and routing the reſt. In this Action King *Charles* receiv'd a Wound; but he eſcap'd and fled to *Stockholm*, where he burnt down all the Suburbs, for fear the Enemy ſhould come and lodge there. The Arch-biſhop purſu'd him cloſe, and having block'd up *Stockholm* on two ſides, rais'd all the Country about againſt the King. King *Charles* ſent Ambaſſadours to ask his Pardon, promiſing thereafter to govern according to the Laws and Meaſures of Juſtice. But the ſawcy Prelate was ſo far from being mov'd with his requeſt, that he took up a firm Reſolution to carry on the Attempt to the laſt. At laſt King *Charles* finding the Arch-biſhop reſolute, and conſidering that he could have no Succours from the Kingdom, ſince the Forces he had hitherto depended upon were intirely defeated, and the hatred of the Nobility and Com-

Routs the Kings Army.

The King asks the Arch-biſhop Pardon, but could not obtain it.

mons

mons purſu'd him; upon theſe Conſiderations, I ſay, he took his Gold and Silver and what he had that was moſt precious, and embarquing privately in the Night-time with a favourable Wind arriv'd at *Dantzick* three days after, about the beginning of the tenth Year of his Reign. But as one miſchief ſeldom comes alone, it happen'd, that King *Charles* lent all the great Treaſure he had brought from *Sweden* to the Knights of *Jeruſalem* in *Pruſſia*; receiving a Mortgage upon ſome Caſtles, which were afterwards taken by the *Poles* in a War with the Knights of that Order. So that the unfortunate Prince loſt both Caſtles and his Money at once.

K. Charles *Abdicates* Sweden *and becomes very poor.*

Upon King *Charles*'s departure, the Arch-biſhop manag'd all things at pleaſure. He carry'd the City and Caſtle of *Stockholm* after a Siege of ſix Months, upon which he croſs'd the Country, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Caſtles, bating that of *Calmar*, which *Guſtavus Carelſon* kept ſometime partly for himſelf, and partly for the King. This done, the Prelate aſſum'd the Title of *Protector* of the Kingdom, and having call'd in *Olof Axelſon*, who was then in the Iſland of *Gothland*, ſent him to *Finland*, to ſubdue that Country. At the ſame time, *Bengt* Biſhop of *Scara*, *Magnus Green*, *Thuro Thureſon*, *Guſtavus Olſon*, and *Guſtavus Larzſon*, with ſeveral others, that had retir'd to *Denmark* for fear of King *Charles*, return'd to *Sweden*. Theſe Lords, having a great many Friends, and a ſtrong Party in *Sweden*, conſulted with the Arch-biſhop, and reſolv'd by common conſent to chuſe King *Chriſtian* for their Soveraign; and accordingly ſent an Embaſſy to *Denmark*, intreating him to come forthwith to *Stockholm*. However they did not diſcover their Deſign to the People, becauſe they knew very well, that the Inhabitants of the *Low-Country* were mightily incens'd againſt the King of *Denmark*, by reaſon of his frequent incurſions upon them. Purſuant to their deſire, King *Chriſtian* approach'd to *Stockholm* with a ſtrong Fleet; and caus'd his Partizans to ſpread a Report up and down the *Low-Country*, that King *Charles* had rais'd a great Body of Troops in *Pruſſia*, in order to recover the Crown of *Sweden*, and to inflict ſevere Puniſhments upon thoſe who

King Chriſtian.

The Arch-biſhop aſſumes the Title of Protecter.

who diſpoſſeſs'd him: And as for the King of *Denmark*, that he only came with his Army and Fleet to prevent the Ruin that threatn'd the Kingdom. In the mean time the Arch-biſhop and his Party drew up ſome Articles, which they would have the King to promiſe to obſerve, and to Sign with his own Hand, before he was choſen King. King *Chriſtian* Sign'd them and affix'd his Seal without any ſcruple. This done, the Arch-biſhop and his Partizans went to receive him, and having conducted him to the City in great pomp, Proclaim'd him King; afterwards he was acknowledg'd at *Moraſteen*, and Crown'd at *Upſal*. *K. Chriſtian Crown'd.*

The Arch-biſhop finding his Conſcience troubl'd, ſollicited Pope *Calixtus* for an Abſolution from the Crime he was guilty of in this Enterpriſe againſt his own King, upon whom he laid the blame of all that happen'd, and a great many other things. The Pope not only granted Abſolution to the Arch-biſhop and his Accomplices; but wiſh'd him all Succeſs and Proſperity. *The Arch-biſhop abſolv'd by the Pope.*

The beginning of King *Chriſtian*s Reign was peaceable and meek, and ſuch as the *Swedes* might brook well enough; excepting that he publiſh'd a Declaration re-aſſuming to himſelf all the Crown Lands that had been Mortgag'd by his Predeceſſors, alledging that the Creditors had drawn more Money out of them than their Principal came to. Sometime after his Acceſſion to the Crown, *Adolphus* Duke of *Sleſwick* and *Holſace* dy'd without Male Iſſue: And tho *Olan* Count of *Shemburg*, together with his own Brother would have taken poſſeſſion of his Lands, but that they were affraid of drawing upon themſelves a troubleſome War; for King *Chriſtian* being the Son of *Adolphus*'s Daughter, pretended to be the next Heir, and ſo eluded Count *Othon*'s Plea. However the Affair was accommodated upon condition, that King *Chriſtian* ſhould give to *Othon* 53000 Ducats, and to his Brother 4000 together with the Countries of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorſt*, in conſideration of a Ceſſion to be made by them of Duke *Adolphus*s Lands; ſo that King *Chriſtian* was to have them for himſelf and his Heirs for ever. To raiſe the above-mention'd *The Duke of* Sleſwick *dies without Iſſue.*

mention'd Sum, King *Christian* was oblig'd to lay the first Taxes upon *Sweden*; besides that, he took from the Cloysters of *Stockholm* very considerable Sums of Money, which King *Charles* had left in the Custody of the *Monks* before his departure from *Sweden*. So that the *Swedes* were oblig'd to buy with their own Money whole Provinces for the behalf of another. After that, he several times put extraordinary Imposts upon his Subjects, and every time that he did so promis'd he would trouble them no more. In the mean time the Inhabitants of the *Low Countries* would not let his promises pass for simple Complements, but positively demanded that King *Christian* should stand to his word. However the King did not trouble himself, but borrowed large Sums of Money wherever he could find them, and then delay'd the payment till a new War came, which exhausted the Principal. This he not only in *Sweden*, but in the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*. But after all, *Anno Dom.* 1493, he gave a personal obligation at *Calmar* to pay all these Debts.

The Swedes Mutiny against King Christian.

King *Christian*'s extraordinary Taxations upon the *Swedes* made them murmur against his Government, and their dissatisfaction was afterward inflam'd by a report from *Prussia*, that King *Charles* had underhand assembled a Body of Troops, in order to recover the Crown of *Sweden*, and that a great many Persons of Note had resolv'd to declare for him upon his arrival. Tho' this was only a sham Report rais'd by King *Christians* Enemies; yet King *Christian* without further enquiry, imprison'd several Persons, particularly *Nicholas Ryting*, who had been Chancellour in King *Charles*'s Reign, *Nils Petersonds*, *Foran Carelson*, *Bengt Stenson*, and several others; whom he Arraign'd for Treason, upon the false Evidence of the Arch-bishop, who had suborn'd a profligate Wretch, call'd *Peter Hetteloſz*, to say that he had sent Letters in King *Charles*'s name to the imprison'd Persons. King *Christian* fancying they were guilty according to the Laws of Justice, tortur'd them in order to extort a sincere Confession, insomuch that some of 'em dy'd upon the Rack, and the rest languish'd ever after.

This

This Conduct, ſo unwonted in *Sweden*, increas'd the hatred and diſſatisfaction of the Subjects; ſo that the King became not only odious to the Mob, but to all Men of Senſe: And what enrag'd them ſtill more, was a Declaration made by *Petter Hetteloſz*, ſetting forth that the Perſons thus tortur'd were altogether innocent, and the falſe Accuſation laid againſt them, was only owing to the Malice and Artifices of the Archbiſhop. Next Year King *Chriſtian* reſolv'd upon a Voyage into *Finland*, and under that pretence obtain'd the Councils approbation to lay on new Taxes upon the Peaſants, ordering the Archbiſhop to collect them in the Province of *Upland* in his abſence. But when the Archbiſhop offer'd ſummon the Boors to make their Payment, they mutiny'd, and roundly pleaded that they were not oblig'd to pay any Taxes, ſince the King had ſo often promis'd not to burden them for the future. In fine they declar'd, That it was impoſſible for them to raiſe ſuch Sums of Money every Year over and above the Ordinary Taxes, and that they would rather chuſe to die altogether, than to contribute one Farthing more. For the People were ſo much diſaffected, that they wanted only a Head to bring them to a general Inſurrection. The Archbiſhop being frightned, and apprehenſive of pernicious Conſequences, pacify'd the Boors with good words, and in the King's Name exempted them from all Contributions; and was glad to get off ſo out of the danger that then threaten'd him. The King returning from *Finland*, gave the Archbiſhop very high words, and told him poſitively, that he was reſolv'd to Collect theſe Taxes, the Council having conſented to their Impoſition. Beſides, he charg'd the Archbiſhop and his Bailiffs, with having fomented the Sedition among the Boors; for that upon all other occaſions they had never refus'd to pay their Aſſeſſments. Thoſe who were of King *Charles*'s Intereſt, endeavour'd by all means to foment the Diviſion between the King and the Archbiſhop. At laſt, it came to that, that the Archbiſhop was oblig'd to give Bail for his not departing from *Stockholm* without the

The Archbiſhop diſgrace d.

the King's leave; after which the *Danes* branded him for a Traytor, and Libels were ſcatter'd up and down, importing that the Archbiſhop had reſolv'd to do by King *Chriſtian*, as he had done by King *Charles*. As ſoon as the News of the Archbiſhop's uſage was ſpread abroad, a great number of Boors Aſſembled before *Stockholm*, and ſurpris'd *Holm* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, before any of the Citizens were aware. King *Chriſtian* having drawn together his Troops, amus'd the Peaſants with good words, till he had under-hand brought in ſome Veſſels, between *Holm* of the *Holy Ghoſt* and *North Malm*; after which he routed them, and kill'd 300 upon the Spot. Thoſe who were taken Priſoners were all Quarter'd, and their Quarters were put up upon a Wheel. After that, the King ſeiz'd the Caſtle of *Stecka* belonging to the Biſhop.

An Engagement near Stockholm.

Thereupon *Katil* Biſhop of *Lindkoping*, writ to the King, to releaſe the Archbiſhop and take other methods of Government, or elſe he would in a ſhort time be made ſenſible of the ill conſequences of his Conduct. But the King not minding this Letter, ſent the Archbiſhop Priſoner to *Copenhagen*. Upon the News of his Impriſonment, Biſhop *Katil*, in Conjunction with the States of the Kingdom, gave the King to know that they renounc'd the Allegiance they had ſworn to him, and that for the following Reaſons; becauſe he had not given ſatisfaction to the *Swedes* in the buſineſs of the Iſland of *Gothland*; he had Govern'd their Country by Foreign Miniſters and Officers; he had deny'd Juſtice to the Natives; he had put Innocent Perſons to the Rack, and robb'd them of their Lives and Eſtates; he had loaded the *Swedes* with inſupportable Taxes; he had bought the Dutchy of *Holſace* for his own private advantage; and had ſent off their Archbiſhop to *Denmark*. In a little time this Prelate gather'd a Body of Men in *Eaſt Gothland* and *Neritia*, and appear'd before *Stockholm*, where the Inhabitants were generally diſſaffected to the King, not only upon the account of the exceſſive Taxes he had laid upon them, but likewiſe becauſe he had ſo lately cut in pieces a great number of Boors before their Eyes,

Biſhop Katil *and the States declare againſt King* Chriſtian.

Eyes, and quarter'd those of 'em that he took Prisoners. King *Christian* meaning to repulse Archbishop *Katil* by open Force, sent several Barks up the *Maelor*, in order to appease the Peasants. But upon their arrival at *Quickstadt*, the Bishop surpris'd them, and having surrounded them on both sides, took a great many Prisoners, and took some Vessels. After this Defeat, Bishop *Katil* return'd before *Stockholm*, and planting his Men upon the two *Malms*, gave several repulses to those who sally'd out upon him. At last King *Christian* observing that he had not sufficient Strength to make Head against the Bishop, left in *Stockholm* as strong a Garrison as he could spare, and set out before the Winter for *Denmark*, without entertaining the least thought, that these troubles which he himself had caus'd, would strip him of his Kingdom. *The King retires to* Denmark.

Upon the King's departure, Bishop *Katil* made a Progress round all the Kingdom, and being chosen Protector by the Peasants, discharg'd them from their Yearly Taxes, as if himself had been already King: But he could not so quickly make himself Master of the Castles. *Bishop* Katil *made Protector.*

Next Year King *Christian* return'd to *Sweden* with a powerful Army, attended by the greatest part of the Nobility, and most considerable part of the Gentry of the Kingdom of *Sweden*. Bishop *Katil*, who had none of the Senators along him but *Erick Nilson*, was oblig'd to march to *Dalia* to watch the King's arrival. And being certainly inform'd that the King was to pass through a place call'd *Helleskog*, block'd up the Ways with Trees that were cut down for the purpose, and built Forts in all the Places that were convenient for disputing the Enemies Passage. But King *Christian* confiding in his good Troops, march'd on, and did not doubt but he would quickly dispossess the Peasants of the advantageous Post they were thus possess'd of. But when he came to an Engagement, he was quickly made sensible, that the Peasants who lay hid in the Woods, did more Execution with their Bowes, than his own Troops with their Pieces. Thus did King *Christian* lose this Battle, and a considerable number of brave Fellows that fell upon the Spot, besides a great *And defeated* Christian.

many

many *Holſatian* Gentlemen that were taken Priſoners: So that the King was oblig'd to fly with all expedition to *Stockholm* with the ſcatter'd remains of his Army. Biſhop *Katil* purſu'd him without loſs of time, and laid Siege to *Stockholm*, before the King could rally his Men; upon which the King having fortify'd the City and Caſtle, return'd to *Denmark*. In the time of this Siege, the Country People of *Dalia* and *Upland* wrote to the Council of the Kingdom, that they were reſolv'd to depart from their Allegiance to King *Chriſtian*, becauſe his acceſſion to the Crown was not legal or formal, the Election being carry'd on without their knowledge, which was an infringment upon the Laws of *Sweden*; and that, upon that account they mean't to recall King *Charles* their lawful Sovereign, it being manifeſt by all the Records of Time, that *Sweden* always kept up the form of a Kingdom, and not that of a State under a Protector. Thereupon Biſhop *Katil* and his Partiſans ſent an Embaſſy to King *Charles*, to ſolicite him to return to *Sweden* and reaſſume the Crown. King *Charles* did not deliberate long upon ſuch a propoſal; but having drawn together ſome Auxiliary Troops, lent him by the *Poles* and the City of *Dantzick*, ſet out immediately for *Sweden*. upon his arrival in *Sweden*, the City of *Stockholm* was deliver'd into his hands; and he being acknowledg'd King all over *Sweden*, made a ſolemn Promiſe to do Juſtice to every Body. But the Joy he had conceiv'd upon this Reſtauration, was not long liv'd, for there happen'd a difference between him and Biſhop *Katil*: The occaſion this: During that War, the Biſhop had taken ſome of the principal *German* and *Daniſh* Nobility; and hop'd either to exchange them for the Archbiſhop, or elſe to fetch a good Sum of Money for their Ranſom. Among theſe Priſoners there was one *Nicholas Rannow*, who had been Marſhal of the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and beſides was King *Charles*'s Couſin. This Man by his good Words influenc'd King *Charles* to releaſe him. King *Charles* conſented the more eaſily to his Releaſe, that he had been ſeveral times charg'd before with too much

K. Charles recall'd.

A difference between King Charles and Biſhop Katil.

Rigour

Rigour and Severity; hoping by ſuch a ſignal Act of Clemency and Mercy, to cover the oppoſite Crimes that were imputed to him. Beſides, Marſhal *Ronnow* had promis'd to mediate a Peace between him and the King of *Denmark*. By which means he over perſuaded King *Charles*, not only to give him his Liberty, but to deliver him the Ships that had been taken from the *Danes*. When Biſhop *Katil* return'd to *Stockholm*, he was much incens'd againſt the King upon that Head, and by open force brought back the Priſoners from *Dalerve*, that were already embark'd there. But at laſt he was likewiſe over-perſuaded to conſent to the Releaſe upon theſe Terms, That the *Danes* ſhould ſet the Archbiſhop at Liberty; That a Peace ſhould be concluded between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and that King *Chriſtian* ſhould take him into favour. At the ſame time the Biſhop promis'd under hand, that King *Chriſtian* ſhould have the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and King *Charles* only one Province, provided Archbiſhop *Jeuſz* return'd to *Sweden* with Honour and Reputation. King *Chriſtian* willingly agreed to the Propoſal, and immediately ſet the Archbiſhop at Liberty. Thereupon the Archbiſhop ask'd his pardon for all he had been guilty of in oppoſition to him, and promis'd upon Oath to be faithful to him as long as he liv'd, and at the ſame time offer'd him Obligations in Writing, and ſufficient Surety for that purpoſe. But the King of *Denmark*, in a civil obliging way, refuſed all his offers; Treated him very ſplendidly, made him ſeveral rich Preſents, and conferr'd upon him the Government of the whole Kingdom; enjoyning all the Governours of the Caſtles to give him acceſs where they commanded. After that, he granted the *Swedes* a general Indemnity, and ſent the Archbiſhop to *Sweden* with part of his Guards; for he knew very well that there would not be room enough both for him and King *Charles* in one Kingdom; beſides, he had already receiv'd advice that Biſhop *Katil* was diſſatisfy'd with King *Charles*.

The Archbiſhop ſet at Liberty.

The Archbishop arrives in Sweden.

As soon as the Archbishop arriv'd on the Frontiers of *Sweden*, Bishop *Katil* and his Friends went to congratulate his arrival, and conducted him to *Upsal*. Presently the Archbishop sent Emissaries up and down the Kingdom to draw the People over to his Party; he diminish'd their Taxes, and with a fallacious pretence equally disclaim'd both the King of *Denmark*, and King *Charles*, to whom he allotted only the Province of *Finland*; he establish'd four Governours in the Kingdom, and having drawn together a considerable Body of Troops, went to besiege *Stockholm*. King *Charles*, who would not suffer *Stockholm* to be either surpris'd or besieg'd a second time, march'd out of the City with what Force he had, in order to meet his Enemy.

And defeats K. Charles.

Accordingly they came to a Battle upon the *Ice*, near *Stockholm*, in which several Thousands of Men were kill'd on either side: But at last K. *Charles* was routed. By this Accident, and by the News that, what by fair words and what by force, the *Dalecarlians*, who were coming to his Assistance, were oblig'd to march back; this, I say, reduc'd King *Charles* to that extremity, that he deliver'd himself into the hands of the Archbishop. After that, the Holy Father constrain'd him to declare in full Council at *Stockholm*, that he renounc'd the Crown of *Sweden*, and promis'd never to aspire at it thereafter, nor to accept of it in case it were offer'd. Then they granted him the House of *Kassenbourg* in *Finland* with the Fiefs annex'd to it, where he was to live all his Life-time, and subsist upon the Incoms of it. But when he came to *Finland*, he could not obtain the Castle they had allotted him, because *Leit*, Bishop of *Aboo*, who liv'd in a perfect good understanding with King *Christian*, did not much mind the Decisions of the two other Bishops in *Sweden*. So that the poor King was oblig'd to live at great Charges all that Summer at *Aboo*, and drain himself so low, that he was 50000 Marks behind hand with his Creditors. While King *Charles* resided in *Finland*, the Bishop made himself Master of the whole Kingdom, without any opposition. And in effect, there was none that offer'd to oppose him, but *Nils Sture*, an

an intimate Friend of King *Charles*'s, who loudly upbraided him with betraying his Sovereign twice, and said, that upon that account the *Danes* had a great deal of reason to use him as a Traitor. The Archbishop, to be reveng'd upon *Nils Sture*, caus'd a Trap to be laid for him; but he having notice of it, retir'd to *Finland*, where he liv'd with *Erick Axelson*, Governour of *Wibourg*. Thereupon, the Prelate pillag'd his Estate, and imprison'd his Domesticks, after having abus'd 'em. Next Year Bishop *Katil* dy'd; upon which an Assembly was held at *Stockholm*, in which *Nils Sture* and *Erick Axelson* were present, and complain'd of the violence and injustice they had suffer'd from the Archbishop. But the Archbishop confiding in his overgrown Power and Authority, answer'd in an injurious contemning Style. Upon which *Nils Sture* retir'd privately from *Stockholm* to *Gestricia*, where he made a Party, kill'd some of the Bailiffs that the Archbishop had put in, and discharg'd all the Inhabitants from their Taxes. The Archbishop sent 300 Horse to apprehend him; but before their arrival, *Nils Sture* had made his escape to *Dalecarlia*, where he had such an Ascendant over the People, that they all blam'd the Archbishop for betraying his Sovereign twice; and soon after Assembled at the Market-place of *Westeraas*, and declar'd the Archbishop a Traytor to his Country, as being one that meant to deliver the Kingdom of *Sweden* into the hands of the King of *Denmark*. To appease all these Troubles, the Archbishop was oblig'd to make Oath in presence of all the People at *Stockholm*, That the Reports spread abroad against him were absolutely false, and that when he receiv'd the Castle from Bishop *Katil* he promis'd to put it into the hands of such a Sovereign, as the Council and States of the Kingdom should please to chuse for their King or Governor.

Bishop Katil dies.

This done, an Assembly was held at *Wadstena*; in which, after several Debates *pro* and *con*, *Erick Axelson*, who had Marry'd King *Charles*'s Daughter, was declar'd Protector of the Kingdom. The Archbishop was oblig'd to put into his hands the City of *Stockholm* and all the Castles; though much a-

Erick Axelson Protector of Sweden.

gainſt his will, for he knew very well that *Erick* was an intimate Friend to King *Charles* and *Nils Sture*, his ſworn Enemies. In the mean time, *Nils Sture*, having rais'd a conſiderable Force in *Dalia*, march'd to *Weſteraas*; and gave it out every where, that he would reſtore King *Charles* to his Throne. But *Erick Nilſon*, Governour of the Caſtle of that Place, and a Partiſan of the Archbiſhop's, in oppoſition to King *Charles*, gather'd a Body of Troops in *Neritia*, and march'd to make Head againſt *Nils Sture*: But they did not come to an Engagement, by reaſon that *Erick Axelſon*, the Protector, made an accomodation of the matter, by which *Nils Sture* was to have the Caſtle of *Weſteraas*, to the great mortification of the Archbiſhop. Notwithſtanding this accommodation, the hatred between *Nils Sture* and *Erick Nilſon* continued. Each of 'em had ſome of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the Country on their ſide; ſo that they form'd two great Factions, who treated one another as the *Gibelins* and *Guelfs* anciently did in *Italy*. For they Maſſacreed one another where-ever they met; ſo that at that time every thing was in great confuſion. Thoſe who ſided with one Party, were the Archbiſhop, *Erick Nilſon*, *Trolle Carelſon*, *John Scwalck*, *Yvar Green*, *Erick Carelſon*, and *Nils Fadderſon*; with a great many Gentlemen, Bailiffs, Burgeſſes, and Peaſants, who after all, did not penetrate into the deſigns of the Party they were embarqu'd in. For though they gave out that their only deſign was to protect the Archbiſhop from his Enemies and King *Charles*'s Partiſans; yet their real aim was to reſtore King *Chriſtian* to the Crown; but they durſt not let the People know ſo much. The Partiſans of the other Faction, were Governor *Erick Axelſon* of the Iſle of *Gothland*, *Nils Sture*, *Steen Sture*, *Birger Trolle*, *Guſtavus Carelſon*, *Knut Poſſe*, and the City of *Stockholm*; who openly declar'd that their intention was to protect the Kingdom from the Dominion of Foreigners, which their Adverſaries had a mind to introduce; and that they were willing either to reſtore King *Charles*, or to continue the Protector in the Adminiſtration of the Government.

Two powerful Factions in Sweden.

The

The Intention of the laſt Party being moſt agreeable to the Boors, they at laſt got the better of the other Faction. 'Tis true, *Erick Nilſon* ſurpris'd a Party belonging to *Nils Sture*, at *Arboga*, killing ſome, and took the reſt Priſoners; and did the like by the reſt of his Domeſticks in *Helſingia* and *Geſtricia*. But on the other hand, *Nils* and *Steen Sture* coming down from *Dalia*, quickly made their repriſals, and ſerv'd *Erick Nilſon*'s Domeſticks and Partiſans the ſame way. In a word, a great many brave Men loſt their lives on both ſides, and the Quarrel was ſo furiouſly purſu'd, that the very Valets and Peaſants retaining to Lords of oppoſite Factions, murder'd one another: and their Maſters reſpected 'em the more for ſo doing. At laſt, the Archbiſhop's Party became ſo ſtrong, that they beſieg'd *Erick Axelſon* the Protector in the City of *Stockholm*.

In the mean time, *Ivar Axelſon*, the Protector's Brother, return'd from the Iſle of *Gothland*, and obtain'd a Victory over *Erick Nilſon* above *Neritia*. After that, he continued his march towards *Stockholm*, in order to relieve his Brother. And *Steen Sture* being come from *Dalia* with 2000 Men, defeated *Erick Nilſon* and his Troops, who thought he had been going to the Archbiſhop's Camp. This done, the Prelate was forc'd to break up the Siege, and fly with his Party to the Iſle of *Oeland*, where he died of Grief ſoon after. The principal Reaſons that mov'd King *Chriſtian* not to ſtir during theſe Troubles, nor to ſend Succors to the Archbiſhop, were theſe. Firſt of all, he did not dare to diſcover that he had a Faction in *Sweden*, till it had got the Aſcendant; for without that, he might have fail'd in his deſign. In the next place, his Brother *Girard*, Count of *Holſace*, gave him a great deal of Trouble, and the Engliſh were his Enemies, having ravag'd the Iſle of *Tſland*. So that he was ſuffieiently employ'd upon all hands. After the Archbiſhop's death, his Faction would not give the Cauſe over for loſt: For they drew together all their Forces, and had a bloody Engagement wirh the Protector at *Eiſpoi* in *Nericia*; in which the greateſt part of their

The Archbiſhops death.

The Reaſons of K. Chriſtian's *not appearing.*

K. Charles *recall'd.* Army were cut in pieces; and the reſt were put to flight. In the midſt of theſe lamentable Troubles and fatal Wars, which were only carry'd on for the Private Intereſt of the Grandees of the Kingdom, the People began to deſire K *Charles*'s Reſtauration, and to blame the Archbiſhop's Party for Expelling him. Upon which his Partiſans recall'd him from *Finland*, and the Governor put the City of *Stockholm* and all the other Caſtles into his hands: Nay, ſeveral of the oppoſite Faction acknowledg'd him for their King But *Erick Nilſon* and *Erick Carelſon* ſtood out, pleading that ſince King *Charles* had renounc'd the Crown, they could not own him as their King. Next Year *Erick Nilſon*, *Erick Carelſon*, and *Trolle*, came to *Wadſtena*, and impriſon'd *Magdalen* the Daughter of King *Charles*, and Wife of *Erick Axelſon*, together with *Birger Trolle*, his Son *Arſtred*, and a great many many more. This done, they enter'd *Upland*, where they raiſed a great number of Boors, in oppoſition to King *Charles*, who charg'd him with Perjury, and upon that ſcore deem'd him to be Excommunicated, which in thoſe days was a terrible thing among the People. On the other ſide, King *Charles* Aſſembled near *Upſal*, a numerous Body of Troops, with which *Erick Carelſon* made a Suſpenſion of Arms for a Fortnight. But when *Erick* found he had 'em at an advantage, he ſurpriſ'd 'em, when they leaſt thought of it, and put 'em to flight. Soon after *Steen Sture* engag'd with him, and was likewiſe defeated and oblig'd to retire to *Dalia*, where he had a great Intereſt upon King *Charles*'s account.

And routed.

Erick Carelſon was ſo puffed up with his Succeſs, that he publickly declar'd, he would not put up his Sword till he had reduc'd the Kingdom to his Obedience. In the beginning of the next Year, fancying he would meet with no Oppoſition, he proudly march'd to *Dalia* with all his Forces, in order to extirpate King *Charles*'s Faction, and after that to lay Siege to *Stockholm*. After he had travers'd the Woods, he came to a Plain call'd *Salem*, where *Nils* and *Steen Sture* gave him Battle, and with an inconſiderable number of Troops

Troops, did ſo maul his Sawcy and Inſolent Forces, that after he had ſuſtain'd a great loſs, he was oblig'd to flie for his Life. After this Defeat, he was no longer ſafe in any part of the Kingdom, neither knew he where to go to gather an Army. For which reaſon, he and his Partiſans fled to *Denmark*, and repreſented things to the King of that Country, as if the Execution of his deſigns could have been eaſily compaſs'd; inſomuch, that he overperſuaded him to invade *Weſt Gothland*, in order to beſiege the Caſtle of *Oreſteen*. But the two *Stures* coming to aſſiſt the *Oſtrogoths*, repuls'd the King of *Denmark* from before the Caſtle ſo vigorouſly, that the King was wounded and conſtrained to retire to *Denmark*. In the ſame Year King *Charles* died at *Stockholm*; and upon the approach of Death, deliver'd the City of *Stockholm*, and the whole Kingdom into the hands of *Steen Sture*, his Siſters Son, who had always aſſiſted him faithfully. K. Charles *dies.*

Immediaty after the death of King *Charles*, the *Swediſh* Nobility wrote to the other Peers then in *Denmark* to return to *Sweden*, in order to concert jointly the meaſures to be taken in the Election of a new King or Protector; and ſo eſtabliſh once more the repoſe and tranquility of the State. But *Erick Carelſon* and his Partiſans made anſwer, that they knew no occaſion of a new Election, and that they look'd upon King *Chriſtian* as their King, in whoſe Service they were reſolv'd to live and die. Soon after, they made a Deſcent upon the Kingdom with a Body of Troops, and having Aſſembled a great number of the Peaſants of *Upland*, *Sudermania* and *Nericia*, wrote to the Citi of *Stockholm*, that they deſign'd to chuſe ſuch a King, as by virtue of the Alliance they had made ſhould have the Government of the Three Kingdoms, and would not accept of their Crown upon any other terms. On the other hand, the *Dalians* wrote both to *Erick Carelſon*, and to the Citizens of *Stockholm*, that in ſpite of the King of *Denmark*'s Faction, they would have no other King but *Steen Sture*, whom they were reſolv'd to defend with their Lives and Fortune. At the ſame

time, *Erick Axelſon*, who was then Maſter of *Finland*, and *Ivar Axelſon*, who was Maſter of the Iſland of *Gothland*, wrote to the City of *Stockholm*, to adhere ſtedfaſtly to *Steen Sture*.

While Affairs were in this Confuſion in *Sweden*, Archbiſhop *James* arriv'd from *Rome*: And a Year having paſs'd, from the death of King *Charles*, without any form of Government, or any determination who was the rightful Sovereign, he Aſſembled at *Upſal* twelve Peaſants out of each Seignory all over the Kingdom, who declar'd that that being the uſual place of Election, they would not return without the nomination of a Sovereign: But the Counſellors, who durſt not appear in that that place, deſir'd ſome time, at the Expiration of which, they promis'd to meet at *Jenkoping*. Though after all, many of 'em did not come to that Aſſembly. All the Members that were preſent in that Aſſembly at *Jenkoping*, unanimouſly approv'd the Election of *Steen Sture*, for Protector of the Kingdom, purſuant to King *Charles*'s Will: Which was not unacceptable to the Boors. The King of *Denmark* perceiving his Party in *Sweden* quite ſunk, reſolv'd to put his deſigns in execution by open Force. Accordingly he came to the Neighbourhood of *Stockholm*, with a Fleet of 70 Ships great and ſmall, and caſt Anchor near *Warmarſo*. Moſt of the Counſellours of the Kingdom being then at *Stockholm*, King *Chriſtian* did not think it proper to make uſe of open Force at firſt, but offer'd to Treat with 'em in an amicable way for ſix Weeks. But at laſt, there being no hopes of Accommodation, and his Proviſions begining to grow ſhort, he put his Men aſhore, and incamping near the *North Holm*, threatned to whip *Steen Sture*, as being one that had formerly been his Page, and to violate the Citizens Wives of *Stockholm* before their Husband's Eyes. After that he march'd to *Upſal*, and having caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd King, complain'd heartily of the Counſellors of the Kingdom, and the City of *Stockholm*, crying out, *That both the one and the other had us'd him very unjuſtly; and had no other deſign in deſtroying him, than to lodge the Sovereignty in their own hands, and to have an*

opportunity

opportunity of *Taxing the Subjects as they ſhould think fit.* For his own part, he promis'd to lower the price of Salt, which was then ſo dear in *Sweden*, that it could not be had for Money. This promiſe had ſuch an influence upon ſeveral of the Peaſants, and even ſome of the Gentry; that they Elected him King anew. King *Chriſtian* having gain'd his point thus far, appear'd with his Army before *Stockholm*, about eight days after. In the mean time his Troops loſt *Elsbourg* in *Weſt Gothland*: And *Steen Sture* having drawn together a numerous Army in *Neritia*, *Sudermania* and *Eaſt Gothland*; march'd to relieve *Stockholm*. Beſides, *Steen Sture* brought a conſiderable Body of Troops from *Dalia*, which were joyn'd by 1300 Men belonging to the City of *Stocholm*. All theſe Forces incamp'd in one Body at *Jaerſue*, about two Miles from *Stockholm*: From whence they writ to King *Chriſtian*, that he ought to return to *Denmark* without ſhedding Blood, and claim no right to *Sweden*, till the States of the Kingdom have call'd him in due from. King *Chriſtian* made anſwer, that he did not come thither to diſpute in words, bur that having been once Elected King, he was reſolv'd to defend his Right. Next day *Steen Sture* advanc'd with his Men, and all that were capable to carry Arms in the City march'd out. King *Chriſtian* had divided his Army into three Bodies, one appointed to guard the Shipping, another planted at a place call'd *Brunckenberg*, and a third poſted in the Cloiſter of St. *Clair*. As ſoon as the Battle began, the Citizens Maſter'd the Bridge between *Malm* and *Kepling*, cut down all the Stakes, and ſet fire to the King's Fort. King *Chriſtian* himſelf was preſent at the Battle of *Brunckenberg* with his choiſe Troops; but in the firſt Attack, receiv'd a wound in the Mouth with an Arrow, that oblig'd him to retire to the Fleet. But, notwithſtanding his abſence, his Men fought for ſome time with a great deal of bravery; inſomumch that the Troops commanded by *Steen Sture* were beat back four times. But at laſt, the *Danes* finding themſelves over-power'd, quitted the Mountain, and fled. In the Flight,

K. Chriſtian *choſen again.*

K. Chriſtian *defeated.*

Flight, a great many were cut in pieces, and ſome hundreds drown'd, becauſe they could not find Boats enough to take them in, in ſo little time. Five hundred were found dead near the King's Standard upon the *Brunckenberg*. And 900 were taken Priſoners, among whom was *Nicolas Rannow*, Marſhal of *Denmark*, with a great many of the principal Nobility. After this defeat, King *Chriſtian* put immediately to Sea, and ſail'd for *Denmark*. *Steen Sture* having made a Progreſs round the Country in the Winter, made himſelf Maſter of all the Caſtles that, till then, held out in the King of *Denmark*'s Name. That ſame Year, a peace was concluded between the two Kingdoms for a long time, upon condition of a mutual exchange of Priſoners.

A Peace between Sweden *and* Denmark.

Though after this, King *Chriſtian* always threatned and alarm'd *Steen Sture*, yet it never came to an open rupture between *Sweden* and *Denmark* as long as *Chriſtian* liv'd. *Steen Sture* Govern'd ſeveral Years, to the great ſatisfaction of the People, whoſe Affection he had gain'd, and who would readily have given him the Dignity of a King, in caſe he had deſir'd it; but he always avoided that Title, becauſe in thoſe days it was very odious. Next Year, King *Chriſtian* made a Journey to *Rome*, and met with a magnificent reception both in *Germany* and *Italy*, eſpecially in *Rome*, becauſe he was King of the *Goths*, who once took that City. His Charges were bore almoſt every where, ſo that in all his Journey he did not ſpend above 2500 Ducats. Some ſay, that in that Journey he made an Alliance with ſeveral Princes, in order to be in a condition to reduce *Sweden*: But we cannot be certain whether it was ſo or not. After that, there was one or two Conferences between the Plenipotentiaries of the Three Kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, in order to examin King *Chriſtian*'s Right to the Crown of *Sweden*. But all thoſe Negotiations produc'd no effect, becauſe their Reſolutions were not obſerv'd. Some Years after this, Archbiſhop *Jones* founded the Univerſity of *Upſal*, with the approbation of the Pope. A little later, the *Ruſſians* ravag'd

Steen Sture *has a peaceable Government.*

K. Chriſtian's *Journey to* Rome.

vag'd the Province of *Carelia*; in reſentment of which injury, *Erick Axelſon* made an irruption into *Ruſſia* with a numerous Army, and put all to Fire and Sword for the extent of Thirty Miles. At laſt, King *Chriſtian* died: Upon which the *Norwegians* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Sweden*, to make a ſeparate Re-union of the two Kingdoms under one Sovereign, and to break the Union that was before. On the other hand, the Council of *Denmark* wrote Letters to the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, Soliciting them to ſend Deputies to *Helmſtadt*, purſuant to their Ancient Treaty, in order to proceed jointly to the Election of a King to Rule the Three Kingdoms: This laſt Propoſal was accepted. But when the Protector was upon the Road for *Wadſtena* along with the Counſellours of the Kingdom, he fell ill, or at leaſt pretended to be ſo: And being unable to continue his Journey, gave his Seal and full Power to the Counſellors, deſiring them to go on in their intended Journey: But the Counſellors would not aſſiſt at the Aſſembly, ſince the Protector could not be there. Upon that, the *Danes* and *Norwegians* choſe *John* the Son of King *Chriſtian*, for their Sovereign. At the ſame time, the *Danes* carry'd on their Intrigue in *Sweden* ſo happily, that *Steen Sture* appointed an interview in order to a Negotiation at *Calmar*; at which the *Swedes* were overperſuaded to accept of King *John* for their Sovereign, provided it were not to their prejudice. Thereupon they drew up ſeveral Articles, which King *John* was to ſwear to: And King *John* and the *Danes* did their utmoſt to give the *Swedes* ſatisfaction; they granted to *Steen Sture*, all that he could deſire for himſelf; and *Sture* promis'd to put the Kingdom into King *John*'s hands; though after all, he retain'd it to himſelf for 14 Years, becauſe the King had not perform'd the Articles he had ſwore to obſerve, without which condition he was not oblig'd to deliver up the Kingdom. The principal Articles that the King was requir'd to obſerve and perform, were theſe: *The Payment of the Debts contracted by his Father* Chriſtian *in all the Three Kingdoms*; *the Reparation of the Damages they had ſuſtain'd*; *a deciſion*

K. Chriſtian's *Death.*

cision of the Difference between Sweden *and* Norway, *occasion'd by the business of* Skardal *and* Suarto If he did not satisfie these Articles, they claim'd a right to take up Arms against him without incurring the censure of Rebellion. After all, tho' *Steen Sture* and the *Swedish* Councellours met at *Calmar* at the appointed time, and demanded a decision of the differences relating to the Isle of *Gothland*, *Skardal*, and *Suarto*, upon the performance of which condition they accepted of King *John* for their King: Notwithstanding this, the *Danes* would not hear of any such thing, because they distrusted the Justice of their Cause: Nay, on the contrary, they importun'd the *Swedes* to Crown the King first; but the *Swedes* would not, for they saw plainly that if they could not get Justice done 'em before the King was set upon the Saddle, they would get much less when he was once fix'd. In the mean time they confirm'd the Union. However, they rejected King *John* for want of Coronation. By this means, *Steen Sture* continued in the Administration of Affairs fourteen Years. This Man govern'd the State with so much Prudence and Reputation, that, during his Regency, the *Swedes* never thought of another King; tho' they were frequently sollicited to that purpose by Letters from *Denmark*: For the *Danes* durst not attack the *Swedes* by open force, because *Dorothy* their King's Mother disswaded 'em, and thought it not proper for *Denmark* to engage in a War with *Sweden*. Since the *Swedes* could not obtain a definitive Sentence authorising them to re-enter into possession of the Isle of *Gothland*; *Steen Sture* left no stone unturn'd to recover it. The case relating to that Island, as it was then, stood thus. After the Death of *Erick* King of *Pomerania*, *Oluf Axelson Tot* lent King *Christian* a large Sum of Money upon condition of having that Island to himself and his Heirs, till the payment of the Money; *Oluf* coming to dye transferr'd his Right to the Island of *Gothland*, to *Ivar Axelson* his Brother; and King *Charles* gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Ivar*, in order to re-unite the Isle of *Gothland* to the Crown of *Sweden*, which *Ivar* promis'd to do. In the Reign of King *Christi-*

Steen Sture *continues Protector of* Sweden.

The State of the Case relating to the Isle of Gothland.

an,

an, *Erick Axelſon Ivar's* third Brother had almoſt all the Country under his Command, and beſides was made Governour of *Sweden*; after which he married King *Charles's* Daughter, and put the Kingdom into his hands, retaining to himſelf for life *Wibourg*, *Nyſlot*, *Raſebourg*, *Tawaſtehuus*, and *Aboo*, upon condition that after his Death all theſe places ſhould return to the King or Protector of *Sweden*. But after all, when he was apprehenſive of Death, he left all the above-mention'd Caſtles to his Brother *Laurence Axelſon*; and *Laurence* dying ſoon after left all the Caſtles to his Brother *Ivar Axelſon*, who was then in poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Gothland*. *Steen Sture* had a great deal of trouble before he could get *Finland* out of *Ivar's* hands, for being himſelf in the Iſle of *Gothland*, he was not only forc'd to give him good words to procure from him a ceſſion of *Finland*; but likewiſe gave him by way of compenſation, the Iſle of *Oeland*, *Stekebourg*, *Aberkoo-heradh*, *Geſtrick*, *Angermania*, *Aſnade-herack*, *Hage*, *Enkoping*, and *Swartſio*. But *Ivar* had done much more wiſely if he had contented himſelf with leſs, and ſo avoided the Odium that he thereby drew upon himſelf. For *Steen Sture* could eaſily take from him his Poſſeſſions in *Sweden*, when he pleas'd; bnt he could not do the ſame in *Finland*. 'Tis true he had force enough to diſlodg him, but then *Ivar Axelſon* threaten'd to ſurrender the Country to the *Ruſſians*, if he did not allow him to poſſeſs it in Peace. After the above-mention'd Treaty between *Ivar Axelſon* and the Governour, an Aſſembly met at *Stockholm*, in which things were for the moſt part carried by a Faction that was oppoſite to *Steen Stuee*; and *Ivar* being diſoblig'd by *Steen* upon the ſcore of *Finland*, Embarqu'd in that Party. In fine, the whole Faction combin'd to depoſe *Steen Sture*, and put into his Poſt *Arfwed Trolle*, Son-in-Law to *Ivar Axelſon*: But their only aim was, after that, to wreſt the Government out of his hands, and offer it to King *John* purſuant to their promiſe. However they came to an Accommodation, by which *Steen Sture* continu'd Governour of *Sweden*. *Ivar Axelſon* retir'd to the Iſle of *Gothland*, where he did what he pleas'd

without

without minding either *Sweden* or *Denmark*; fancying himſelf King of that Country. He took ſeveral Veſſels in ſeveral Parts of the Sea, and compell'd the *Dutch* to bring every year to *Wisby* two Ships laden with Salt. While *Ivar Axelſon* continued his Pyracies in the *Baltick*, the *Swedes* were accounted Pyrates, becauſe they took the whole Kingdom of *Sweden* to be ſubject to *Ivar Axelſon*; tho Governour *Steen Sture* and the Councellours importun'd him to quit that profligate robbing way of living, by which he brought all *Sweden* under an ill Character; yet he would not alter his meaſures. Upon which *Steen Sture* with ſome of the Counſellours came to *Calmar* to have an interview with him; but he abſented under the pretence of Sickneſs. Then *Steen Sture* went to *Skognes* juſt by the Caſtle where *Ivar* ſtay'd; and having ſent him word he wanted to ſpeak with him, receiv'd no anſwer. At laſt *Ivar* not regarding the Remonſtrances of *Arſwed* his Son-in-law, put himſelf into a poſture of Defence; and *Steen Sture* beſieg'd him in the Caſtle of *Borckholm*, but in the night time he made his eſcape in a Barque to the Iſle of *Gothland*. King *John* receiving advice of what paſt; was affraid that *Ivar Axelſon* would loſe that Iſland; and upon that account fitted out a Fleet of 40 Sail to ſecure the Country before the arrival of the *Swedes*. But before the Fleet could put to Sea, *Ivar Axelſon* came to wait upon King *John* near *Drackor*, and voluntarily offer d him the Iſle of *Gothland*, hoping he would ſuccour him againſt the Protector, and imagining withal that perhaps King *John* in conſideration of his good will would let him poſſeſs the Iſland for life. Thereupon the King went to *Gothland*, and having provided for the ſecurity of the City and Caſtle, would not allow *Ivar* any part in the Government, but commanded him to follow him to *Denmark*: After that King *John* ſail'd with his Fleet to the Iſle of *Oeland*, and as he lay off of *Norendde*, wrote to *Steen Sture* then at *Calmar*, that he wanted to ſpeak with him, *Steen* having taken all the neceſſary precautions for his own ſafety, went on board of the King's Ship, and was perfectly reconcil'd to him, promiſing to put the

Kingdom

Kingdom of *Sweden* into his hands: Tho' after all, he kept his word no better than before.

King *John* and the Protector being thus reconcil'd, the King offer'd his mediation for accomodating the difference between the Protector and *Ivar Axelſon*, and manag'd the Negotiation ſo favourably on the behalf of the Protector, whoſe friendſhip he courted, that poor *Ivar Axelſon* was oblig'd to give up to *Steen Sture* the Iſland *Oeland* and *Borkholm*, without any equivalent; and to follow the King to *Denmark*, where he liv'd for ſome time without Court or Palace, and at laſt ended his days in a miſerable condition. For King *John* did not think he had laid any great Obligation, in chooſing rather to leave him a Country that he could no longer keep, than to yield it to *Steen Sture* his moſt inveterate Enemy.

King John *and the Protector reconcil'd.*

Ivar Axelſon *dies.*

Next Year the *Ruſſians* invaded and ravag'd *Finland*, but *Steen Sture* taking the Field repuls'd 'em with a great deal of vigour. At the very ſame time, there came a *Bull* from *Rome*, in which the *Pope* Excommunicated *Steen Sture* the Protector, for poſſeſſing himſelf of the Caſtle of *Oerebro*, which was appointed for the Reſidence of Queen *Dorothy*. But *Steen Sture* not mov'd with the *Anathema*, gave ſufficient proof of his right and the juſtice of his Cauſe, at *Rome*, by his Ambaſſadour *Hemmingh Gadde*. After that he concluded an Alliance with *Lubeck* and the *Hans-Towns* in oppoſition to King *John*; by which it was provided that none of the Allies could make a Peace with King *John*, without the knowledg and conſent of the reſt. This Juncture was very favourable to *Steen Sture*, by giving him time to fortifie his Power and Authority in the Kingdom; tho' at the ſame time it was prejudicial to the State becauſe it prolong'd the War, in which the *Swedes* loſt a great many Veſſels and Goods. As for King *John*, he likewiſe ſet all his Artifices on foot to put himſelf in a capacity of reſiſting his Enemies. For he ſtruck an Alliance with the *Ruſſians*, who upon his ſollicitation made ſeveral inrodes into *Finland*: He likewiſe ſent repeated Letters to the Nobility and Council of *Sweden*, praying them to remember their Duty, and not

SteenSture *Excommunicated.*

not to ſuffer *Steen Sture* to continue in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, contrary to his promiſe as well as theirs. But after all, the Governour had the common People at his diſpoſal, and equally ſlighted King *John*'s Letters, and the Counſels and Remonſtrances of the Senate: For he only waited to gain time, by feeding them always with fair hopes: And at laſt he endeavour'd to keep the Poſt he was in, by open force; it being a very unwonted thing for one that is ſet upon the Seat, to put another into his place. While Affairs were at this paſs, 'twas agree'd that an Aſſembly ſhould meet at *Calmar*, in which King *John* ſhould accomodate matters with *Steen Sture*. But when the appointed time came, the King of *Denmark* being taken ill could not be preſent: Upon which the Aſſembly was prorogu'd till the next Year; at which time the King came to *Calmar*, accompany'd by the principal Councellours of the three Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*. There they ſtay'd a whole Month for the arrival of the Protector, who was not ſo much retarded by contrary Winds, as by the averſion he had to the Negotiation. In the mean time King *John* was ſurpris'd by a ſuddain and unexpected accident; for the Veſſel in which he had lodg'd his Papers and Claims that he was to produce before the Aſſembly to juſtifie his Pretenſions, was burnt together with an *Italian* Lawyer that was on board of her. At the ſame time two other Ships likewiſe took fire, and two run fowl of one another. Theſe misfortunes did ſo animate the Protector, that he would not hold any further Conferences with the King; but left it to his choice, whether he would have Peace or War.

An Aſſembly at Calmar.

King *John* finding that he could gain nothing by force as long as the *Hans-Towns* continued in confederacy with *Sweden*, us'd all his endeavours to break their Union. And to that end he ſent Ambaſſadours to *Steen Sture* to aſſure him that he was ready to conclude a Peace with him for thirty years, provided he would paſs from the Treaty which he had made with the ſaid Towns; that by this means he might have time to act againſt them with

with all his Forces: But the Governour would not conſent to a ſuſpenſion of Arms, but only for a Year. This refuſal ſo vex'd King *John* that he ſtirr'd up the *Ruſſians* to make an Inroad into *Finland*, where they committed great Hoſtilities; but were at length ſoundly beaten before *Wibourg* by *Cnut Poſſe*, who drove them out of that Province with the loſs of ten thouſand Men. Mean while *Steen Sture*, having gather'd together conſiderable Forces in *Sweden*, went into *Finland*, without knowing that the Enemy had already retir'd; after which he put all his Men into Winter Quarters, reſolving next Summer to return to attack the *Ruſſians*. But they coming again into *Carelia* in the Month of *February*, after they had travers'd four ſcore Miles in the Country, penetrated into the Province of *Tawaſland*, where having killed above ſeventy Thouſand Men, they return'd home before *Steen Sture* could aſſemble his Troops.

The Ruſſians *invade* Finland.

And Tawaſland.

The Governour *Steen Sture*, to revenge all thoſe Loſſes, came into *Sweden*, that he might gather together more Forces, having given the Command of the Troops which he left in *Finland* to *Suante Nilsſon* and *Erick Trolle*. But he himſelf remain'd in *Sweden* all the Summer; fearing leaſt thoſe who were diſaffected to him ſhould in his abſence think of inviting King *John* to the Kingdom. In the mean time *Suante* and thoſe who were with him beginning to grow weary in that Province, betook themſelves to the Field; having advanc'd near *Nerva*, took the Caſtle of *Ivanogrod*; and having got a rich Booty, returned to *Finland* about *Michaelmaſs*. The Governour *Steen Sture*, who a little before had arriv'd there from *Sweden*, was deſirous to make another Expedition into *Ruſſia*, but *Suante Nilsſon* being unwilling to accompany him return'd into *Sweden*. This ſo much vex'd the Governour *Steen Sture*, that he made *Suante* paſs for a *Runaway*, and a Man whom Cowardice and fear had hindred from appearing before the Enemy. Thus they both return'd into *Sweden*, having only left in *Finland* as many Troops as were neceſſary to guard the Caſtles and the Frontiers.

C. of Ivangrod *taken from the* Muſcovites.

The Year following an Assembly of the Counsellours of the Kingdom was held at *Stockholm*, in which *Suante Nilsson* complain'd against the Governour *Steen Sture*. Desiring Justice for the affront he had put upon him; and upon his Complaint was declar'd innocent. *Steen Sture* found by this that the Archbishop, the other Bishops, and other Counsellours of the Kingdom had a Design to Re-establish King *John*; for which reason he continued three Weeks in the Castle without keeping any correspondence with them: In the mean time he sent for the Troops which he had left in *Finland*: Which the Councellours having got notice of, desired to enter into Conference with him; to which he consented after he had taken all necessary Measures for his Security. The Council propos'd to him in the Assembly that they could not be any longer without a King, as well because of the Sentence of Excommunicatiou, which the *Pope* had pronounc'd against him, as also by reason of the disturbances that the *inter-regnum* did occasion, between *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Russia*. They upbraided him besides with having almost done every thing without consulting their Members, and with having done much hurt to the Country by several ways, and paritcularly, by not giving *Finland* a Fief of the Crown, to some person who by his continual Residence In that Province might have defended it against the Invasion of the Enemies of the Crown. But on the other side, the Governour highly boasted of the Services he had rendred the State, setting forth the Losses that the Kings of *Sweden* had formerly occasioned to the whole Country; and that this was the Reason that the People abhor'd that way of Governing. That amongst others, King *John* had unjustly taken the Island of *Gothland* from the *Swedes*, and that he had done very ill by the whole Kingdom. Moreover he accus'd the Counsellours of great Ingratitude in desiring to deprive him of the Administration of the State (which he had deliver'd from the Dominion of Tyrants, and had defended with so much pains and danger) to put it in the hands of the greatest Enemy that ever *Sweden* had: And in fine, he told

told them frankly that it was not from them alone he had his Commiſſion, but alſo from the People, who upon ſuch an occaſion ought to have a hearing.

When the Members of the Council ſaw that the Governour *Steen Sture* continued ſtiffly in his Opinion, they depos'd him by common conſent, and deprived him of the Government of the Kingdom which they had before entruſted to him. Nevertheleſs, after he had gone out from the Council, he retir'd to the Caſtle, and upon the morrow there came ſix hundred Horſe to him from *Finland*. After which he was but very little concern'd at his deſpoſition; and having made the Tour of of the Kingdom, he engaged all the Common People to his Party, and with much heat accus'd the Council of introducing a Forreign Government to *Sweden*, which at length would turn to the ruin of the whole Country. Soon after, he took the Biſhop of *Linkoping* Priſoner, beſieged the Archbiſhop even in *Stecka*, and burnt his Palace at *Upſal*. So that at laſt the Governour and Council engag'd in an open War; and neither of the two Parties were ſecure in the Kingdom. The Council indeed deſir'd to enter into a Conference with *Steen Sture*, but he would not hearken to them, and refus'd abſolutely to treat with them upon any Head till they ſhould acknowledg him Governour, and ſwear Allegiance to him in that Quality. About the ſame time King *John*'s Troops ravag'd all the Country round about *Calmar*, and in the Iſland *Oeland*: Which made the Counſellours preſs *Steen Sture* the more to give over the Kingdom to King *John*, that they might avoid the miſery and dangerous Conſequences that might happen for the future. But notwithſtanding their Inſtances, he continued firm in the Reſolution which he had taken, and having got the People on his ſide, he did the Councellours all the harm he could. This at length oblig'd them to ſend Ambaſſadours to King *John* to deſire his Protection againſt *Steen Sture*. King *John* willingly granted their requeſt; and having ſent ſome Troops before-hand, came afterwards himſelf with the main Body of his Army, and

Steen Sture is depoſed.

K. John 2.

Steen Sture refuſes to Treat with the States.

They deſire King John's Protection.

having made himself Master of *Calmar* and *Berckholm*, was there acknowledg'd King by *Nils Boosson* and *Arfund Trolle*, in the Name of the whole Counsel and Nobility of *Sweden*. And coming afterwards with his Fleet before *Stockholm*, he landed his Men, and besieged the Town on both sides. In the mean time *Steen Sture*, who was running over the Country, had gather'd together a considerable number of Forces to oppose King *John*; but he made no progress, having been beaten several times by the Enemy, the *Dalcarlians*, who follow'd him, having been defeated near *Rootebroo*; besides that, he lost a very bloody Battle before *Stockholm* upon the *North-Malm*.

Steen Sture *often beaten.*

Steen Sture finding that there was no appearance of his being able to make Head against King *John*, because he could get no more Forces; he resolv'd to enter into a Treaty with him: Which was at length concluded upon condition that King *John* should Govern the Kingdom according to the Articles of *Calmar*, and that *Steen Sture* should have all the Province of *Finland*, together with the two *Borno's*, the City of *Nykoping*, and some other Possessions in *Sweden*; that he should not be oblig'd to give an Account of his former Government, nor of the Revenues he had receiv'd; and that King *John* should receive him to his special Favour; and in short, that all which had pass'd till then, should be buryed in Oblivion. But on the other side, the King would have *Steen Sture* to take upon him to perswade the *Dalcarlians* to return home and acknowledg him as King. That People refus'd at first, but at last consented on condition that *Steen Sture* should have the Government of *Westeraas*, of *Bergslagen*, and of the Province of *Dalia*. Nevertheless some time after, the King by fair words prevail'd with *Steen Sture* to quit his Pretensions to those Places. Soon after, the Town of *Stockholm* being given up to King *John*, he was immediately Crown'd King of *Sweden*; and at this Solemnity he made fifty Knights, and gave the Charge of the Marshal of his Court to *Steen Sture*, and to *Suante Sture* that of Marshal of the Kingdom. Some affirm that after all the Ceremony

Treaty between the K. and Steen Sture.

King John *Crowned at* Stockholm

was

was ended, the King enquired of his Privy-Council, if there was any formality yet wanting; and that some of the Members answered, that there wanted nohting but an Executioner to cut off some of the *Swedes* Heads; which Counsel was afterwards put in practice by *Christian*, Son to King *John* (who at the same time was by the Council declared his Father's Successor) though afterwards he found the fatal Consequences of it. This *Christian* gain'd so much upon the Members of that Assembly, that notwithstanding the agreement which was formerly made, they allowed the King to dispose of the Offices of the Kingdom, according to his pleasure.

The King having set the Affairs of *Sweden* in Order, return'd to *Denmark*. In the mean time, the Archbishop, and some others, to whom *Steen Sture*, during his Regency, had done bad Offices, used all possible Methods to be reveng'd of him, and to have reparation for the Damages which they pretended to have received from him; but the King having promis'd by Letters under his Seal, that he should not be disturb'd upon the account of his former Government, nor oblig'd to answer for his Conduct for time to come, the Archbishop sent Deputies to *Rome*, and obtain'd Letters from the Pope, which bore, that notwithstanding all the Security that King *John* had given *Steen Sture* in form, that an Action might be enter'd against him, and he might be punished according to the Rules of Justice. In effect, this Affair had all the success that the Archbishop desired: For he himself and all those of his Faction persecuted him, so that if it had been possible, they had murdered him upon the spot: But the King who did not think it consistent with his Honour to break his Promise, chose rather to find out means to accommodate these Differences. In the mean time the *Danish* Counsellors were very much astonish'd to see the spite and hatred of the *Swedes* who us'd all their endeavours to ruin one another.

Goes to Denmark.

Letters from the Pope against SteenStu

The Year following, King *John* return'd to *Stockholm*, where he made his Wife *Christina* to be Crown'd; and allow'd her for her Maintenance *Oerebro*, with the Provinces of *Nericia*, *Wermland*

Christina *crown'd at* Stockholm

land, and *Dalia*: After which he went to *Stockholm*, having made his Son Succeſſor to the Crown of *Sweden*. During this King's Keign, *Sweden* was pretty peaceable for ſome time, and the Affairs of the Government were in tollerable condition. For King *John* was a brave and honeſt Prince, of a ſweet and patient Temper, and no ways given to Revenge. But nevertheleſs, at the inſtigation of ſome of his Courtiers, he committed the ſame fault which had been the ruin of the Kings his Predeceſſors; for firſt he complain'd of the meanneſs of his Revenues: After which, bearing a great envy againſt *Steen Sture*, becauſe of his great Riches and Power, and hating him alſo upon other accounts, he compell'd him to give up *Aboo* and *Wibourg*, with the Land thereabout. Moreover, he took from *Suante Sture*, and other *Swediſh* Lords, the Fiefs he had formerly granted them, and kept them to himſelf, or diſtributed them to *Danes* and *Germans*. So that even thoſe who had raiſed him to the Throne, were rewarded much below their expectation, and had not half the Credit or Authority, which they had during the Regency of *Steen Sture*. However they did not ſhow any mark of inward diſcontent againſt the King: But they were very much pleas'd to ſee that the Bayliffs whom he had eſtabliſh'd, abus'd the Boors of the Country. Among others there was one at *Oerebro* called *John Falſter*, who without any reaſon, made *Harald Pletting*, a very honeſt Man, who had been Bailiff when the Adminiſtration of Affairs was in the hands of *Steen Sture*, to be hang'd; and beſides, caus'd ſeveral others to be murder'd who had faithfully ſerv'd that Governor, and who were Men of ſome Note. he took this method with a deſign to ingratiate himſelf with King *John*. There was another called *Andrew Anderſon*, who committed the ſame Cruelties. Theſe, and ſome others by their barbarous Conduct, render'd the King odious to the People, who imagin'd that they did nothing but by his Order or Allowance. But after that the News of the Battle which the King had loſt in the Province of *Dithmarſe* was ſpread abroad through

K. John's Character.

His Injuſtice to Steen Sture, &c.

Cruelty of the Daniſh Intendants

K. John eaten at Dithmarſe.

through the Kingdom of *Sweden*, the Malecontents who before conceal'd themſelves, began to appear openly. And at laſt every one began to complain of the wrongs that he had receiv'd. There were ſeveral that ſaid publickly and boldly, That if ſo ſmall a Province as that of *Dithmarſe*, could without ground, withdraw their Obedience to the King, that a Kingdom ſo powerful as *Sweden* could much more do ſo. Upon this, the King having return'd to *Sweden*, conſulted with ſome of the Counſellors of the Kingdom about an expedient to ſettle all thoſe diſorders in the beginning; But they could fall upon no good foundation to treat upon: Beſides that, the King loſt a great deal of time, before he did ſincerely diſcover what was his intention. So that at length *Steen Sture*, *Hemming Gadde*, and *Bengt Rynning*, with ſeveral others, came to *Stockholm* with Seven hundred Men well arm'd, before his Majeſty had any notice of it, and they immediately preſented to him in writing all their Grievances, and the Wrongs that had been done to them. The principal Subject of their Complaint was, that the King had not obſerved the Treaty of *Calmar*, nor the Conditions which he had ſworn to at his coming to the Crown; and that to their great grief, they were daily forc'd to find the contrary; adding, That they reſolv'd not to bear ſuch uſage any longer, and that if the King deſign'd to continue in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, he muſt redreſs their Grievances, and govern the State according to the Articles of *Calmar*. This Affair continued under deliberation for ſix weeks, and every time the Counſellors went to the King to the Caſtle, they obliged him to give Hoſtages for their greater ſecurity. Nevertheleſs matters could not be brought to an accommodation. For the King having footing in the Kingdom, imagin'd they would find it hard to put him out of it: So that being afraid of nothing, he ſpoke to them with a bold and daring Voice, and thought it enough to ſend them back with a few fair Promiſes and good words. For which cauſe the diſcontented Party uſing the ſame Policy, pretended to be ſatisfy'd with the

Grievances againſt K. John.

Answers he gave them. However the Archbishop continued on the King's side.

Reasons of the Swedes Revolt.

At length *Steen Sture* and those of his Faction having made their Party more powerful, went to *Wadstena*, where having told the King that they renounc'd the Oath of Allegiance which they had swore to him; they declar'd publickly, that they were his Enemies; giving the following Reasons for their rising in Arms; First, That the King had not kept to the Treaty of *Calmar*; That he had not put an end to the Difference that had happened upon the account of the Island of *Gothland*; That he had depriv'd the *Swedes* of the *Offices* and *Fees* of the Kingdom, to give them to Strangers, who treated the Natives with the utmost Barbarity: That all the Revenues he receiv'd from *Sweden*, were carried into *Denmark*: That he had altogether exhausted the Royal Treasury: That he had not given Orders to coin better Money: That he had taken away the *Swedish* Standards at *Rotebroo*, and made them to hung up in the Church of *Copenhagen*, to affront the *Swedish* Nation, and to testifie the little esteem he had for them; And lastly, that he had amused and also incommoded them by several Assemblies which he had call'd together. And therefore, that since he never gave over his Tricks and Artifices, never kept his word, nor stood to what he had promis'd by Letters seal'd with his Seal: They were no longer bound by the Treaty of *Calmar* than the King himself observed the Articles of it. As soon as the King had read this *Declaration*, he left *Sweden*, and went to *Denmark*, leaving the Queen in the Castle of *Stockholm* with a strong Garrison; being in hopes that he might easily pacifie all those Commotions, especially because he had yet the Archbishop and several other Lords of his side. After the King's departure, the Malecontents besieg'd the Castle of *Oerebro*, and having carry'd it, they seized upon *John Falster*, who was afterwards cut in Quarters by the Friends of *Harald Pletting*, whom he had formerly caus'd to be hang'd. But the Archbishop not finding himself secure in the Country, by reason of *Steen Sture*'s Party, which had a design upon

upon him, the King allowed him to keep outwardly a good underſtanding with him, till the Face of Affairs did alter.

Sometime after, *Steen Sture* came with all his Forces to *Stockholm*, and having defeated the King's Troops, he beſieged the Town on both ſides. Some days after, ſome *Burger-Maſters*, and ſome *Councellors* came out of the Town to treat with him about a Peace: But while they were upon this Negotiation, the Garriſon ſet fire to the Houſes. Upon which the *Burghers* all in a fury run to their Arms, and having opened the Gates by Force, let in the Beſiegers, who preſently put out the Fire, which otherwiſe had undoubtedly laid the City in Aſhes. And immediately after *Steen Sture* beſieged the Caſtle where the Queen Commanded. The King, contrary to his Opinion, ſeeing that the Enemy had become ſo powerful, and that beſides all, the Biſhops had forſaken his Party, wrote a Letter to *Steen Sture*, and thoſe of his Faction, *Offering to appear before them in preſence of the moſt conſiderable and beſt qualify'd Perſons of the Kingdom; and to anſwer ſincerely, and according to the forms of Juſtice, to all that could be objected againſt him.* But they return'd him this Anſwer; *That all thoſe fair Promiſes were but Tricks and Artifices which he made uſe of only to gain time, to the end he might make himſelf ſtronger, and come afterwards to the Aſſiſtance of his Party*: And further, *That they could not ſee any way of entering into a Negotiation with him; That they had obſerv'd not only in him, but alſo in all the Kings of* Denmark, *his Predeceſſors; That they never had either Power or Will to keep their Promiſes, and that in all their Conduct they had no other end but to oppreſs the Liberty of* Swedes, *and to keep all the Nobility of the Country in perpetual Slavery.* To which they added further, *That he might remember he had not obſerv'd the leaſt Article of the Treaty of* Calmar, *which he had nevertheleſs ſo ſolemnly ſwore to; That he gave the beſt Mannors and the moſt conſiderable Caſtles of the Kingdom to the* Danes *and* Germans, *whereas he entirely neglected thoſe who had hazarded their Lives and Fortunes to ſet him on the Throne, and for their Reward had*

Stockholm *beſieg'd.*

Taken.

K. John's *Propoſal and their Anſwer.*

had the Mortification to find that he put them under such Lords and Masters, as before had been unworthy to be their Servants; That, in fine, *he had promised several things to* Steen *and* Suante Sture, *which he had not perform'd; that all the care he took of the Treasury of the Kingdom, was to empty it of all the Gold and Silver that was in it, and to spend it elsewhere; which could have no other effect than to make them Slaves to Strangers; that they would be look'd upon as infamous by the present and succeeding Generations, if they did suffer* Sweden *to depend on any other Kingdom, and be continually oppress'd by it; and that in short, they were fully resolv'd to prosecute their design without taking any other measures; hoping to gain by their Sword, what they had so often desir'd in vain, and which they could never obtain by meekness and good words.*

Generous Resolution of the Swedes.

Thus all the Kingdom having revolted, they wanted a General to Command them in the War. And to this effect they made *Steen Sture* Governour again. It is true he would have had great difficulty to keep the Castle of *Stockholm* besieg'd all the Winter. But when he saw the Winter approaching, and consider'd that King *John* would not then fail to come to its Relief, he gave orders to Storm it. Upon which the besieg'd quite lost their Courage, particularly because so many had dyed in the Castle, that of ten Thousand which were in it, at the beginning, there did not remain above seventy who were able to carry Arms. For which reason the Queen surrendred the Place, whence she came out attended only by her ordinary Retinue. All the rest were made Prisoners; tho' there were scarce ten found that were in perfect health. But three days after the Castle was surrendred, King *John* appear'd with a powerful Fleet before *Stockholm*; But being inform'd that the Place was surrendred. he returned immediately to *Denmark* without attempting any thing. Then it was that the two Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark* grappled with such Miseries as brought them to the very brink of ruin; for first the Castle of *Elfsburg* was taken and laid in Ashes; and *Erick Erickson* who Commanded in it, was miserably murther'd by the Boors

Steen Sture *made Governor.*

of

of *Weſt Gothland*; becauſe they accus'd him of being on the Kings ſide, and to have given up the Place willingly to him. On the other ſide, the King of *Denmarks* Troops having made an Inroad into *Eaſt Gothland*, they burnt *Oereſteen*, and made terrible havock in *Sweden* under the Command of *Chriſtian* Son to King *John*; who had alſo before laid waſt the Kingdom of *Norway*, and deſtroyed almoſt all the Nobility of that Country. Moreover the Governour *Steen Sture* made himſelf Maſter of all the Caſtles of the Kingdom except thoſe of *Calmar* and *Berckholm*, where King *John* often rais'd the Seige by means of the Troops and Ammunition which he ſent them. In the mean time the Queen being yet in *Sweden*, and King *John* being deſirous to get her home; the Maſſacres and Havock began in ſome manner to ceaſe, that they might the ſooner allow her to be gone. King *John* did not much appear in treating about the delivering of the Queen; but thoſe of *Lubeck* and Cardinal *Raimond* having taken this Affair upon them, came to *Sweden* in *Autumn*, and manag'd their Negotiation ſo well, that the Queen was ſet at liberty and conducted by the Governour to the Frontiers of the Province of *Smaland*. But in his return to *Jenkoping* he fell into a dangerous Sickneſs, of which a little time after, he dy'd, tho' his Death was conceal'd for a long time. Some are of opinion that he was poiſon'd at a Banquet at *Suderkoping* by *Merete*, Widdow of *Cnutalſon*, to the end that by his Death a way might be made for *Suante Sture*, her deſign'd Husband, to the Government of the Kingdom.

Great havock in Sweden *and* Norway.

Steen Sture *dies.*

About the beginning of the Year 1504, the States of the Kingdom held an Aſſembly at *Stockholm*, wherein the Death of the Governour *Steen Sture* being publiſh'd, there was for ſome time a great debate whether they ſhould call King *John* back to *Sweden* or give the Government back to *Suante Sture*, who had rendred ſuch great Services to the State, and who beſides deſcended of an Ancient Royal Family. At length, after they had gather'd the Votes, *Suante Sture* had the greateſt number, and ſo was choſen Protector of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and

Suante Sture.

by

by this means had the Town of *Stockholm* and all the Caſtles of the Country in his Power. After this, the War having broke out again between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the Governour *Suante Sture* caus'd *Calmar* and *Berckholm* to be beſieg'd with more vigour than formerly: At this Siege the Biſhop of *Lincoping* aſſiſted himſelf with great warmth; but all he could do was to take the Town of *Calmar* by Storm. After this a ſuſpenſion of Arms was concluded for thirteen Months, which being expir'd, an Aſſembly was to be held at *Calmar* to put an end to all the Differences. But when the ſet day was come King *John* appear'd near the Town with a Fleet, looking more like one that deſir'd to fight than to treat of Peace: For which reaſon alſo the *Swedes* who miſtruſted him would not come to *Calmar* for fear of falling into his Snare. King *John* being very much irritated at their Conduct, immediately Summon'd them to appear, and accus'd them of Rebellion and Perjury, pleading that they abſented becauſe they were ſenſible of the injuſtice of their Cauſe. After which he cauſed them to be condemned by the Councellours of the Kingdom of *Denmark* and *Norway*; whoſe Sentence did bear, that the Members of the Council of *Sweden* and all that adher'd to them ſhould looſe their Eſtates, Honour, and Nobility; and that beſides they ſhould be oblig'd to give up the Kingdom to King *John*, and to give the Queen what they had granted her for the maintenance of the Court. However the *Swedes* did not much regard this Sentence as being pronounc'd by their Accuſers and Enemies. In the mean time King *John* deſiring to put this Sentence in execution, ſeiz'd upon the Eſtates belonging to the *Swediſh* Lords in *Denmark* and *Norway*: After which, he entreated the Emperor *Maximilian* to confirm the Sentence which had been given at *Calmar*, and to baniſh the *Swedes* out of all places of the *German Empire*. Upon this his Imperial Majeſty wrote to the States of *Sweden*, ordering them to reſtore King *John* to the Throne, or otherwiſe to appear before him to give an account of their Diſobedience and Rebellion, threatning unleſs they did obey to proceed againſt them according to the Laws

Calmar *taken.*

Ceſſation of Arms for 13 Months.

Sentence of the Counſellours of Denmark *againſt* Sweden.

Emperors Sentence againſt them.

of

of the Empire. But the *Swedes* having given no Answer to the Emperors Letters, because they judg'd they had nothing to do with him, he pronounc'd a Sentence against the Counsellors of *Sweden* and all those of their Faction, by which he summoned them to appear before the *Ban* of the Empire. The King finding that he could do nothing in *Sweden* by Incursions and Irruptions, bethought himself of fitting out a great number of Ships, and giving 'em the liberty of Pirating on the *Swedes*; to which purpose the Island of *Gothland* was very serviceable to him. By this means he incommoded that Nation more than if he had invaded *Sweden* with all his Forces; For he block'd up the *Swedes* so that they durst not Trade abroad, without exposing their Goods and Ships to the mercy of the Pirats. Moreover they had again recourse to the *Pope* for his Assistance to torment the *Swedes*. For *Hemming Gadde* who was an intimate Friend of the Governour *Suante Sture*, having drove *James* Bishop of *Lincoping* from his Bishoprick, the latter by the sollicitation of King *John*, obtain'd from Pope *Julian* the Second a Bull, by which he order'd *Hemming Gadde* to restore *James* again to his Dioceſs under pain of Excommunication; threatning also *Anathema's* against all those who should take part with *Hemming Gadde* upon this occasion. All this so exasperated the Spirits of the *Swedes*, that having made an Incursion into *Schonen* and *Plekingia*, they made cruel havock and put all to Fire and Sword. But on the other hand, the *Danes* having enter'd into *Finland*, burnt *Aboo*, *Coſtilholm* in the Province of *Aland*, and the Town of *Lodeſe* in *Weſt Gothland*. So that all the Country was miserably laid wast on both sides, tho' none of the two Parties got any considerable advantage by it: Which oblig'd them to enter into a Negotiation to see if they could get matters accomodated: But after they had been at great expences by keeping Assemblies in divers places, they could never conclude any thing, because King *John* would not hear of a Peace, unless the *Swedes* would receive himself or his Son for their King, or unless they wou'd give him every Year a certain Sum of Money out of the Revenues of the Kingdom, to testifie that they

The Danes *incommode the* Swedes *by Sea.*

Several negotiations to no purpose.

they acknowledg'd him for their lawful Lord: There were ſome who were willing to allow him a certain Sum yearly; becauſe he often took of their Ships, which amounted to twice as much as the Contributions they ſhou'd pay him? but the greateſt number maintain'd that it was no ways decent for a free Nation willingly to yield up themſelves Tributaries to a Foreign Prince. Nevertheleſs ſome Deputies which the *Swedes* had ſent into *Malmoe*, granted King *John* Three thouſand Marks *Stockholm* weight a Year, till the Kingdom ſhould be granted to him or his Son; and in the mean time, he ſhould continue in the Poſſeſſion of the Iſles of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, and of the Town of *Calmar*. But this Treaty was abſolutely uſeleſs, becauſe the Deputies had gone further than their Commiſſion did allow; for they were expreſly forbid to offer any Money to the King of *Denmark*, unleſs he would reſtore to the *Swedes* the Place juſt now mention'd.

Treaty between the Swedes *and* Lubeck

Upon this, the War having broke out again between the two Nations, thoſe of *Lubeck* make a Treaty with the *Swedes*, by which they promiſed to aſſiſt them in the War, and to keep up their Trade in *Sweden*. So that King *John* had Enemies on both ſides. The *Lubeckers* having come to the *Belt*, pillag'd the Iſles of *Bornholm*, *Lagland*, *Falſter*, *Laland*, and *Moen*, with all the Coaſt of *Bleckingia*; and *Aeks Johanſon* did the ſame in the Province of *Halland*: But the next Year he was treacherouſly kill'd. In the mean time, the King having formerly ſtirred up the *Ruſſians* to make War againſt *Sweden*, *Suante Sture*, to prevent this inconveniency for the future, concluded a Peace for Sixty Years, with *George Belin*, Grand Duke of *Ruſſia*, at *Newgart*; and the ſame Year the *Swedes* retook the Towns of *Calmar* and *Berkholm* from the King of *Denmark*; the *Lubeckers* giving ſo much diverſion to the *Danes*, that they were not in a condition to relieve thoſe Places. Beſides that, they did them a great deal of damage at Sea. So that King *John*, to free himſelf from ſo troubleſom an Enemy, by his Solicitations, prevail'd at length with the Town of *Lubeck* to forſake the *Swediſh* Intereſt,

Peace between the Swedes. *and* Muſcovites.

Intereſt, and to conclude a ſeparate Peace with him: Afterwards, the *Danes* having made an Invaſion into *Weſt Gothland*, advanced as far as *Skara*, where they put all to Fire and Sword. But as they were about to go further into the Country, they were inform'd that the Enemy lay in Ambuſh in the Woods of *Holwede*, and *Tywede*, waiting for their coming; and that beſides, they took all poſſible methods to cut off their Proviſions. This oblig'd them to retire homeward; but the *Swedes* purſuing them hard, made repriſal at *Schonen*, and in the Province of *Halland*. In the mean time *Suante Sture* died at *Weſteraas*, after he had govern'd the Kingdom of *Sweden* Eight Years amidſt continual Troubles.

Steen Sture *the Younger.*

After the Death of the Governor *Suante Sture*, there were great Diviſions in the Council of the Kingdom about chuſing another Governour. For the Young Lords would have the Government given to the Son of *Steen Sture*, becauſe he was very much beloved by the People, as well in conſideration of his Father's Memory, as of the Services which he himſelf had done to his Country. But the Archbiſhop and the other Biſhops with the Old Councellors, were inclin'd to Elect *Erick Trolle*, a Man of Age, Wiſdom, and great Experience. On the other hand, the States of *Sweden* being very weary of the long Wars which they had ſuſtain'd againſt the King of *Denmark*, reſolv'd to ſend *Matthias*, Biſhop of *Stregnes*, to *Malmoe*, to try if a way might be found of coming to an Accommodation with him. To which the fair Promiſes made them by the *Danes*, as alſo the breach of the Alliance between the *Lubeckers* and *Sweden*, contributed not a little The Year following it was agreed, that an Aſſembly ſhould be held at *Stockholm* to regulate all Differences, in which the *Swedes* ſhould be oblig'd to chuſe one of theſe three Conditions, *viz.* To take King *John* or his Son for their Sovereign; or to pay Thirteen thouſand Marks Yearly of the weight of *Stockholm*: And if they could not accommodate Matters with the *Danes* on thoſe three Points, they were to refer all the determination of the *Hans-Towns*,

Towns, who were to make War againſt thoſe who refus'd to ſubmit to their Judgment, or at leaſt were to grant them no aſſiſtance. While things were at this paſs, *Erick Trolle* and *Steen Sture* the Younger went both to *Upſal* to repreſent their Cauſe to the People; *Steen Sture* made himſelf acceptable at *Moraweſe*, whereas *Erick Trolle* was rejected, not only becauſe he was originally a *Dane*, but alſo becauſe his Anceſtors had always been for the Intereſt of that Crown. At length this Affair was treated of at *Stockholm*, but with ſuch heat and fury, that if ſome of the Counſellors had not come in betimes, to calm the Spirits of both Parties, matters could not have been determined without much Blood. However, *Steen Sture* was made Protector of the Kingdom, becauſe he had the beſt Caſtles in his Hands, and was beſides much beloved by the People, who on the contrary ſuſpected *Erick Trolle* of being in the Intereſt of the King of *Denmark*.

K. John *dies.*

The Year following King *John* died at *Ahburg* in *Jutland*. After which the *Swediſh* Deputies coming to *Copenhagen* in the Month of *June*, were deſir'd to ſign the Election of *Chriſtian*, in Conjunction with the States of *Denmark* and *Norway*, but they excus'd themſelves by declaring they had no Orders to that purpoſe; and by deſiring time to deliberate upon it obtain'd a Suſpenſion of Arms, which King *Chriſtian* granted them for Four Years, in hopes that at length they would conſent to his Election. But finding that the Governor *Steen Sture*, would never willingly quit the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom, he employ'd the Power of the Church to oblige him to it. To to this effect he ſolicited his Mother, Queen *Chriſtina*, to importune Pope *Leo* the Tenth to thunder the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Steen Sture*, and all his Faction, for having ſo long retain'd *Oerebro* from her, which had been granted her for her ſubſiſtance, and for the maintaining of her Court. Upon which *Steen Sture* and his Adherents were Excommunicated at *Rome* at the Council of *Lateran*. Much about this time the Archbiſhop died, and before his Death, recommended to

A Truce for four Years.

Steen Sture *Excommunicated.*

to the Governour, *Guſtavus Trolle*, who then Studied at *Rome*, promiſing that he would be always faithful to him. Upon which, *Steen Sture* conſented to his Election, and withal provided him at *Rome* with what Money he ſhould ſtand in need of. Thoſe who were diſpatched to *Rome* to acquaint *Guſtavus Trolle* of his Advancement to the Archbiſhoprick, paſſing through *Denmark*, had Four hundred Livres of Silver given them by King *Chriſtian*, to be preſented in his Name to that Prelate, to the end he might engage him in his Intereſt, in which he hoped the more eaſily to ſucceed, becauſe he knew that *Guſtavus Trolle* was diſaffected to the Governour, for having taken the Adminiſtration of Affairs out of his Father's Hands.

Moreover, King *Chriſtian* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Muſcovy*, to endeavour to perſuade the Grand Duke *Baſil* to make War againſt *Sweden*. And living then in Union with the Kings of *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*; with the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, and with the *Hans-Towns*: Having alſo Marry'd *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Philip*, King of *Caſtile*, and Siſter to *Charles* the Fifth. He imagin'd himſelf ſo Powerful, that the *Swedes* would be in no condition to reſiſt him. King *Chriſtian* knew alſo very well, how to make uſe of the Archbiſhop to good purpoſe; for when he was returning from *Rome* to *Sweden*, he ſent him an Ambaſſador who exaſperated againſt the Governor, and brought him wholly over to the Intereſt of the King his Maſter. So that when the Archbiſhop arrived in *Sweden*, he did not land at *Stockholm*, but having given Orders to be ſet on Shore at another place upon the Coaſt, he went directly to *Upſal*, whence he began to arge againſt his Father's Enemies. Upon which, *Steen Sture* wrote to him with great moderation, That if he had any Complaint againſt any Perſon, he might do it according to the Rules of Law, and then he might expect all reaſonable ſatisfaction. But to diſcover the Intentions of Archbiſhop *Trolle*, the Governor *Steen Sture*, went himſelf to *Upſal* to congratulate him in the Church; but that Prelate treated him after a moſt injurious manner, and accuſed him of ſeveral Grievances. Upon which *Steen Sture* wrote Letters to the Pope to complain of

Archbiſhop Trolles Behaviour.

the Archbiſhop, becauſe he knew he would acknowledg no other Tribunal than the See of *Rome*. And tho' the Pope exhorted him to Peace, and not to engage himſelf in War againſt the Secular Powers; yet his Counſels had no great effect on the mind of this Prelate.

But *Steen Sture* fearing leaſt the *Danes* ſhould hinder his Deſign of going to fight the *Muſcovites*, who had invaded *Finland*, he ſent Ambaſſadours to King *Chriſtian*, to offer him the Crown of *Sweden*, provided he would govern it according to the Articles already mention'd. But the King not being willing to hearken to this Propoſal, it was reſolv'd that the Year following an Aſſembly ſhould be held at *Helmſtad*; and that in the mean time the Truce ſhould be continued. The Governour, after this, call'd together the Council and States of the Kingdom at *Tellie*, where he exhorted the Archbiſhop to be preſent, as well to ſwear Allegiance to the Aſſembly, as to deliberate with the reſt about the Affair of the *Moſcovites*. But he refus'd to come, and kept a particular Aſſembly with thoſe of his Faction: After which, he invited the King of *Denmark* to *Sweden*, promiſing that the moſt conſiderable Caſtles of the Kingdom ſhould be immediately given up to him. The Governour being inform'd of what was contriving, made himſelf inſtantly Maſter of *Nykoping*, which the Governour had agreed to deliver up to the *Danes*; ſometime after, *Peter Thureſon*, Governour of the Caſtle of *Stockholm* was depos'd for the ſame reaſon, and *Erick Trolle*, Father to the Archbiſhop, was put in priſon: On the other hand, the Archbiſhop fortify'd himſelf as much as was poſſible at *Stecka*, in hopes to receive Aſſiſtance from *Denmark*. And becauſe he would not hearken to the exhortations of the other Biſhops who adviſ'd him to be reconcil'd to the Governour, he was beſieged in the Caſtle of *Stecka* by *Steen Sture*, who being in ſome want of Arms, ſent to *Lubeck* for a Ship load; but they were all taken by King *Chriſtian*, by which means the Truce was broken, as alſo the Conference which was to be held at *Helmſtad*. At length, with the conſent of the States of the Kingdom, a Letter was written to the Pope, deſiring to have another Archbiſhop;

Steen Sture *offers the Crown to* K. Chriſtian.

Stecka *beſieg'd.*

biſhop; and having ſeiz'd upon ſeveral of *Guſtavus Trolle*'s Adherents, they reſolved to make War againſt King *Chriſtian*, becauſe he made himſelf daily more and more odious by his Cruelties and wicked Life. Nor was he wanting on the other hand to make great preparations againſt *Sweden*, with Deſign to relieve the Archbiſhop, who was ſtill beſieged in the Caſtle of *Stecka*; beſides, he prevail'd with the Biſhop of *Lundh* to Excommunicate *Steen Sture* and his Party upon the account of this Siege, and ſolicited the Pope to do the ſame. Moreover, he us'd all methods to gain the States of *Sweden*, and to hinder thoſe of *Lubeck* to Negotiate at *Stockholm* for two Years.

The Danes ravage the Coaſt of Sweden.

Immediately after, he ſent Ships before *Stockholm*, having four thouſand Men on Board, who made a deſcent into the Country with a Deſign to raiſe the Siege of *Stecka*. But the Governour *Steen Sture* receiv'd them ſo vigorouſly, that they were oblig'd to retire with great loſs to their Ships. After which, having put to Sea, they did a great deal of miſchief on the Coaſts of *Sweden*, ravaging and burning whatever came in their way. After the *Danes* had retir'd, the Archbiſhop propos'd to yield up the Caſtle of *Stecka*, on condition of continuing his Office and Church. But the Governour ſent him word that his requeſt came too late after the ſhedding ſo much blood; but however he would leave it to the Judgment of the States of the Kingdom; who as ſoon as *Guſtavus Trolle* came to *Stockholm*, depos'd him, and at the ſame time conſented that the Caſtle of *Stecka* ſhould be demoliſh'd, obliging themſelves with one accord to execute this Reſolution. After this, *Guſtavus Trolle* was ſent back to *Stecka*; and the place being ſurrendred to *Steen Sture* he raz'd it the ground. At length he reſign'd his Biſhoprick to Pope *Leo* the Tenth, as he pretended, for the following Reaſons: Namely, *That he was hated by the States of the Kingdom becauſe of the loſſes the Kingdom had ſuſtain'd from the King* of Denmark *on his account*; *That they would not allow him his Tythes*; *That they had all obliged themſelves by an Oath not to acknowledg him as Biſhop, nor to receive the Sacrament from him*: And laſtly, *That he did it to ſave his*

Stecka taken and raz'd.

Friends from a longer Perſecution. Thus *Guſtavus Trolle* having ſolemnly ſwore that he would never after aſpire to that Arch-Biſhoprick, was thrown into a Cloyſter at *Weſteraas*.

Soon after, *John Angel Arcimbold*, the Popes *Nuncio* and Merchant of Indulgences, at the Inſtigation of the King of *Denmark*, earneſtly exhorted the *Swedes* to ſet *Guſtavus Trolle* at liberty, and to reſtore him to his Dignity; and likewiſe to rebuild *Stecka*, as did alſo the Pope himſelf by Letters which he wrote to *Sweden*, threatning to interdict the whole Kingdom in caſe of diſobedience. Tho' they did not much regard all this; yet they appeal'd to *Rome*, and repreſented to the *Nuncio* the inſolencies and irregular Actions of the King of *Denmark* and *Guſtavus Trolle*. At the ſame time they made him ſuch a rich Preſent, that afterwards he ſhewed himſelf pretty favourable to *Steen Sture*. In ſhort, the Nuncio *Arcimbold* made ſuch ſale of his Indulgences that he carried a Million of Ducats out of the three Northern Kingdoms.

K. Chriſtian *beſieges* Stockholm *and is beaten.*

Towards the beginning of the next Summer, King *Chriſtian* taking the Field in Perſon, went with an Army into *Sweden* and laid Seige to *Stockholm* on the South-ſide: And being inform'd that the Governour *Steen Sture* was coming after him to attack him, he march'd with part of his Army againſt him, but was ſo warmly receiv'd that he was forc'd to retire in all haſt to his main Body. After which he fled to his Ships, and *Steen Sture* purſued and cut to pieces a great number of his Men, many of them likewiſe were drowned and three hundred were made Priſoners, whom King *Chriſtian* ranſom'd, and immediately put to Sea. But meeting with contrary Winds, he made a deſcent upon *Sweden*, and furiouſly ravag'd all the Country. And when he was forc'd to retire, he found himſelf reduc'd to ſuch extremity, becauſe of the ſcarcity of Proviſions, that a great many of his Men dy'd for hunger. Thus he had nothing to expect but a total ruin, the Winter being near at hand. However, to avoid the danger that threaten'd him, he bethought himſelf of this Stratagem; he ſent word to *Steen Sture* that he was abſolutely reſolv'd to make a perpetual Peace with him,

him, and to that purpoſe entreated him to come and confer with him; imagining that then he might find a way either to murder him or take him Priſoner. The Governour *Sture* who ſuſpected no ill, and deſired nothing ſo much as Peace, ſent him ſtore of Proviſions, and would have alſo gone himſelf on board his Fleet, to diſcourſe with him, if the Counſellours of *Stockholm* had not diſwaded him. King *Chriſtian* finding this Deſign fail, made an offer to come himſelf to *Stockholm* to *Steen Sture*, provided they would ſend him ſufficient Hoſtages. Whereupon they diſpatch'd away to the Fleet ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the Nobility, one of which was *Guſtavus Erickson*, who was afterwards King of *Sweden*. As ſoon as the King had this *Guſtavus* on board, and obſerv'd that the Wind was fair, he immediately ſet ſail for *Denmark*, having firſt given orders to *Soren Norby* Governour of *Gothland* to keep the *Swedes* in continual Alarms. When thoſe Hoſtages were arrived in *Denmark*, they were often removed from one place to another; and the King gave *Guſtavus Erickson* in Cuſtody to one of his Relations, called *Erick Bannor*, on pain of twenty Thouſand Crowns if he made his eſcape.

His breach of promiſe and buſineſs

After this, the Affair of *Guſtavus Trolle* was mov'd in the Preſence of *John Arcimbold*, who was preſent at the Aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom at *Arboga*; and after they had repreſented to him the Miſeries he had brought on his Countty, they put it to his Choice either to accept of the meaſures of Friendſhip or thoſe of Juſtice. But having choſe the former, he was reconcil'd to the Governour *Steen Sture*, at the ſolicitation of *Arcimbold* the *Nuncio*. After which he reſign'd his Archbiſhoprick into the Popes hands, and retir'd with his Father *Erick Trolle* to *Denmark*; there to paſs the reſt of his days in quiet. In the mean time, the Governour *Steen Sture* and the States of the Kingdom to content the Pope, made an offer of the Archbiſhoprick to *Arcimbold*, allowing him to ſupply by a Vicar; imagining by this means to forward their Affairs at the Court of *Rome*. But Pope *Leo* the Tenth, being altogether prepoſſeſs'd by King *Chriſtian*, was very much irritated that they had not reſtor'd *Guſtavus Trolle* to

his Office; and confirm'd the Sentence of Excommunication which the Biſhop of *Lundh* pronounc'd againſt the *Swedes*, giving a Commiſſion to the King of *Denmark* to put it in execution, and impoſing beſides upon the Kingdom of *Sweden* a Fine of a hundred Thouſand Ducats. The Nuncio *Arcimbold* flatter'd himſelf with the hopes of making Pope *Leo* favour the *Swedes* and engage in their Intereſts, but all his endeavours were ineffectual, for King *Chriſtian* had arreſted his Brother *Antonel*, whom he had before ſent to *Denmark* with his Baggage, nay he ſeiz'd upon the Nuncio himſelf at *Lundon*; from whence he made his Eſcape to *Calmar*, and thence to *Lubeck*: Having been oblig'd to leave moſt of what he had behind him, and promiſe beſides to the King that he would never do any thing to his prejudice for the future.

K. Chriſtian *arreſts the* Nuncio.

In the mean time, the King made great preparations of War, under pretence of putting in execution the Popes Decree, according to the Orders which he had received from his Holineſs to that effect. Having come with a Fleet near the Iſle *Oeland*, he took the Town of *Borckholm*; but attempting to beſiege *Calmar* he was repuls'd with loſs. This oblig'd him the following Year to raiſe a more conſiderable Body of Forces which conſiſted of all ſorts of Nations. In the mean time *Guſtavus Erickson* having made his eſcape out of Priſon, retir'd to *Lubeck*; whither *Erick Banner* purſu'd him to bring him back. But *Nicolas Gems* who was then Burger-Maſter, having taken him under his Protection, provided him with neceſſaries for ſome Months; till at length he found a favourable opportunity of returning to *Sweden*. Now the *Danes* having invaded *Weſt-Gothland*, *Steen Sture* immediately advanc'd towards them to give them Battle, but being betray'd by one of his Confidents, who went over to the Enemy, he was wounded in the Leg upon the Ice near *Bogeſand*. After which, being carried to *Stregnes*, he died in the way between that Place and the Town of *Stockholm*, ſo that his Troops were oblig'd to retire, and the *Danes* paſſed over the *Tywede*. But the *Swedes* in ſuch a juncture, being without a Head, and the Counſel not agreeing about the

K. Chriſtian *invades* Weſtgothland.

Steen Stures *Death.*

Election

Election of a new Governour, the *Swediſh* Army was diſpers'd, and the *Danes* advanc'd further and further, putting all to Fire and Sword; poſting up every where the Pope's Bull againſt *Steen Sture* and his Party, and in fine, promiſing all kind of ſecurity to thoſe who ſhould declare for King *Chriſtian*. At length having come near *Stregnes*, they granted the *Swedes* a Ceſſation of Arms for eleven days, to give them time to deliberate and reſolve whether they would take *Chriſtian* for their King, or whether they would reject him. Mean while the *Danes* had got another Army in the Field, which ſubdued the *Viſi-Goths* and *Oſtro-Goths*, ſubjecting them to the Obedience of the King of *Denmark*. Upon which it was agreed on both ſides, that an Aſſembly ſhould be held at *Upſal*, where *Guſtavus Trolle* came, and accepted again of the Epiſcopal Dignity which he had ſo ſolemnly renounc'd. After which, in conjunction with two Biſhops and ſeven Counſellors, he repreſented the preſent circumſtances of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and how *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Gothland*, *Smaland*, and the other Provinces had been forc'd to ſubmit to the *Daniſh* Yoak. To which he added, that the *Daniſh* General aſſur'd the *Swediſh Nation*, that all their Liberties and Properties ſhould be preſerv'd without any alteration; that all that was paſt ſhould be buried in oblivion, and that in fine, the King himſelf ſhould confirm thoſe aſſurances publickly, and in writing. Upon which he gave the Title of King of *Sweden* to *Chriſtian*, in name of the States of the Kingdom, to whom alſo he wrote, deſiring them to conſent to this Reſolution, and threatening ſevere puniſhments to all who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to it.

Succeſs of the Danes

Guſtavus Trolle *replac'd.*

But notwithſtanding all this, *Chriſtina*, *Steen Sture*'s Widdow, defended her ſelf vigorouſly in *Stockholm*, and her Men incommoded the *Danes* very much in ſeveral places of the Kingdom, tho' they themſelves were likewiſe ſometimes ill treated by the *Danes*. During this Confuſion, King *Chriſtian* did not fail to flatter himſelf with hopes of becoming Maſter of *Sweden*. And it was with an Eye to this, that he confirm'd the agreement of *Upſal* by his own hand and Seal, in conjunction with

the Counſellors of the Kingdom of *Denmark*, after which, coming in Perſon to *Sweden*, he gave good words to every one, and particularly to the Boors, among whom he order'd a conſiderable quantity of Salt to be diſtributed. Nevertheleſs, at the ſame time he laid Siege to *Stockholm*, and carried it on very vigourouſly. But the Town being very well provided, and on the contrary, the Beſiegers ſuffering very much, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Proviſions, he found himſelf oblig'd to make uſe of gentle methods, and to give good words to thoſe that were within, to engage them to a voluntary ſurrender, upon condition that the Treaty which was concluded a little before at *Upſal*, ſhould be confirm'd; that what was paſt, ſhould be pardon'd and forgot; that the Priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty, that the Town of *Stockholm* ſhould enjoy all their Immunities and Priviledges; that the Widdow *Chriſtina* and her Children, ſhould be ſecur'd in the peaceable poſſeſſion of all that the Governor *Steen Sture* had left them; and laſtly, that he would not govern *Sweden* with the Authority of a King, but with that of a Father, it was ſurrendred. At length King *Chriſtian* made his Entry into the Town with Two thouſand Horſe and as many Foot, with great Teſtimonies of Joy from the Citizens. After which, he wrote very civil and obliging Letters to the States of the Kingdom, inviting them to be preſent at the Ceremony of his Coronation on the 4th of *November*. Moreover he ſent *Hemming Gade* with ſome Troops to *Finland* to take poſſeſſion of *Aboo*, *Nybourg*, and *Razebourg*; he disbanded ſeveral Foreign Troops which he had in Service; and laid great Impoſts on the Country to maintain his other Forces. After which he return'd to *Denmark* to deliberate with his Council what he ſhould do with the *Fowls he had catch'd in his Net*.

Stockholm *beſieg'd.*

Capitulates with King Chriſtien.

Who is Crown'd King of Sweden.

Sometime after, having return'd to *Stockholm* with the Queen his Wife, he forc'd the Council and States of the Kingdom of *Sweden* to ſign that he was the true and lawful Heir to the Crown; and was afterwards Crown'd by Archbiſhop *Guſtavus Trolle*, ſwearing ſolemnly to obſerve the Articles of

of the Treaty which had been made, upon which he took the Sacrament. On the day of his Coronation he gave the Order of Knigthood to ſeveral *Danes* and *Germans*; but did not confer that Honour on any of the *Swediſh* Nation. After which, he gave a magnificent Entertainment for Three Days, in the Caſtle, to all the Lords that were then preſent at *Stockholm*; and appear'd on that occaſion ſo civil and obliging to the *Swedes*, that every one was fully ſatisfied with his behaviour. But ſoon after, he diſcover'd his pernicious deſign to the *Danes*, who were his Confidents, namely the Reſolution which he had taken to extirpate at once the Chief of the *Swediſh* Nobility, to be avenged, as he ſaid, of all the Seditions and Commotions, which they had ſo often been the Cauſe of; and in fine, by that means, to hinder the oppreſs'd People to attempt any alterration in the Government for the future, for want of Heads and Generals This deſign was extreamly pleaſing to the *Danes*, but that he might have ſome ſpecious pretext, the Affair of *Guſtavus Trolle*, and the demoliſhing of *Stecka* were again renew'd, as if the guilty had only obtain'd the King's Pardon, but not that of the Pope: Though nevertheleſs, all the Reparation mention'd in the Bull, conſiſted only in rebuilding *Stecka*, and paying a Mulct of an Hundred thouſand Ducats. They likewiſe accus'd the *Swedes* to have convey'd Gun-powder into the Caſtle with deſign to blow up the King. Moreover, at the inſtigation of the King, Archbiſhop *Trolle* preſenting himſelf, complain'd highly of his impriſonment, of the demoliſhing of *Stecka*, and of the dammage done to the Church there, which he made to amount to a Thouſand Livres. After which, he accus'd the Mother-in-Law and Wife of *Steen Sture*, and fifteen Perſons of their Faction, with all the Council and Burgeſſes of *Stockholm*, deſiring that he might have Juſtice on them. But *Chriſtina* excus'd her ſelf as well as her Husband, by producing the Letters of the States, by which it was order'd that *Stecka* ſhould be demoliſh'd, and the Archbiſhop impriſon'd. According to the Reſolution that was taken, all that

His barbarous deſign.

Calumny againſt the Swedes.

they that had ſigned were immediaely ſeiz'd upon except *Brask* Biſhop of *Linkoping*, who had ſlipt a little Note under the Seal, wherein he proteſted that he had been forc'd to ſign that Reſolution. Beſides the above mention'd Perſons ſeveral others were ſeiz'd upon who had nothing to do with the Archbiſhop. Yea *Guſtavus Trolle* himſelf run the hazard of being ruin'd, becauſe he did not pronounce Sentence of Death againſt the Perſons thus accus'd.

Upon this, the King deputed ſome Judges of each Canton; and *John* and *Olon*, the one Biſhop of *Linkoping* and the other of *Weſteraas* were to be the Accuſers. After which, he caus'd them to be ſhut up in a Caſtle, ordering them to proceed againſt all the Priſoners as againſt Hereticks; and ſent an Executioner to give them notice of their approaching Death; but would not allow them any Prieſt, to whom they might make their Confeſſion. At length all the doors of the Caſtle were very ſtrictly guarded, ſo that no body had liberty to come out, tho' every one was allow'd to go in. When they were brought from the Caſtle to the Market Place, one *Nils Lycke* a *Daniſh* Counſellour accus'd them of having a Deſign to blow up the King with Powder. And tho' they clearly refuted this Calumny, and made their Innocence appear, yet this ſerv'd them for nothing, and all they could do, was to exhort the *Swedes* to revenge their innocent Blood, and ſhake off the Yoke of a Tyrant who oppreſs'd them. In fine, ninety five of the Chief as well Biſhops as Gentlemen, Counſellours and Burgers of the Town of *Stockholm*, were heheaded; and their Servants were hang'd, ſome of them in Boots and Spurs; the Body of the Governour *Steen Sture* and that of his Son, who dyed a little before of his wounds, being digg'd out of the ground, were thrown both together among the bodies of thoſe who had been executed. Afterwards King *Chriſtian* having ſent for *Chriſtina* the Widdow of *Steen Sture*, put it to her choice either to be burnt, drown'd, or buried alive. Nevertheleſs after many prayers and ſolicitations which were made in her favour, he ſpared her Life; but on condition,

Ninety five Swedes *beheaded*, &c.

K. Chriſtians *Cruelty to* Chriſtina *and ſeveral other Ladies:*

dition, that she should part with all her Possessions, and pass the rest of her Life in a perpetual Imprisonment. Besides this, He threatned *Sigrid Christians* Mother to put her in a bag, and so to throw her in the Water, which he had undoubtedly done if she had not redeem'd her Life by parting with all her Estate. And after all, they threw her into Prison with several other Ladies of Quality, who were the Widdows of the Lords that were put to Death. After the Bodies of the dead had been expos'd for three days in the Market Place, they were dragg'd along to *South-Malm*, where they were reduc'd to Ashes: But pieces of the Body of *Steen Sture* were sent throughout the whole Country, to strike the Common People with terror. Immediately after, King *Christian* disarmed all the Boors, threatning to cut off a hand and a foot from every one; *because*, said he, *a Boor being only born for the Plough and not for War, should be content with one Hand, and one natural Foot, and another of Wood.* Besides, he made *Hemming Gadde* to be murther'd, who had done him considerable service, together with ten other *Swedish* Lords: And not being satisfied with their Death, he depriv'd their Widdows and Children of all the Estates that their Fathers had left them; and immediately transported all this Booty to *Denmark*. To Crown his Cruelty and Barbarity, he sent Villains up and down the Country, to root out the Relations and Domesticks of those who had been put to Death; but a great part of them were protected by *Soren Norby*, who was in hopes to marry the Widdow of the Governour *Sture*, and by this means to make way for himself to the Government of the Kingdom. Moreover, King *Christian* in his return to *Denmark*, caus'd Gibbets to be erected in all places as he went along, and every where exercis'd the most horrible Tyrannies. As he pass'd by *Lynkoping*, he made two young Boys of the Family of the *Kibbings* to be whip'd to death, one of which was but nine and the other but seven years old. In the Cloyster of *Nydala*, he made the Abbot and nine Religious of the same Convent to be drown'd. After which, he took his leave of *Sweden*, having put more than six hundred

His other Barbarities

innocent

innocent Persons to Death. Thus the *Swedes* drew all the miseries upon themselves, by suffering their Kingdom to be annex'd to that of *Denmark* under the Government of Queen *Margaret*.

Gustavus Ericklon.

While the King of *Denmark* treated the *Swedes* with so much Inhumanity and Barbarity, and would impose an unsupportable Yoke upon them, *Gustavus Erickson* (whose Fathers Head was cut off by the Tyrants order, and whose Mother had been condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment) had retir'd into *Dalecarlia*, not without frequent hazard of his Life, and a great many troublesom Accidents. He represented to the *Dalecarlians* in so pathetick a manner the injustice and violences of the King, as also the miseries which their Country was to expect for the future, that they chose him for their Head; solemnly promising to venture their Lives and Fortunes with him for the defence of the Common Liberty. And at length having made a considerable Party in that Province, a great number of those whom the King desir'd yet to punish, flock'd to him, and many others assisted him with Money and other necessaries. Tho' the King of *Denmark* was well inform'd of the Designs of *Gustavus Erickson*, yet he was not much alarm'd at it, not only because he saw himself Soveraign of three Kingdoms, and that he had very powerful Relations and Allies; but also, because he had all the Castles of the Kingdom in his hands. So that having this confidence, he sent but a few Troops to the assistance of his Party under the Command of *Soren Norby*, which also came too late: By which means *Gustavus Erickson* having gain'd time, had a favourable occasion to draw into his Party those who dwelt about *Kopperberg*; together with the Inhabitants of the Provinces of *Helsingia*, *Gestricia*, *Angermania*, and *Medelpad*. After which he turn'd towards *Westmanca*, *Nericia*, and *Wermland*; where Captain *Peter Ugla*, whom he had sent before with some Troops, was surpris'd by the *Danes* near *Kioping*. But on the other side, *Gustavus Erickson* having advanc'd towards *Westeraas* with five thousand Men, twice defeated *Henry de Melen* the *Dane*, who was the Kings Vassal. At length having sent such

Dalecarlians *and others chose him for their Head.*

ſuch as were well affected to him into the Provinces of *Nericia* and *Sudermania*, as alſo *West-Gothland* and *Upland*, they met every where with a great many Adherents; tho' the Archbiſhop oppos'd their progreſs with all his might, being deſirous to preſerve the Kingdom to the King of *Denmark*; notwithſtanding all the advantagious propoſals which *Guſtavus Erickson* made him to engage him in his Party and the Intereſt of his Country. But *Guſtavus Trolle* was ſo far from being gain'd by this means, that he did all he could to ſurpriſe *Erickſon* near the Town of *Upſal*, and was ſo near to have ſucceeded, that *Erickſon* had much difficulty to make his eſcape into a Wood. Nevertheleſs *Guſtavus Erickſon*, ſoon after, paid the Archbiſhop home, in his return to *Stockholm*; for he ſet upon him ſo furiouſly, that he eſcap'd narrowly with the ſixth part of the Men who were with him. But however, he was not able at that time, to make himſelf Maſter of the Town of *Stockholm*, having been oblig'd to retire with loſs. Mean while *Guſtavus Erickson* was daily reinforc'd, as well by Succors which came to him from *Lubeck*, as by thoſe he receiv'd from divers places of the Kingdom. His Progreſs did ſo exaſperate King *Chriſtian*, that having ſent for the Mother and Siſters of *Guſtavus Erickson* from *Stockholm* to *Copenhagen*, he threw them into a diſmal Priſon, and miſerably tormented them to death, notwithſtanding all the Intreaties of the Queen his Wife, in favour of the Priſoners. Beſides this, he impriſon'd at *Leinwad* the other *Swediſh* Ladies who were under his Power. Thus that unmerciful Tyrant ſought to revenge himſelf in an infamous manner on thoſe poor Captives.

The Archbiſhop oppoſes him.

K. Chriſtian's horrid baſeneſs.

Guſtavus Erickson, without being alarm'd at all this, perſiſted firmly in his deſign, and called together the States of the Kingdom at *Wadſtena*, where they unanimouſly made him Governour, and ſwore Allegiance to him in that Quality; giving him all manner of aſſurance to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, in delivering their Country from the oppreſſion of the *Danes*, with a promiſe of raiſing him one day to the Throne. In the mean time, *Diderick Slaghhoy* and *Gregory*

Guſtavus Erickſon's Conſtancy

gory Holst, who commanded in *Stockholm* under King *Christian* put Ammunition into the Castle of *Wadstena*, which was then besieg'd: But the Convoy in its return, was so beaten by the Troops of *Gustavus*, that most of *Danish* Officers lay on the spot. Upon which *Gustavus Erickson* having sent some Regiments into *Finland*, to purge that Province of the *Danes*, he went himself to carry on vigorously the Siege of *Stockholm*. But the Archbishop *Trolle* with *Slaghhoy* and *Beldenacker*, the one having the Title of Bishop of *Skara*, and the other of *Stregnes*, were so frightned at his coming, that they immediately fled to *Denmark*; at which King *Christian* was very much dissatisfied, because *Gustavus Trolle* could have done him very considerable Service if he had remain'd in *Sweden*. Some time after, the Pope sent a Commissary to be inform'd concerning the Bishops who had been put to death. But King *Christian* having cast the blame on the two other Bishops, *Slaghhoy* and *Beldenaker*, they were both punished with death upon that account. But this Tyrant, having not his thirst quenched with all the blood he had shed in *Sweden*, in the beginning of the following Year sent expres Orders to his Captains and Governors in *Sweden* and *Finland*, to put all the *Swedish* Gentlemen they could find, whether Friends or otherwise to the Sword: upon which, a great many brave Gentlemen lost their Lives. But on the other side, the *Danes* were treated after the manner wherever they could be found, and several Castles which were taken from them were raz'd to the ground, that they might find no shelter in them for the future. However *Soren Norby* raised the Siege of *Calmar*, *Stockholm*, and *Aboo*, with great loss on the side of the Besiegers. *Gustavus Erickson*, to regain that loss, resolv'd again to besiege *Stockholm*, and that he might the better succeed, desir'd an assistance of Ships from those of *Lubeck*, which they granted him on condition that they should be paid for them. This they did so much the more willingly, not only because the King of *Denmark* had oblig'd their Ships in the *Streights* of the *Sound* to pay greater Customs than they had done formerly; but also because he obstructed their Commerce with *Sweden*, and did them every where all the ill he could. In this conjuncture, those of *Lubeck* did great Service to the Governour

The Archbishop flies to Denmark.

K. Christian's *Cruelty.*

Gustavus Erickson *assisted by* Lubeck.

Governor *Gustavus* against the *Danes*. Besides, it was a great happiness for him, that at the same time the *Danes* who were very much discontented with their King's behaviour, openly declar'd that they renounc'd the Allegiance which they had swore to him, and the Obedience they had promis'd; those of *Jutland* having kindled the first sparks of this Sedition; for in fine, *Gustavus Erickson* knew very well how to improve such a favourable occasion, having opportunity by that means to make himself Master of the whole Kingdom: Besides, he sent *Larsz Siggeson* to *Norway*, who conquer'd the Province of *Wyck*, and who by all appearance had surpris'd the Province of *Halland* and *Schonen*, if the Waters which were then very high, had not oblig'd him to retire.

The Danes *Revolt.*

While these things were doing, *Frederick* the First, Uncle to King *Christian* by the Father's side, was chosen King of the *Jutlanders*. Upon which he acquainted the *Swedes* with it, soliciting them at the same time to accept him for their King. But they only thank'd him for the honour which he meant them, because they had found formerly how much an Union with the *Danes* tended to their prejudice. Upon this, King *Christian* retir'd into *Flanders*, together with his Queen, to his Brother-in-Law *Charles* 5th to demand Succours of him. After his Departure from *Denmark*, *Soren Norby* lost all Courage, and being almost in despair, gave Orders to the Garrison of the Castle of *Calmar*, that in case they came to be Attack'd, they should pillage and burn the Town, and retire to *Gothland* with the Booty, after having put all the Burgers of the place to the edge of the Sword: But the Citizens having notice of this, acquainted the *Swedes* with it; and opening the Gates to them in the Night, took all the Garrison Prisoners. After which, they soon took the Castle, and made themselves Masters of the Islands of *Oeland*, and *Borkholm*. In the mean time the States of the Kingdom Assembled at *Stregnes*, where *Gustavus* filled up the places of the Counsellors whom King *Christian* had put to death: upon which, the States, in testimony of their acknowledgment, gave him the Title of King; so that they swore Allegiance to him, and took an Oath of Fidelity from him in quality of their Sovereign. At length *Gustavus* seeing that the Town of *Stockholm* had

Frederick I. *made K. of* Jutland.

K. Christian *goes to* Flanders

Gustavus Erickson *made King of* Sweden.

no

no more hopes of Relief, ſummon'd it to ſurrender. *Upon which the Garriſon of the Town and Caſtle put them into the hands of the* Lubeckers, *being in hopes that they would deliver them up to King* Frederick; *but they ſurrender'd them without any difficulty to* Guſtavus Erickſon, *who afterwards made his Entry with many Acclamations and Teſtimonies of Joy.*

During theſe troubles, the Lubeckers *indeed did great Service to* Guſtavus; *but it muſt alſo be acknowledg'd that they coſt him very dear, to the value of Sixty thouſand Merks. However, the* Swedes *not being in a condition immediately to advance ſuch a Sum of Money, to obtain a delay, they were oblig'd to allow them great Priviledges, as, amongſt others,* That they ſhould pay no Cuſtoms for the Commodities they ſhould bring into *Sweden*; that they alone ſhould have all the Trade of that Kingdom; and laſtly, that they might Trade at *Stockholm, Suderkoping, Calmar,* and *Aboo,* not only with the Citizens, but alſo with the Boors. *In the mean time, as thoſe advantages were very prejudicial to the Inhabitants, ſo it was impoſſible they ſhould be of long continuance. For the Treaſury of the Kingdom being altogether empty,* Guſtavus Erickſon *was oblig'd to lay great Taxes upon the Eccleſiaſticks, to pay the Soldiers which had been rais'd. Beſides that, he borrow'd from ſeveral of them, great Sums of Money, and the moſt precious Veſſels in the Church, on condition to give them an equivalent. He took this Method the rather, becauſe the Clergy abus'd their ſuperfluous Riches. This Conduct of King* Guſtavus *highly incens'd all the Eccleſiaſticks, and principally* Brask, *Biſhop of* Lincoping, *who animated the reſt againſt him, and who alſo accus'd him of Avarice and Hereſie to* John Magnus, *the Pope's Nuncio. On the other ſide,* Peter, *Biſhop of* Weſteraas, *endeavour'd to make the* Dalecarlians *and* Mountaineers *riſe in Arms againſt him, ſpeaking of him in a moſt injurious manner. Nevertheleſs, King* Guſtavus *not being much concern'd at this, and having disbanded all the Foreign Troops except the beſt, which he kept ſtill in his Service, he ſent an Army of choſen Men to* Blekingia, *who made themſelves Maſters of that Province. Beſides, upon his ſolicitation, King* Frederick *ſent him Seventeen Men of War, to help him to conquer the Iſle of* Bornholm. *After which he ſent them into* Finland, *where they ſubjected all the Places to his Obedience. But however, that he might be ſecure on that ſide, he made a Truce for ſome Years with the* Muſcovites. About

Priviledges granted by the Swedes *to* Lubeck.

About the same time the Protestant Religion began to spread more and more in the Kingdom of *Sweden*. The *German* Merchants were the First who brought it to *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and *Suderkoping*, with the Writings of *Luther*, to which the *German* Soldiers, who were in the service of *Sweden*, and several *Swedish* Schollars, who had embrac'd that Doctrine at *Wirtemberg*, did also contribute. One of the chief of those Schollars was *Olaus Petri* of the Province of *Nericia*, who having heard *Luther* for several Years, after his return into *Sweden* was made *Canon* and Protonotary to Bishop *Mathias*; after whose Death, while his successor was yet absent, he began secretly to Discover to his Friends what he had Learn'd at *Wirtemberg* from *Martin Luther*: And having shewn them some Passages of Scripture to that purpose, he gave them at length the Writings of *Luther*. *Olaus* chiefly infus'd his Principles into *Lars Anderson* his Arch-deacon, after which, he began not only to dispute in the Shools, but also to Preach his Doctrines Publickly to all the People. He who most oppos'd his Doctrine was *Nils* the Deacon, who Disputed with him, after which the Subject of the Dispute was brought before King *Gustavus*, who was instructed in the matter of *Lars Anderson*, Chancelour of his Court, by whom he was inform'd how the Princes of *Germany* had embrac'd that Religion, and thought it necessary to retrench the superfluous riches of the Clergy: Nevertheless, King *Gustavus* continued for some time in suspence about this matter, till he had received a more full confirmation of it from *Germany*. Nor did he think it fit afterwards to declare himself openly for some time; but conceal'd his Opinion, till he saw what this Affair would come to, fearing least so great an alteration should cause some troubles in the begining of his Reign, before he had laid down just Measures, and put himself in a condition to bring down the Bishops; especially *John Brask* Bishop of *Lincoping*, who constantly incourag'd the People to oppose the Doctrine of *Luther*, and add hereto the Opinions of their forefathers. But when *Pope Adrian* the VI. was inform'd of what pass'd in *Sweden*, by *John Magnus* (who formerly was his Schollar at *Loburn*) and by several others, he sent the same *Magnus* thither in quality of *Nuncio*, as well to root out that new Doctrine,

Protestant Religion spreads &c.

King Gustavus at first conceals his Religion.

The Pope sends a Nuncio to Sweden.

as to give him an exact account of the Reasons, for which *Christian* King of *Denmark* had Beheaded Archbishop *Trolle* and the other Bishops. In the mean time, *Olaus* was no ways allarm'd, but vigorously maintain'd his cause, both by word and writting; so that at length he gain'd the advantage; and the more he drew King *Gustavus* to his side, the more the Clergy murmur'd against the Impositions that were laid on them for releiving the Necessities of the State; and they us'd all their endeavours to excite the People to Rebellion. The Seditious Letters writ by the Bishop of *Westeraas* to Foreign Countreys, being intercepted, were presented to King *Gustavus*, who therefore depos'd that Prelate, and the Deacon *Cnule* for their Treason, which did mightily exasperate all the Clergy of *Sweden*. Moreover the Nuncio *John Magnus*, at the instigation of Bishop *Brask*, strongly exhorted the King to retain the ancient Religion, and not to favour the Doctrine of *Luther*, nor to deprive the Church of its riches; and in fine, he would have oblig'd him to sign a Decree, by which the *Swedes* should be prohibited on pain of Death, and the loss of their Goods, to receive the Oppinions of *M. Luther*, or to read or bring his Books into the Kingdom of *Sweden*. King *Gustavus* having given him a cunning answer, suitable to the present Conjuncture, the Nuncio afterwards sent for *Olaus Petri* and all his followers, by a long discourse exhorted them no longer to propagate the Doctrine of *Luther*, but to enter again into the Bosom of the Church. This moderate method mightily displeas'd Bishop *Brask*, as if *Magnus* had too much complaisance for the Protestants. But the Nuncio answer'd, that he had consider'd the State of the Church, and that when he should leave the Function which he had already Orders to do, he would find better Remedies; promising withal, that he would return the following year, or prevail with the Pope to give the Bishop his Commission. After which, *Magnus* very much recommended to him, to avoid Injurious and Offensive Language, which serves only to exasperate the mind, and always does more harm than good. Nevertheless, Bishop *Brask* push'd things so far, that he forc'd the Nuncio, *John Magnus*, either to condemn *Olaus* as an Heretick, or to declare him Innocent; and oblig'd him besides, to establish

His conduct.

Inqui-

Inquisitors in every Bishoprick, to discover the Teachers. As for the other part of *Magnus* his Commission, after he had examined the Affairs of *Gustavus Trolle*, he declar'd him unworthy to possess the Archbishoprick, or to exercise the Functions of it, and that there was reason for deposing him: but the other Bishop, whom King *Christian* had put to Death, he declar'd Innocent.

But the King, desiring to fill up the vacant place of *Gustavus Trolle*, made the Nuncio to be chosen in his place, who had already set out upon his return to *Rome*. And because Bishop *Brask* was continualy restless, and refus'd to contribute towards the design'd Expedition upon the Island of *Gothland*, and at the same time continually sollicited others to raise Troubles in the Kingdom, King *Gustavus* opposed the Installing of the new Bishops. After which he sent to *Wirtemberg* for several Able and Learned Men to Preach publickly; amongst whom *Olaus Petri* was made Minister of the great Church at *Stockholm*; Nevertheless, the Common People, who were still infatuated with their old Superstitions, flung Stones at him several times. But King *Gustavus* seeing that the *Dominicans* were altogether Rebellious, and endeavour'd by all means to kindle Sedition, he gave them Priors who were well affected to him: And amongst others, he deposid the Prior of *Westeraas*, who Sollicited the Mountaniers to rise in Arms. On the other side, he Banish'd all the Foreign Dominicans out of the Kingdom, and gave Bishop *Brask* to know, that he could not prohibit the Writings of *Luther*, because they had not yet been condemn'd by lawful Judges; and also, that he could not refuse his Protection to his Subjects who followed the Opinions of *Luther*, unless they were Convicted of an Error or some bad Action. After King *Gustavus* had thus humbl'd the Bishops, he attempted to Conquer the Island of *Gothland*; particularly, because *Soren Norby*, who constantly espous'd the interest of King *Christian*, much disturb'd the Sea-Trade; for which reason, the *Lubeckers* push'd him on more and more to this Expedition; promising to wait some Years more for the Payment of the Sum which he ow'd them. *Bernard de Melen*, who had Orders from the King to put this design in execution, having a little time reduc'd the Low Country, laid Siege to the Town and Castle of *Wisby*, were *Soren*

Made Archbishop.

Bernard de Melen's expedition.

Norby, who was Governour, defended himself vigorously But at last, finding that he could no longer resist the Power of *Sweden*, he gave up the Island to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, on condition that he should hold it of him in fee, and protect him for the future against the *Swedes*. Now, tho' King *Frederick* had some time before contracted Friendship with King *Gustavus*, and to outward appearance liv'd in a very strict Union with him, that he might have assistance from him against the adherents of King *Christian* (then a Fugitive) who were able to do him much more harm than the *Swedes*; nevertheless, he was so tempted with the desire of being Master of that Island, which lay very conveniently for him, that he sought out all methods to annex it at any rate to the Crown of *Denmark*. Nevertheless, King *Frederick*, who would not openly fall out with King *Gustavus*, nor have him for his declar'd Enemy, order'd matters so, by the intercession of the *Lubeckers*, that it was agreed, an Assembly should be held at *Malmoe*, to terminate the Differences between the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, with respect to the Island of *Gothland*. But when *Soren Norby* was inform'd of the day appointed, for that Negociation, he so earnestly solicited *Bernard de Melen*, who was one of his old Friends, that he perswaded him to raise the Siege, and conclude a Cessation of Arms with him, without the knowledge of King *Gustavus*, and to the great displeasure of all the *Swedish* Army. There were many who Imagin'd that *Soren Norby* endeavour'd to have *Christina*, *Stenstures* Widow, in Marriage, in hopes, by that means, to get the Government of the Kingdom of *Sweden*; in which design he was supported by *Bernard de Melen* and several other *Swedes*, who were very much disaffected to King *Gustavus*, becaus he seem'd to favour the Doctrines of *Luther*.

His infidelity to the Prince.

On the other hand, the King of *Denmark* us'd all his endeavours to gain the affection of the *Swedes*, that by their means he might obtain the Crown of *Sweden*; especially becaus he had been Crown'd at *Copenhagen* King of *Sweden*, by the Archbishop *Gustavus Trolle*. Nevertheless, King *Gustavus*, after having deliberated about this Affair with his Council at *Jenkoping*, and having received sufficient Hostages, prov'd manifestly at *Malmoe*, that the Union of the three Kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, had been always pernicious to

the *Swediſh* Nation, but very advantagious to the *Danes*, who while they Commanded in *Sweden*, were ſo many rich and oppulent Lords, whereas the Natives were Slaves and Beggars. To which he added, That this was the reaſon which made the *Danes* ſo earneſtly deſire the Union, and declar'd that the *Swedes* would conſent to it no more, having now freed themſelves from the Tyranny and Violence of King *Chriſtian*. Moreover, he made it appear, that the Iſland of *Gothland* was always annex'd to the Crown of *Swedsn*; That it had been taken by Surpriſe by King *Waldemar*, and unjuſtly retain'd by the Kings his Succeſſors, tho' at their coming to the Crown of *Denmark*, they ſolemnly promis'd to reſtore it to *Swedcn*. To which he added, That not only *Blackingia* belong'd to *Sweden*, but likewiſe *Schonen*, *Lyſter*, *Huen* with the Province of *Halland*; and that beſides, the *Norwegians* had mortgag'd the Province of *Wyck* to the *Swedes* for the Sum of Ten Thouſand Ducats; at length, finding they would not come to an accomodation, it was reſolv'd on both ſides, to refer their difference about *Blaekingia*, the Iſland of *Gothland*, and the Province of *Wyck*, to the determinations of the *Hans-Towns*, Namely *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Hamburgh*, *Roſtock*, *Wiſmer*, and *Luneburg*. Moreover, there was an Alliance concluded between the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and thoſe *Hans-Towns*, againſt King *Chriſtian*, as being their common Enemy; upon condition, that they ſhould not harbour Runaways and Deſerters from either ſide, and that all Priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty; by which means a great Number of *Swedes*, that had been made Priſoners in King *Chriſtians* Reign, had leave to return home.

Reaſons againſt the Union of Sweden *and* Denmark.

At the ſame time King *Guſtavus* Swore, that he would never again ſet his Foot out of *Sweden*, to expoſe himſelf to ſo great a danger; which Oath he alſo kept, tho' nevertheleſs, *Soren Norby* and *Bernard de Melen*, had cut out new Work for him; the latter having Treacherouſly brought back his Troops from the Iſland of *Gothland*, without having made any progreſs in it; and the other having openly embrac'd the party of King *Chriſtian*. In the abſence of King *Guſtavus*, there were ſeveral *German* Anabaptiſts, who having paſs'd the Sea, crept into the Town of *Stockholm*: At firſt they vented their Opinions under hand, but at length they Preach'd publickly to the People in the Pulpits. Beſides, they cut off and broke into pieces the Statues, Images, and other Ornaments of the

Church. In the mean time, there was no Roman Catholicks that had the boldneſs to oppoſe thoſe Tumults; and on the other ſide, the *Lutherans* wink'd at them, in hopes, that when this ſtorm was over, their Doctrine would make the greater progreſs.

The Peoples Opinion. Nevertheleſs, the People, who ſtill made profeſſion of the Romiſh Religion, imputed all theſe diſorders, not only to the Proteſtants, but alſo to the King himſelf; and made uſe of this occaſion, to raiſe Rebellion againſt his Majeſty: Nay, there were ſome, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, who ſent into the Province of *Dalecarlia*, to cauſe an Inſurrection there, that they might make the Doctrine of *Luther* odious to the Inhabitants. But when King *Guſtavus* return'd from *Malroe*, he gave orders to Seize upon *Melchior Rink*, who was the chief Leader of thoſe Phanaticks, and puniſh'd the reſt with Baniſhment. After which, he bitterly reproach'd thoſe who followed the Religon of *Luther*, for not oppoſing in time, the Hereſy of their Enthuſiaſts. After this, King *Guſtavus* met with conſiderable trouble from *Bernard de Melen*, who kept the Town of *Calmar* againſt him, from the *Dalecarlians*, who, at the inſtigation of the Romiſh Clergy, had riſen up in Arms. In fine, all the Clergy made a great noiſe, *Olaus Petri*, who Preach'd in the Cathedral Church, did publickly enter into the Band of Matrimony; and yet a far greater, when the King requir'd Tythes from the Biſhops, to pay the Troops which he had in his Service, and Quarter'd his Cavalry in the Monaſtries; but eſpecially Biſhop *Brask*, ſhew'd a great deal of haughtineſs in a Letter which he wrote to King *Guſtavus*; to which the King modeſtly anſwer'd, that he ought to conſider, that all the Clergy, and eſpecially the Monaſtries had been inrich'd by the Rents of the Crown; and that conſequently, they were oblig'd in gratitude to aſſiſt the Kings of *Sweden* in time of neceſſity, ſince their Revenues had conſiderably decreas'd, by the frequent Donations made both to the Regular and Secular Clergy. As for the Marriage of *Olaus Petri*, that Eccleſiaſtick appeal'd directly to the Holy Scriptures, Challenging Biſhop *Brask* to prove from them the Injuſtice of his proceeding. To which he added further, that he thought it very ſtrange, that that Prelate ſhould make ſuch a Noiſe againſt him, for having Married an

Honeſt

Honeſt Woman, ſince he ſuffer'd the Prieſts to keep an Infamous Correſpondence with Lew'd Women, with out calling them to any account.

Upon this the Biſhop being more exaſperated, he Publickly prohibited over all his Dioceſs, both Learn'd and Unlearn'd, to vent any of the Doctrines of *Luther*; becauſe, ſaid he, they inſinuate into the minds of Men, and ſpread their Poiſon inſenſibly. After which, he went over all the Country, to exhort the People to do the ſame. During theſe Diſputes and Troubles, *Olaus Petri* was buſy'd in Tranſlating the *New Teſtament* into the *Swediſh* Tongue, following Word by Word the Tranſlation of *Luther*. And that King *Guſtavus* himſelf, might ſee what the Roman Catholicks had to ſay, he gave orders to the Archbiſhop, to have a Tranſlation made by thoſe of his Communion, becauſe all other Nations; and even the *Danes*, had the *New Teſtament* in their own Tongue. To which he added farther, that this was ſo much the more neceſſary, in a time when ſo many different Opinions, the Truth or Falſehood of which, could not be known without conſulting the Holy Scriptures. Moreover, King *Guſtavus* repreſented, that there were a great Number of Prieſts, who not underſtanding the *Latin*, did conſequently put a wrong Senſe upon ſeveral paſſages of Scripture, becauſe they had them not in their Mother Tongue.

New Teſtament is Tranſlated by Ol. Pet.

The Biſhops of the Kingdom oppos'd the King's Order with great Heat and Stiffneſs, but at length they were oblig'd to ſubmit to it. So that they divided the Books of the *New Teſtament*, in ſuch a manner, amongſt themſelves, that thoſe of *Upſal* were to Tranſlate the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, with the Epiſtle to the *Romans*; Thoſe of the Dioceſs of *Skara*, the Goſpel of St. *Luke*, and the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*; Thoſe of *Streignes*, the Goſpel of St. *John*, and the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*; Thoſe of *Weſteraas*, the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; Thoſe of *Aboo*, the Epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians*, and to *Timothy*; The *Dominicans*, the Epiſtles to *Titus*, and the *Hebrews*; The *Franciſcans*, the Epiſtles to *James* and *Jude*; Thoſe of the Dioceſs of *Wadſtena*, the Epiſtles of St. *Peter*, and St. *John*; And in fine, the *Carthuſians* were to Tranſlate the *Revelatiosn* of St. *John*.

And by the Romaniſts

K. Guſtavus *ſends Plenipotentiaries to* Lubeck.

About the ſame time, King *Guſtavus* ſent the Archbiſhop *John Magnus*, and his Brother-in-law, the Count of *Hoya*, to *Lubeck*, as Plenipotentiaries, to Terminate the differences between the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, according to the Treaty of *Malmoe*; But the Wind being contrary, and the Sea dangerous by reaſon of Pirates, they could not be there on the Day appointed; upon which the Deputies of *Denmark* took occaſion to return Home, as ſoon as the Day of the Interview was over; tho' the Magiſtrates of *Lubeck* earneſtly entreated them to wait ſome Days longer. As ſoon as the Archbiſhop arrived at *Lubeck*, he wrote immediatly to King *Frederick*, complaining that the Ambaſſadors of *Denmark* had gon away ſo ſuddenly, repreſenting to him withal, the occaſion of his late arrival at the place of the Aſſembly, entreating him alſo to ſend them back: But the King of *Denmark*, who ſuſpected the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and who conſequently would not wait for the ſentence of the Judges, wrote to the Archpiſhop, that the Deputies which he had ſent to *Lubeck*, were then abſent, but that he would give them Orders to return again; tho' after all, he did not keep his word. Mean while, King *Frederick* having reduc'd *Soren Norby*, who had made an inroad into *Schonen*, and having forc'd him to give up the Iſland of *Gothland*, he Mortgag'd it to the Town of *Lubeck*, to the end it might be excluded from the Crown of *Sweden*. And tho', afterwards, the Arbitrators warmly exhorted him to ſend back his Plenipotentiaries to *Lubeck*, he would by no means conſent thereto: So that the Deputies of *Sweden* were oblig'd to return home without doing any thing. But on the other ſide, King *Guſtavus* for ſeveral years after kept Poſſeſſion of the Provinces of *Wyck* and *Bleckingia*, the Inhabitants chooſing rather to be under the Dominion of *Sweden* than *Denmark*.

About the ſame time, the King ſet himſelf to retake the Town of *Calmar*. Upon which Biſhop *Brask* ſent Letters every where, to exhort the People to hold faſt the Religion of their Fathers, and defend it againſt all thoſe that would deſtroy it; complaining highly of the Archbiſhop, for having conſented to the Tranſlating the *Bible*; for he was ſufficiently perſwaded, that by that means the Religion of *Luther* would make a conſiderable Progreſs. To which he added, that Our Saviour had

had left the Interpretation of the Scriptures to the Doctors of his Church, that the Ignorant might have no occaſion to diſpute about them. Beſides, he wrote Letters to all the Kingdom, to Celebrate the Jubile which Pope *Clement* the Seventh had appointed. In ſhort, this Prelate took all methods to kindle the fire of Diviſion, which he ſpread over the whole Country upon the account of the Doctrine of *Luther*. On the other hand, the King went to *Dalecarlia*, whence he Baniſh'd ſome Prieſts who endeavour'd to make an Inſurrection in that Province, and made them retire to *Norway*. Afterwards he preſcribed a certain form of Preaching, becauſe ſome of them in their Sermons only ſpoke of Faith, without making any mention of good Works; and without any neceſſity, declaim'd, with too much heat, againſt the Pope and Biſhops. In the mean time, to ſtop the Mouths of the Roman Catholicks, he appointed a ſet Diſpute to be held at *Upſal*, between *Peter Galle*, and *Olaus Petri*, who had Orders to Treat of the Principal Points which were controverted between two Parties; and the King himſelf, the Archbiſhop, and ſeveral others were preſent at the Diſpute: Where *Olaus Petri* was Maſter of the Field. *A Diſpute held.*

Upon this, *Olaus Petri*'s Tranſlation of the *New Teſtment* was receiv'd, and that of the Romiſh Clergy was rejected. The Next Year, the Archbiſhop viſited all the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and tho' he us'd all his endeavours, to draw away the People from the Doctrines of *Luther*, crying up to King *Guſtavus*, the Conſtancy of the Northern *Swedes* in their Ancient Religion; Nevertheleſs, His Majeſty gave him no other anſwer, than that he had done better to have inſtructed them ſimple and ignorant People in the Truths of the Goſpel, than to go among them to Conſecrate Bells, Images and Churches. Moreover, King *Guſtavus* had no regard to the Advice that the Archbiſhop gave him to Marry the Princeſs of *Poland*, in order to engage him the more in the intereſts of the Sea of *Rome*: But when he was inform'd, that the Archbiſhop, and other Biſhops would be Conſecrated and Inſtalled in their Places, that they might have the better opportunity to Perſecute the Proteſtants, he gave them to know, that their Conduct would be much more praiſe-worthy, if they apply'd themſelves to find out Methods for paying the Debts of the

the Kingdom, and reſiſting the Attempts of King *Chriſtian*, who had been Baniſh'd out of his Kingdom, and was the Sworn Enemy of *Sweden*. To which he added farther, That ſince the Clergy of *Denmark* had furniſh'd their King with a conſiderable Summ of Money to avert that misfortune, it was reaſonable for them to ſupply him with a like Summ. But when theſe Prelates Inſiſted on their Immunities and Priviledges, the King anſwer'd them very well, That ſince they had not receiv'd them from Heaven, but from the Secular Power, they might, without a Crime, be changed and alter'd according to the Circumſtances of Time, and the Neceſſities of the State. Afterwards, King *Guſtavus*, that he might have opportunity to confer with Learned Men on the Subject, as alſo, that he might ſtifle the Sedition of the People, and frighten them at the ſame time, went to *Upſal* with ſome Thouſands of well-Arm'd Men, in the time of the moſt Famous Market they had in the Year. As ſoon as he was arriv'd, he repreſented to the People, that their was in the Kingdom a great Number of Prieſts and Monks, which were ſo many *Slowbacks*, and uſeleſs Members; and that conſequently, he had reſolved to employ their Revenues in uſes more neceſſary and profitable for the State. But this Diſcourſe being unpleaſant to the Rabble, the King, turning the matter to raillery, ſet a Crown on the Archbiſhops Head, and made him King of the *Feaſt*; that by this means, he might Lodge with all his Fellows at his Houſe, and Live at his Charge. And in effect, ſome Day after, that Prelate entertain'd the King moſt magnificently; but receiv'd no Teſtimony of acknowledgment upon that Account; becauſe while he was at Table, he ſat upon a ſeat as high as the Kings, and had a Carver and Cup-bearer as well as he. Beſides that, when he Drank to him, he uſed this expreſſion, *Our grace Drinks to Yours.* Upon which the Courtiers did not fail to make very Satyrical Jeſts.

Another diſpute and the effect of it.

After this, King *Guſtavus* appointed that another Conference ſhould be held before the Archbiſhop and the other Clergy, in which *Olaus Petri*, and *Peter Galle*, with ſome others, were to Diſpute about the Priviledges the Clergy laid claim to; The *Romaniſts* did not fail to exalt very much the Sacredneſs of them; But becauſe

cauſe, in ſtead of ſufficient proof taken out of the Holy Scriptures, which the King deſir'd, they only produced the Authority of Councils and ſome Fathers, His Majeſty Publiſh'd a Proclamation, ſetting forth, that for the future, all the Clergy were abſolutely to depend on the King; which exaſperated both ſides. However King *Guſtavus* took care to advance his own Right, without much valuing whither the Clergy were pleas'd at it or not. But the Kingdom of *Sweden* being yet much depreſs'd, both by reaſon of the Dammages they dayly ſuffer'd from the Pirate *Soren Norby*, as alſo upon account of the Debt that was owing by that Crown to the Town of *Lubeck*, King *Guſtavus*, to remedy thoſe two inconveniencies, deſir'd Money of the States aſſembled at *Weſteraas*, as well to put him in a Condition to reduce that Pirate, as to pay the Debts with which the Kingdom was burden'd: And not being able to gain his purpoſe that way, he would have the Clergy to contribute; and to give to thoſe of *Lubeck* in part of Payment of Debt, all the Bells of the Kingdom that ſerv'd for nothing in the Church. In this conjuncture, Fortune was favourable to King *Guſtavus*; for his forces drove *Soren Norby* out of the Province of *Finland*, where he had done great Havock, and forc'd him to retire to *Narva*; where the *Muſcovites*, having taken him Priſoner, ſet him afterwards at his Liberty, at the Decree of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, in whoſe Service he afterwards Dyed at the Seige of *Florence*, in the Year 1530. But the Archbiſhop uſing all his endeavours to raiſe Troubles, and to ſtir up the People to a Rebellion againſt the King, was made Priſoner by his Majeſty's Order at *Stockholm*. In the mean time, the King did not think it fit to put him to Death, tho' ſeveral about Court adviſed him thereto; but ſet him at Liberty again, and ſent him Ambaſſadour to *Poland*, to deſire the Daughter of King *Sigiſmond* in Marriage; but without any Allowance to defray his Charge. Upon which the Archbiſhop wrote a Letter, from on Board the Ship wherein he had embarked, to the Clergy of *Roſtager*, entreating them to furniſh him with Money; which they immediately did, ſending him a conſiderable Sum; which he had no ſooner receiv'd, then he went to *Dantzick*, when he never again return'd to *Sweden*; committing afterwards the care of his Churches to Biſhop *Brask*.

All

All this did highly exaſperate the Roman-Catholicks. Beſides, there was great ſcarcity of Proviſions in the Country, and the Prieſts did inſinuate to the People, that this was a Judgment from God upon the Land, for embracing the Heretical Doctrines of *Luther*. To obviate thoſe Diſorders, the King made a great quantity of Corn to be brought from *Livonia*; and that he might ſtop the Mouths of the Seditious, he ordered *Theſes* to be Printed, which contained the Pincipal Articles of Faith that were in Controverſy, deſiring that Diſputes might be held about them. But Biſhop *Brask* would by no means hearken to ſuch Propoſitions; alledging for pretence of his refuſal, that ſince neither he, nor the other Clergy of the Kingdom, doubted of the Truth of their Religion, they were not oblidged to enter into new Diſputes; and that it was an unreaſonable thing to doubt of a Worſhip which had Flouriſhed ſo many Hundred Years, and had been confirm'd by the Teſtimony of ſo many Martyrs, and the Authority of Councils and Ancient Fathers, who had long before condemn'd the Doctrine of *Luther* as Heretical. Moreover, he wrote Circular Letters to all the Clergy, exhorting them to adhere firmly to the Religion of their Anceſtors. After which, that they might Create more trouble to King *Guſtavus*, they rais'd up a Boors Son called *Hans*, who paſs'd for the Son of *Steenſture*, and took the Name of *Nils Sture*, that Dyed ſeveral Years before. This *Hans* went into the Province of *Dalecarlia*, where the Name and Memory of *Steenſture*, were ſtill kept in a grateful Remembrance; Imagining that by the means of that People, he might Dethrone *Guſtavus*, and become King of *Sweden*. When this Rebel had gained the affections of the *Dalecarlians*, and animated them againſt King *Guſtavus*, he made a conſiderable Party, and created a great deal of trouble to His Majeſty, being ſupported by the Biſhop of *Druntheim* in *Norway*; And Biſhop *Brask* oppoſing more and more the Diſputes appointed by the King, The *Dalecarlians* came to an open Rebellion, declaring that they would Dethrone *Guſtavus*, and ſet up their pretended *Nils Sture*; boaſting withal, that they had very conſiderable Perſons both of the Clergy and Laity on their ſide.

An Impoſtor.

Mean

Mean while the King gave them to understand that the true *Nils Sture* was Dead; and the Council of the Kingdom wrote them a Letter Prohibiting them to engage themselves in the Faction of the pretended *Nils Sture*, and Commanding them to assist King *Gustavus* with their Lives and Fortunes. This Letter made such an impression on the minds of the Rebels, that they became much more Calm and Peaceable. Nevertheless, the pretended *Nils Sture*, commonly called, *The Gentleman of the Valley*, made a considerable party in *Norway*; particularly by means of a Promise he made, to give up the Province of *Wyck* to the *Norwegians*, provided that by their aid he should become Master of *Sweden*; upon which they promis'd to Furnish him with some Troops, and to maintain them at their own Charge.

Frederick King of *Denmark*, pretended to take no Notice of what was doing, in hopes that when *Gustavus* came to be involved in Intestine Troubles, he might not only make himself Master of the Province of *Wyck*, but also of all the Kingdom of *Sweden*. And in effect, when King *Gustavus* complain'd to him of the Conduct of the Impostor *Hans*, he took no Notice of it; But on the Contrary, Promised to give *Hans* one of the first Ladies of Quality to Wife, whose Mother, among other things, presented him with a Chain of Gold. After which, being Deck'd with these Ornaments, he set at the Head of Three Hundred Men, and came to *Dalars*, in hopes of becoming Master of all the Kingdom of *Sweden*; he likewise Threatned *Stockholm*, because the Inhabitants were the most Zealous for the Doctrine of *Luther*. Nevertheless, the Inhabitants of that City did not much regard his Threatnings; but on the contrary, they dayly became more and more out of Love with the Romish Religion, and turn'd out the Huge Statue of St. *George*, which made such a Figure in the great Church. Besides, they appointed that for the future, the *Evangelick Religion* should be Preach'd in the Churches, and that Divine Service should be Celebrated in the *Swedish* Tongue. There were only Three of the Senatours of the Town that offer'd, tho' in vain, to oppose those Alterations.

Frederick *King of* Denmark *incourages him.*

The Pope Besieg'd by Charles V. and the use the King made of it.

At this time the Pope was besieged at *Rome*, in the Castle of St. *Angelo*, by *Charles* the Fifth's Army, from which King *Gustavus* took occasion to retrench superfluous Riches of the Clergy, to repress their Sawcineſs and Turbulent Humours. To that purpose, he called together the States of the Kingdom at *Westeraas*; because, not only in the Province of *Dalecarlia*, but also over all *Sweden*, the People were up in Arms, at the Instigation of the Romish Priests; complaining highly of the introducing of the Mass in the Vulgar Tongue, and the New Hymns, the Lodging of the Kings Troops in the Monastries, and the Disturbing of the Monks. To which they further added the Dearth of Provisions; the want of small Money for the Conveniency of buying and selling, and exchanging all sorts of Commodities; And in fine, the extraordinary Impoſts that were so often laid upon the People. King *Gustavus*, in Answer to all those Complaints, issued a Proclamation, which stopt the Mouths of the Clergy, who had caused such troubles. He Declared, That he had embrac'd no other Religion than that which had been taught by *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles; That the Clergy, to make him odious, accused him of being of a New Religion, for no other reason, than because he thought it unjust; That they should exact a Pecuniary Mulct from Poor Boors, for catching of some Birds, or Fishes, on Feast Days, to supply their necessity; or because he had appointed that in Common Affairs, the Clergy should be oblig'd to Answer to the Laity before the Secular Judge; or that an Ecclesiastick that Fights with a Laick, should be Excommunicated as well as the other; That a Priest could not deny the Sacrament to his Debtors upon the account of their Debts, but that he should be oblig'd to Summon them before the Ordinary Judges; That Bishops could not Inherit the Goods of Priests that Dyed Intestate, by reason of the vast prejudice this did to their Relations; And that they could no longer enjoy the Goods which they had got from the Crown; because by that means, the King was forc'd to lay several Impositions on the People to make up the Treasury which had been emptied that way; And that in fine, the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth had attacked the Pope himself, to bring down the Pride and Inordinate Ambition of the Clergy.

This

This Declaration gave the People quite another Notion of the Kings Conduct, than they had formerly receiv'd from the Priests; Upon which, His Majesty appointed Persons to speak to the *Dalecarlians* after a sweet and engaging manner, and to exhort them to alter there Wicked and Pernicious designs. On the other hand, to bring over the Laick Councellors, who had hitherto sided with the Bishops, to bespeak his interest in a Publick Feast to which he invited them, He gave them the first Places, leaving the Second for the Bishops, who always before set next himself; the Third Place was for the Nobility; The Fourth for the inferiour Clergy; The Fifth for the Burgesses, and the Sixth for the Boors. By this change of Rank, the Clergy might very easily penetrate into the Kings intention; For which cause, they met together the next Day in *Stiles*'s Church, where having shut the Doors, they unanimously signed a Protestation, by which they obliged themselves, never willingly to obey the King in that matter; nor to Grant him the Church Revenues, much less to allow any alteration in matters of Religion. This Protestation was found Fifteen Years after, and presented to King *Gustavus*.

The Clergy lose their Rank.

His Majesty, who then knew nothing of this, consulted with the Councellors and States of the Kingdom, for finding out means to appease the Commotions of the People, and particularly the Revolt of the *Dalecarlians*, who pretended to have taken Arms upon the account of the Change that had been made in Religion. After which, he represented to them how much the Crown-Rents were diminished; and that in his Predecessor *Steensture*'s time, they were not sufficient to maintain Five Hundred Horse. This the King attributed only to the easie Temper of his Predecessors, who, suffering themselves to be Wheedled by cunning Priests, gave the best part of their Rents to the Church; by which the Bishops were so inrich'd, that they were become more powerful than their Soveraigns, and often Rebell'd against them to the great prejudice of the State. Besides, that they had built for themselves fortified Castles, that they had often Treacherously given up the Crown of *Sweden* to the Kings of *Denmark*; That the other Clergy, by their Superfluous Riches, had given themselves over to Gluttony and Drunkenness; that they

The King consults with the Counsellors and States.

they did not rightly discharge their Duty, to the great danger of the Souls of so many Simple and Ignorant People, particularly the Priests of Parochial Churches, as well as the Abbots: An Argument of which was, that in the Cloysters, where there were formerly Sixty Monks, there was then scarce Eight, and yet their Revenues were every Year consum'd. To which he added further, that this had render'd the Nobility so poor, that they had represented to the King, that unless His Majesty would Grant them a speedy relief, they should be reduc'd to extream want; and that consequently, they disir'd that all the Superfluous Riches of the Clergy should return to the Crown, and that they should have no more allow'd them than what was necessary for their subsistance; That all the Lands that had been given to the Clergy before the Year 1454. should be restor'd to the Lawful Heirs; on which Condition, promis'd, as much as was possible, to discharge the People of all Impositions.

Moreover, King *Gustavus* desired the Bishops to give up all the Castles which were in their Possession; prohibiting them at the same time, to exact any pecuniary mulct from the People, or to Appeal from a Sentence to the Court of *Rome*, or to require the Confirmation of Divine Service from thence, because all this drew a great deal of Money ous of the Kingdom. Besides, he pretended that the Grandeur and Preheminency of the Clergy should be altogether abolish'd. Upon which, Bishop *Brask*, in the Name of the whole Clergy, answer'd, That all which was Consecrated by Pious Souls to a Religious use, could not be re-taken or chang'd without exposing the Nation to the Wrath and Terrible Judgments of the Eternal God. Adding further, That all the Clergy of the Kingdom depended so absolutely on the Pope, that they could undertake nothing without his consent. This discourse of Bishop *Brask* was as pleasant to the Clergy, and to several of the Laity, as it was unpleasant to the King; who rising from his seat, openly protested, That he renounc'd the Crown and Royal dignity, desiring at the same time, that he might be reimburs'd of what he had bestowed out of his own Estate for the defence of the Kingdom; after which, he was resolv'd to leave *Sweden*, and never to return to it again. This done he immediately retired to the Castle, where

Bishop Brasks *Answer to the King.*

The Kings Anger.

where he diverted himself, and Feasted for Four Days with the Officers of his Army. All the States were extreamly surprised at the Kings Discourse, except *Thure Johnson* Marshal of the Kingdom, whose Wife was the Kings Mother's Sister. For this *Thure* with great heat, Declar'd himself in favour of the Clergy; and as he return'd to his House, at Night he made the Drum to beat before him, always murmuring, and saying, that he would never be oblig'd to receive the Doctrine of *Martin Luther*. But after all, the States having seriously deliberated upon this Affair, according to the advice of *Lars Anderson* Chancellor, and *Mans* Bishop of *Stregnes*, they found no better expedient than to submit to the Kings Will. They sollicited the Marshal of the Kingdom to follow there example; but he several times Declar'd openly, That if King *Gustavus* did not change his Religion, he could find means enough to ruin him. After which, the City of *Stockholm* Struck Terrour into the opposite party, when they Publickly declar'd, that they were resolv'd to keep their Town Seven Years in the Service of King *Gustavus*: For hitherto he who had the Town of *Stockholm* in his Power, was always Master of all the Kingdom of *Sweden*. To which may be added, that the dispute which had happen'd about Matters of Religion, between *Peter Galle* and *Olaus Petri*, did no ways tend to the advantage of the Romanists.

The States consent to the Kings desire.

The States of the Kingdom having thus conform'd themselves to the Kings Will, and having several times most Humbly Begg'd his Pardon, he came to them from the Gastle: But to sound the intention of the Bishops, he Demanded the Castle of *Tinnels* from the Bishop of *Stregnes*, and the Castle of *Leckoo*, from the Bishop of *Scara*: Those two Prelates, without much contestation, gave up the above-mention'd Places to the King. Bishop *Brask* would have kept *Munckeloda* during his Life; but that being refused him, the Place was instantly taken by the Kings Officers, and he himself was forc'd to give the King Security of his Fidelity for the future; and to sign with the rest of the Clergy, the Resolution drawn up by the States of the Kingdom.

Articles agreed upon.

The Principal Articles agreed upon were as follows; That the Scriptures should be read to the Youth at

Schools; That the Churches ſhould be provided with Men of Learning and examplary Piety; That no Prebendaries ſhould be diſpos'd of without the Kings knowledge; That when a Laick ſhould Fight with an Eccleſiaſtick, the one ſhall not be Excommunicated more than the other, and that the Guilty ſhould be Puniſh'd according to the Civil Laws; That when a Prieſt ſhould come to Dye, his Eſtate was to fall to his next Relation, and not to the Biſhop; That any who, before Marriage, ſhould be too Familiar with a Woman, to whom he was betroth'd, ſhould not be Puniſh'd after the manner formerly in uſe; That when any difference ſhould Happen between an Eccleſiaſtick and a Laick, they ſhould be both equally oblig'd to appear before the Secular Judge; That the Mendicant Friers ſhould not be allow'd to go up and down the County Begging, but only twice a Year, nor to be abſent from their Cloyſters above Five Weeks; nor to exite the People to Rebellion: And, in fine, That the Goſpel ſhould be purely Preach'd over all the Kingdom.

In this Conjuncture, King *Guſtavus* was Mightily aſſiſted by *John* Count of *Hoya*, who Married his Siſter; as alſo by *Lars Anderſon* Chancellor, *Olaus Petri*, and the Inhabitants of *Stockholm*; to whom the King, in Teſtimony of his acknowledgement, Granted a confirmation of all their Liberties. After the Aſſembly of the States was Diſſolved, his Majeſty order'd enquiry to be made into the Donations that had been Granted to the Church, annexing to the Crown all Grants, ſince the Year 1454. Beſides, King *Guſtavus* Seiz'd upon ſeveral other Goods belonging to the Clergy, and took to himſelf the moſt Valuable Ornaments of the Churches and Cloyſters; whence comes the great Riches of the Crown of *Sweden:* The Ancient Patrimony of the King (which, in the Country Language is called *Upſala Oede*) being very inconſiderable. This alſo was the Sourſe of the Vaſt Riches that were in his Treaſury, which King *Guſtavus* left to his Children; and which afterwards enabled King *Erick* to wage War againſt *Denmark*; and King *John* againſt the *Muſcovite*. Several of the chief of the Kingdom, who were diſſatisfy'd that they had not a ſhare of thoſe Church Lands, often laid Snares for the King; But they always miſt their Mark, and their Pernicious Dangers had no ſucceſs.

Church Revenues annexed to the Crown.

Frederick

Frederick King of *Denmark*, who would have wish'd to dethrone King *Gustavus*, observing his Wise Conduct, and great Power, thought it safest to keep a good understanding with him; which Policy was afterwards followed by his Son *Christian* the Third. *King Fredericks Policy.*

The *Norwegians*, not consenting to grant the Crown to *Frederick*, till he should re-unite the Province of *Wiick* to *Norway*, He sent Ambassadors to King *Gustavus*, desiring an interview with him on the Frontiers, to deliberate about this matter: But that King put it off till the following Year. In the mean time, the *Dalecarlians* upon the Sallutation of the Bishops, made a new Insurrection against King *Gustavus*, Trumping up again the pretended *Nils Sture*. Upon which his Majesty made his Mother's Sister, who was the true *Nils Sture's* Mother, write to them to undeceive them: But finding that they took no Notice of his Aunts Letter, He sent against them a Powerful Army, which put them in such fear, that they demanded a Cessation of Arms, promissing withal to be true to His Majesty, provided he would consent to the following Articles. (1.) That he would Pardon their Rebellion. (2.) Grant *Nils Sture* a safe Retreat. (3.) That he would not oblige 'em to receive the Doctrine of *Luther*. (4.) That neither his Majesty, nor his Officers, should wear any Furr'd or Figur'd Cloaths. (5) That all who did Eat Flesh on Fridays should be put to Death. Of all which Conditions, the King granted only the first two. After which, the False *Nils Sture* went to *Norway*, and from thence to *Rostock*, where he joyn'd himself with the Adherents of King *Christian*. In the mean time *John Magnus*, Archbishop, in King *Gustavus's* Name, desires *Heduigh*, Daughter to *Sigismond* King of *Poland*, in Marriage: To which the Father at length consented, and to give his Daughter a Hundred Thousand Ducats in Dowry; on condition that King *Gustavus* should forsake the Religion of *Luther*, and maintain the Ancient Religion in *Sweden*: But the King absoutely rejected this proposal. King *Sigismond*, being, by his Mothers side, descended from *Waldemar* King of *Sweden*, several of the disaffected Nobility, in conjunction with the Archbishop *John Magnus*, made him frequent offers of the Crown of *Sweden*; But *Sigismond* refus'd it upon

Dalecarlians rise in Arms.

Their extravagant Demands.

King Sigismond refuses the Crown of Sweden.

upon the account of its too great distance from *Poland*.

On the other hand, King *Gustavus* making the Tour of the Kingdom, made an exact enquiry, where ever he went, into the Revenues of the Cloysters. In this Journey, Bishop *Brask* Treated him most Magnificently, and while they were making merry, that Prelate prevailed with the King to discharge him of the Bail which he had given for his fidelity; and besides, obtain'd leave to pay a Visit into *Gothland*; promising at the same time, to search into the Ancient Titles which confirm'd the Right of *Sweden* to that Island: But in stead of this, having taken with him the most Precious things he had, he went indeed to *Gothland*, where having staid but a little time, he past to *Dantzick*, and joyn'd with the other Malecontents, who had retir'd thither to Plot against King *Gustavus*; who in the mean time was pleas'd to find those restless Spirits were gone out of the Kingdom. Now, the Bishops of *Sweden* being sufficiently disarm'd, and all intestine Troubles appeas'd, the King thought it not fit to delay his Coronation any longer; particularly for this reason, that there were several that aspir'd to the Crown. But that this Ceremony might be perform'd after the Ancient Custom, he first caused *Magnus* Bishop of *Skara*, and *Martin* Bishop of *Aboo*, to be Consecrated by *Peter* Bishop of *Stregnes*; to which however the Castle would not consent, till the other two had given him their promise in Writing, that they would wait their Conformation from *Rome*; and excuse him to the Pope, for having Consecrated them without his permission. After which, the King was Crown'd at *Upsal*; where it was at length resolved that the *Dalecarlians* should be Curb'd and brought to their Duty. To this end His Majesty gather'd together an Army to March against the Rebels, but first order'd to let them know, that they must meet at *Thura*, either to Fight his Army, or to beg his Favour and Pardon; otherwise he would Destroy all their Province with Fire and Sword. This Terrible Threat so frighted them, that they laid down their Arms, and came straight to the place which the King had appointed. As soon as they were arriv'd, the King gave Orders to Seize upon their Ring-leaders, whom he caused to be Beheaded, sending Home the rest; who

The Dalecarlians *Submit.*

full

full of fear, promis'd to be Loyal and Obedient for the future. At length he went to the Province of *Helsingia*, where, having sharply repremanded the Inhabitants, he Condemned the Chief of them to pay considerable Fines. At the same time, the Monks left their Cloysters in several places, and having Married, became Country Preachers. On the other side *Gustavus* called an Assembly of the chief among the Clergy at *Oerebro*, where the Chancellor was President; in which it was determin'd, that the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* should be abolish'd, and those of the Protestant Religion establish'd in their place; and that Theology Professours, of the same Religion, should be set up in every Cathedral Church. But as the Professour of *Skara* was beginning the Exercise of his Office, with the Explication of the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, he narrowly escaped being Massacred, by the endeavours of the Bishop and several of the chief Nobility of *West-Gothland*: For these Lords had made a League together, by which they oblidged themselves to Destroy the Protestent Religion, and exterminate King *Gustavus*, building their principal hopes on the Hatred that all the Popish Clergy bore to His Majesty. But that they might at the same time, make an Insurrection among the Common People, they openly accus'd His Majesty of having introduced Heresy into the Kingdom; of having deprived the Churches and Cloysters of their Ancient Liberties, and Robbed them of their Goods; of pulling down the Monasteries, and allowing the Monks to Marry. To which, they added further, That he made the Mass to be said in the Vulgar Tongue; That he had curtail'd the Number of the Sacraments, and vilify'd the use and dignity them of; and, in fine, That he had abolish'd the Ordination of Priests, Auricular Confession, Extream-Unction and the Invocation of Saints; whence they infer'd, that they might Dethrone him, and Totally abolish the New Religion. The Chief of those Rebels was *Thure Johanson*, who wrote to his Sons in *Upland*, to excite the People to Rebellion. But two of his Sons, namely *John* and *Larsz*, who were of the Council of the Kingdom, Deliver'd their Fathers Letters, to King *Gustavus*, and having promised him constant fidelity, they Intreated, that they might not be charged with their Fathers faults. In the mean time, their Third Brother, who was Provost of the Chanons at *Upsal*, rais'd great Troubles in the Country of *Roslagen*: On the other

Popery abolish'd

The Clergies accusations against King Gustavus.

The Fidelity of John *and* Larsz Johanson.

A revolt. ther hand, *Thure Johanson* did the same in *Dalecarlia*, and particularly in the Province of *Smaland*, where the inhabitants Massacred some Bailiffs who were establish'd by the King, and took the Kings Sister in her return from *Germany*, declaring, they renounc'd the Obedience which they had Sworn to him: Besides, they stir'd up the *Ostrogoths* to do the same, Threatning to put all their Country to Fire and Sword, if they did not declare for them in Eight Days. And that they might not be suspris'd, they placed Centinels on the *Helweden*, as the *Visigoths* did on the *Tyweden*; *Thure Johanson* having Propos'd to the latter, to chuse *Magnus Breyntson*, a very powerful and eloquent Man, for their King.

It is appeas'd. King *Gustavus*, to appease those Troubles, deputed Commissaries, who sent some *Ostrogths* to the *Smalandians* and *Visigoths*, where they were favourably received by the Common People, who promis'd again to be obedient to the King, provided they might be allowed to keep their ancient Religion, and abolish Heresy. Upon which the King assur'd them of their Pardon; desiring, that as to other Points they should adhere to the Articles of *Westeraas*. After this, *Magnus* Bishop of *Skara*, and *Thure Johanson*, not finding themselves any longer secure, fled to *Denmark*; where, notwithstanding the Treaty of *Malmuyen*, they were received and maintain'd, because the *Danes* were in hopes, that by their means, they should not only subdue the Province of *Wiick*, but also all the Kingdom of *Sweden*; trusting chiefly to the large Promises of *Thure Johanson*, who boasted, he had such a powerful party in *Sweden*, that he alone, with Three Thousand Men, might make themselves Masters of the Kingdom. After which, having sent Incendiaries into *West-Gothland*, he did considerable Harm to those who stood up for King *Gustavus*. Upon which His Majesty complain'd to King *Frederick*, this being directly contrary to the Treaty of *Malmuyen*, but he receiv'd no satisfaction; For which reason he rejected the Solicitations of the *Danes* in favour of the Rebels. On the other hand, the Bishop of *Skara* wrote with a great deal of Bitterness against *Gustavus*, protesting against the resolution which had been taken at *Westeraas*, upon account, as he pretended, that he had been forc'd to Sign it contrary to all Justice. In the mean time, His Majesty was pleas'd to see the Kingdom purg'd

The Bishop of Skara's bitterness against the King.

purg'd of those Turbulent Spirits. At length King *Gustavus*, having defeated the Troops of *George Johanson*, Provost of the Chanons of *Upsal*, took him Prisoner; but after two Years Imprisonment, receiv'd him again into favour. In the mean time, *Magnus Brynteson*, *Nils Olofson*, and *Thure Erickson* remain'd in *Sweden*, not knowing that the King had intercepted their Letters; and laid all the Blame on those who had made their escape: And having this Confidence, they came without any fear to the Assembly of the States at *Stregnes*, where having been convicted of Treason, The first two were Beheaded, and the last Condemn'd to pay a great Sum of Money. In this Assembly, the States of the Kingdom were very earnest with the King, to have the *Lutheran* Religion abolish'd, and the Monks restored to their first condition; which His Majesty, in outward appearance only, seem'd to be willing to grant, that he might calm and appease those restless spirits.

The injust pretentions of the King of Denmark.

In the mean time the King of *Denmark*, push'd on by the Male-contents, who came for Shelter to him, sent Ambassadors to *Sweden*, to Demand, in a Threatning manner, the Province of *Wiick* from *Gustavus*, together with Fifty Thousand *Livers* which he pretended to be due to him, because, that according to the Treaty of *Malmayen*, the *Swedes* had not come to *Lubeck* at the time appointed. But *Gustavus* very well Answered, That the *Danes* had frequently broke the Articles of that Treaty; and that he was, for his part, ready either for Peace or War. The *Danes* were mightily vex'd and surpris'd at this unexpected Answer, and straight return'd Home.

To dissipate all those Troubles, He once more granted a Pardon to the *Smalanders*, and *Visigoths*; and receiv'd again the Chapters of *Skara* and *Lincoping* into Favour. Upon which they wrote Letters to their Bishops, Summoning them to return to *Sweden*, to justify their conduct; but the Bishops thought it much more safe to appeal to *Rome*. On the other side, those of *Lincoping* equip'd two Ships to Pirate upon the *Swedes*; But they having been taken, all who were on Board of them were brought to *Lubeck*, where they suffer'd condign Punishment: But that the Sum owing to the Town of *Lubeck*, might be fully pay'd, they granted to *Gustavus* all the Useless Bells of their Churches. Upon which the Common People began to murmure, wondring

dring very much, that such an expedient should be fallen upon to get Money, after so much had been squeez'd already from the Monks, and the other Clergy. To which they were Answered, in the Kings Name, that it is not to the People, that Account must be given of what is receiv'd or disburs'd. But after the Assembly was Dissolved, the King having sent Officers to carry away the Bells, the People in several places would have hinder'd them; and particularly at *Dalecarlia*, where some were so insolent, as to carry back the Bells of *Westeraas*, even in the Kings presence, speaking very injurious Language against him: So arrogant they were become, upon the Rumour of the great Preparations of War made by King *Christian*, whose Person several *Swedish* Refugees did highly exalt in Letters writ to *Sweden*; For which reason also, King *Gustavus* endeavour'd by good Words and Complaisance, to appease those who were dissaffected to him. But the *Dalecarlians*, daring to call Twelve Men of every Province to *Arboga*, to Deliberate upon the Deposition of *Gustavus*, His Majesty, to Nip this design in the Bud, Assembled the States of the Kingdom, with the common People, at *Upsal*; where, coming himself with a formidible Army, he represented to them the reasons that had obliged him to make use of this last expedient: But the King finding them still untractable, he made a shew of Commanding his Troops to Fire upon them; which struck them with such fear, that they came immediately to throw themselves at his Feet. After which, having, upon the intreaties of the Council, granted them a Pardon, they promis'd a-new, to be obedient and faithful for the future.

King Gustavus sends Letters to all the Provinces.

Immediately after, King *Gustavus* Dispatched Letters to all the Provinces, to represent to the People, the necessity to which he was reduc'd, by reason of the Sum of Money due to the Town of *Lubeck*: Exhorting them to Continue Faithful, and not to engage themselves with Traitors and Rebels, which the Tyrant *Christian* endeavour'd to raise upon the Kingdom. The *Dalecarlians*, who continued sometime in Arms, with the other *Swedes* at *Arboga*, return'd Home, resolving not to lay down their Arms, before His Majesty should promise to give them no General, but one of their own Province. Besides, they would have him

obliged

obliged not to come to their Fronteers, but with a certain Number of Men: But all their Propoſals were rejected by King *Guſtavus*, who thought it more proper, to wait a more favourable opportunity to Puniſh their inſolence. After that, *Guſtavus* had well nigh appeas'd all the inteſtine Troubles of the State, he Married *Catharine* Daughter to *Magnus*, Duke of *Lauwenburg*: And in order to Celebrate the Ceremony, both of the Marriage and Coronation, he Inſtall'd *Laureus Peter* a Proteſtant, in the Archbiſhoprick, and allow'd him a Guard of Fifty Men, to put him in a Condition to repreſs the inſolence of the Chanons of *Upſal*, who in a ſhort time were not only brought down, but alſo deprived of their Benefices, an equal Number of young Scholars being choſen in their place, who afterwards were imploy'd to Propagate the Proteſtant Religion. After which, the Archbiſhop, at the Kings deſire, Married a Young Lady, who was *Guſtavus*'s Relation; whoſe Daughter was alſo given in Marriage to the Archbiſhop his Succeſſor. Some time after, the King made preparation to oppoſe King *Chriſtian*, who by the intriegues of *Guſtavus Trolle*, had made a ſtrong Party in *Norway*, and deſign'd a deſcent there with a Fleet of Thirty Ships, having Ten Thouſand Men on Board; Landing there, after he had loſt Ten of his Ships by a Storm. As ſoon as he was arrived, *Guſtavus Trolle* wrote to the *Dalecarlians*, exhorting them to riſe in Arms againſt King *Guſtavus*, as a Man who had no other Aim than to Deſtroy the Catholick Religion, and the Liberties of his Subjects. Beſides, he endeavoured to make thoſe of *Nyloſe* give up their Town to King *Chriſtian*; whoſe Troops had taken the Caſtle of *Olufsburg* in the Province of *Wiick*, where always before them, was a *Swediſh* Gariſon.

King Guſtavus *makes preparations againſt King* Chriſtian.

On the other Hand, the King ſent *Larſz Sigeſſon*, Marſhal of the Kingdom, and *Soren Kyh*, with choſen Troops to *Lodeſe*, to cover the Fronteers of the Kingdom towards *Norway*: Theſe beat King *Chriſtian*'s Army, which was Incamped before *Bahaus*. But *Thure Johanſon*, having formerly put King *Chriſtian* in hopes of other things, That Prince reproach'd him highly, and three Days after, *Thure Johanſon* was found without a Head in the Streets of *Kongel*. Afterwards, King *Chriſtian* endeavour'd by Wiles and Stratagemes to deceive the

Swedes,

Swedes, pretending to pass over a River, which was then Frozen, to give them Battel. But the *Swedes* march'd against him with expedition, and Stopt King *Christian*'s Passage, preventing his making an inroad into the Province of *Halland* and *Schonen*. On the other hand, King *Gustavus* made over the Province of *Wiick* to King *Frederick*, for a certain Sum of Money, and sent him considerable Succours to *Norway* against King *Christian*; who at length made an Agreement with the *Danish* Generals, and rendred up himself to them without *Frederick*'s knowledge. But this King, without regard to the Articles of Agreement, Treated *Christian* as his Prisoner; in which Condition he continued Twenty seven Years, even to the Day of his Death: By which means King *Gustavus* was deliver'd from a great many Troubles and Disturbances. Upon this, King *Christian* took occasion to bridle the *Dalecarlians*, and to bring them to their due Obedience. To which end, having gone to *Tuna*, he severely repremanded them for their Rebellion and Mutiny; and having given Orders to seize on some of the Chief Authors of these Disorders, he caused them to be Executed; sending others to *Stockholm* to be cast into Prison: All the rest, upon their earnest Entreaty, obtain'd the King's Pardon; from which time the *Dalecarlians* had no great inclination to Rebel against his Majesty. In the mean time, the *Lubeckers* gave him new Trouble, because they would have monopoliz'd the Trade of the *Baltick Sea*, and altogether exclude the *Hallanders*: And to the end they might the better compass their Design, they desir'd the Assistance of King *Frederick*, who promis'd to favour them in that matter, because the *Hallanders* had before given Succours to King *Christian* against him: But when they Address'd themselves to King *Gustavus*, desiring they alone should have the liberty to Trade in the *Baltick Sea*, his Majesty deny'd their desire, representing to them, that this would tend very much to the Prejudice of his Kingdom. This Answer so vex'd the Deputies of *Lubeck*, that in a very haughty manner they desired to have the rest of the Sum which the King yet ow'd their Masters. To which the King answered, That they should have what they could prove to be reasonably due to them. Upon which the *Lubeckers* became so insolent, that they publickly boasted, they

King Christian's *Design stopt.*

He is made Prisoner.

The Lubeckers *created new Troubles to K.* Gustavus.

they would bring King *Gustavus* down from the Throne to which they had elevated him. And joyning with the Refugee *Swedes*, they endeavour'd by all means to ruine and destroy *Sweden*.

But after the Death of King *Frederick*, Divisions falling out in *Denmark*, the *Lubeckers* Solicited some Members of the Council of *Copenhagen* and *Malmoe*, to enter into an Alliance with the *Hans Towns*; by which they hoped to make themselves Masters of *Denmark*. And 'twas likewise with the same design, that they brought over to their Side some of the Citizens of *Stockholm*, intending to ruine King *Gustavus*, and to make that Place one of the *Hans-Towns*. Besides, they sent to young *Suante Sture*, who lived at the Duke of *Lawenburg*'s Court, offering to make him Head of the Undertaking which they had formed against King *Gustavus*: But finding that he rejected the Offer, they apply'd themselves to *John*, Count of *Hoya*, who was dissaffected to *Gustavus*, under pretext that he had wrong'd his Wife *Margaret*, in the Distribution of their Patrimony; so that being push'd on by Ambition, and the desire of Revenge, he hearken'd to their Proposals. King *Gustavus* was inform'd of all these Conspiracies, by the Ambassadors of *Denmark*, who had come to *Sweden* to conclude an Alliance with him, on Condition, that if the *Danes* were Atack'd, his Majesty would assist them with Nine hundred Men; and that if the *Swedes* were Attack'd, *Denmark* and *Norway* would supply them with a Thousand Men. The Proceeding of the *Lubeckers* so exasperated King *Gustavus*, that he laid an Imbargo on all their Commodities throughout the Kingdom: But the *Danes* foreseeing that this might easily kindle a War, in which they might come to be engaged, offer'd their Mediation to accommodate the Difference between King *Gustavus* and the *Lubeckers*; which his Majesty was willing to accept of: But on the other side, those of *Lubeck* fancied that they were so much Masters of the Northern Kingdoms, that they had already sold *Denmark* to *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, who had paid, by Advance, the Sum of Twenty thousand Crowns, putting off the Payment of the rest till they had perform'd their Promise.

Count Hoya Heads them.

At

At length, *John*, Count of *Hoya*, came to *Lubeck*, where he found ſeveral Baniſh'd Perſons, with ſeveral of *Guſtavus* Officers. The *Lubeckers* gave the Management of this Undertaking to *Chretoſle*, Count of *Oldenburg*, King *Chriſtian*'s Relation, (who in the main knew nothing of their ſecret Deſign) to endeavour the freedom of King *Chriſtian* by Force of Arms; hoping, that if once they could accompliſh that, he ſhould be obliged to grant all the Priviledges they could ask of him. It is true, that at firſt they made a very conſiderable Progreſs on *Denmark*: But the *Danes* choſe for their King *Chriſtian* the Third of that Name, who had Married *Guſtavus*'s Wifes Siſter, and made his Application to him for Succours of Men and Money. King *Guſtavus* faithfully aſſiſted him on this occaſion; but ſome of the Ships which he had ſent to King *Chriſtian*, fell into the Hands of thoſe of *Dantzick*; ſo that Captain *Iver Flemming* was brought to that Town and put in Priſon, together with Fifteen hundred Seamen. On the other ſide, he ſent Troops by Land into the Province of *Halland*, who having Taken *Halmſtad* and *Laholm*, and Beſieged *Waerberg*, paſſed from thence into *Schonen*, where they joyned with the Inhabitants to make Head againſt Count *Chretoſle*, who being beaten near *Helſinburg*, *Mark Meger*, Burger-Maſter of *Lubeck* was made Priſoner and ſent to *Waerberg*, where, by a Stratagem, he made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle.

K. Chriſtian III.

About the ſame time, King *Guſtavus* was informed, by ſome Princes of *Germany*, of a Conſpirary that was contriving againſt him by ſome Burgeſſes of *Stockholm* and *Calmar*; and of another, which was carrying on at *Copenhagen* and *Malmar*: Both which being diſcovered, the Conſpirators were ſeized upon, and puniſhed according to their Deſerts. 'Tis ſaid that *Olaus Petri*, having got notice of this Conſpiracy in a Confeſſion, he revealed it to *Larſz Anderſon*, Chancellour of the Court, but that he did not inform the King of it: For which reaſon they were both condemned to die, but were redeemed by great Sums of Money. After this, the *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* Fleets having joyned together, defeated that of *Lubeck*, and took ſeveral Ships from them. And King *Chriſtian* got the advantage over his Enemies by Land, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Kingdom of *Denmark*, except *Malmer* and *Copenhagen*.

hagen. After this Expedition, contrary to the Advice of his Council, he took a Voyage to *Stockholm*, to discover to his Brother-in-Law, *Guſtavus*, the Practiſes of the Emperor, who, under pretext of procuring the Kingdoms of the North to *Frederick* Count *Palatin*, had no other Deſign, than to make himſelf Maſter of the North and *Baltick* Seas; and to thank King *Guſtavus* for the Good Offices which he had done him, and to deſire his Aſſiſtance for the future. He was very well receiv'd by his Brother-in-Law, who lent him conſiderable Summs of Money on the Province of *Wiick*, and on *Waerberg*, which he mortgag'd to *Guſtavus*. After which, King *Chriſtian* promis'd to enter into no Negotiation with the *Lubeckers*; which Promiſe however ne afterwards broke. Some ſay, that *Guſtavus* advis'd him to follow his Example, in bringing down the Grandeur of the Biſhops, elſe he could never reign peaceably; others alſo pretend, that *Guſtavus* deſir'd ſomething of the King of *Denmark*, which was deny'd him; and that fearing leſt his Refuſal ſhould draw ſome Miſchief on him, he left *Sweden* with all ſpeed; and 'tis ſaid, that he was inform'd of what was contriving againſt him by Queen *Chriſtina*, whom *Guſtavus* for that Reaſon treated ſo ill, that ſhe dy'd ſoon after. However, it is certain that *Guſtavus* was very much diſpleas'd with the King of *Denmark*, eſpecially for making a ſeparate Peace with the *Lubeckers*, the following Year, without his Knowledge, whom he only once barely mention'd in all the Treaty; adding, that he would refer the Deciſion of the Differences between him and the *Lubeckers*, to the Heirs of *John* Count of *Hoya* and of *Bernard*.

King Chriſtian *goes to* Stockholm.

Upon this, *Guſtavus* call'd home all his Forces both by Land and Sea. But however, King *Chriſtian* ſent Ambaſſadors to excuſe what he had done; telling him, That Time could not allow him to confer with him on that Subject, becauſe the *Lubeckers* would have join'd with *Frederick* Count *Palatin*, if he had any longer delay'd to accommodate Matters with them. *Guſtavus* ſeem'd to take this for a good Reaſon; but was of Opinion, that the *Danes* Deſign in this Matter, was to make themſelves Maſters of *Sweden*. In the mean time, that he might not be attack'd on every ſide, he made Peace with the *Muſcovite* for Sixty Years. On the other hand,

Guſtavus *calls home his Forces.*

Makes Peace with the Muſcovite, &c.

hand, that he might be the more firmly eſtabliſh'd in his Throne, and engage the moſt Conſiderable of the Kingdom in his Intereſt, he Married *Margaret*, Daughter to *Abraham Erickſon*, Governour of *Weſt-Gothland*; tho' ſhe had been promis'd before to *Suante Sture*. This Alliance was afterwards very ſerviceable to Duke *John*, his Son, againſt King *Erick*. Some time after, King *Guſtavus* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Copenhagen*, to renew the Defenſive League with *Denmark*, and to accommodate all the old Differences; which was accordingly done: But they put off thoſe that regarded the Iſland of *Gothland* to another time. King *Guſtavus*, after having for a long time refus'd, conſented at length to ſign what his Ambaſſadors had promis'd. Tho', to outward Appearance, thoſe two Kings liv'd in Friendſhip, and in a good Underſtanding, yet 'tis certain that there were ſecret Jealouſies between them, which, after the Death of *Guſtavus*, broke out into an open War. The Cauſe of this Variance was, That the *Swedes* could not forget the Loſs of the Iſland of *Gothland*, *Schonen*, *Halland*, and the Province of *Blekingia*, of which the *Danes* had made themſelves Maſters; beſides, they endeavour'd to annex *Sweden* to the Kingdom of *Denmark*, having formerly reaped conſiderable Advantages by that Union. During all the Troubles of *Sweden*, the *Smalandians* carried their Rebellion to the higheſt Degree; being without doubt miſled by the *Swediſh* Refugees, as well as by the *Danes*: To which we muſt add, that they were very much diſſatisfy'd at the Alterations made in Matters of Religion. To appeaſe theſe People, and to bring them to Reaſon, the King ſent ſome Troops thither; at which they were ſo frightned, that they immediately deſir'd Pardon, and promis'd to amend for the future. This the King granted them, excepting to ſome of the principal Authors of that Sedition; namely, *John Anderſon* and *Nils Decke*, who were both condemn'd to die, but redeem'd their Lives with a Summ of Money. Theſe things were follow'd with ſeveral Troubles, which were begun and carried on by Foreign Enemies, the baniſh'd *Swedes*, the *Danes*, *Frederick* Count *Palatine*, and *Albert* Duke of *Mekelbourg*; till at laſt *Guſtavus* having rid himſelf of thoſe Factious Spirits, entirely pacify'd the Troubles of that Province. Several Complaints were afterwards made by King

Renews the League with Denmark.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus and King *Chriſtian*, who always miſtruſted one another. Upon which, ſeveral Aſſemblies were held; till at length thoſe two Kings having met at *Broſembroo*, they concluded a Peace for Fifty Years, and enter'd into a Defenſive League together. 'Twas alſo at this Interview that they terminated all their old Differences, except that about the Iſland of *Gothland*, which was ſtill put off to another time.

Makes Alliance with France.

King *Guſtavus* obſerving that the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth gave all kind of Aſſiſtance to the Count *Palatine*, (Brother-in-Law to King *Chriſtian*, who was in Priſon) to make him Maſter of the Northern Crowns, he judg'd it neceſſary to ſtrengthen and ſupport himſelf by Foreign Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance; and after he had caſt his Eyes round about him, he could find none ſo fit for his Purpoſe as the King of *France*, who was already engag'd in the League of *Smalkald*. To this Purpoſe, he firſt ſent his Secretary to *France*, to make ſome Propoſals about Trade; the Chief of which were, That the *Swedes* ſhould no longer receive *French* Commodities from the *Hollanders*, particularly Wine and Salt, but that they ſhould fetch them directly from *France*; and that King *Guſtavus* ſhould eſtabliſh Magazines of Salt in *Sweden*, and ſell it to his Subjects at a certain Price, as was done in *France*, where every Family is oblig'd to take a ſet Quantity of Salt at a fix'd Rate: But this Project did not ſucceed. However, the Propoſals of Trade were very well receiv'd by the *French*; in Teſtimony of which, they allow'd King *Guſtavus* to export a great Quantity of Salt without paying Cuſtom: And afterwards, King *Francis* the Firſt enter'd into a Treaty of Trade with King *Guſtavus*; who likewiſe, ſome time after, offer'd his Aſſiſtance to the King of *France* againſt the Family of *Burgundy*, as being the Common Enemy. *Francis* the Firſt, before he gave him an Anſwer, thought it fit to inform himſelf of the State and Conſtitution of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, which was at that time very little known in *France*: And after he had found that it was a Warlike Nation, and could do much in the Ballance of Affairs, he very civilly accepted his Offer. Upon this, *Guſtavus* ſent a Noble Embaſſy to *France*; namely, *Steen Erickſon*, *Conrad Peutinger* Chancellor, and *George Norman*, who made a Defenſive League with *Francis* the

the First; by which those two Kings mutually promis'd to assist each other, in case of Necessity, with Five and twenty thousand Men, and Fifty Ships. On the other hand, *Francis* the First sent him an Ambassador, who, according to the Custom of that Time, presented him the Mark of Fraternity, and the Order of the Knighthood of St. *Michael*. After which, King *Gustavus*, having with much Difficulty appeas'd the intestine Troubles, perswaded the States, assembled at *Nesteraas*, to transmit an Hereditary Right to the Crown of *Sweden* to his Heirs Male; which Proposal had been made to the Council some Years before: And this is now called the Hereditary Union. The States willingly granted his Desire, both because of the great Services which he had render'd to them, as also to avoid the Troubles and Inconveniencies which ordinarily arise at the Election of a New King; of which the *Swedes* had sufficient Experience.

The Kingdom of Sweden *became Hereditary.*

Thus *Erick*, Son to *Gustavus*, a young Prince of Eleven Years, was declar'd Successor to the Crown, before the Death of his Father; with this Priviledge, That his Posterity in a Male Line should successfully govern the Kingdom; but with this Proviso, That if the Race of Kings should happen to be extinct, the Election of a New King should belong to the Council and States of the Kingdom; and if a Princess did still remain, that they should give her a sufficient Dowry. In the same Assembly, King *Gustavus*, and the States of the Kingdom, oblig'd themselves by Oath, to adhere constantly to the Protestant Religion, to defend it with all their Might, and never to tolerate any other in the Kingdom; so that the Superstition of the Church of *Rome* was quite abolish'd. King *Gustavus* finding himself at Peace both at Home and Abroad, turn'd all his Thoughts to adorn the Country with handsome Buildings, fortifying several Places, and exhorting the People to build Ships, and to apply themselves to Navigation and Trade. However, he met afterwards with some Difficulties: For the *Muscovites* once or twice broke the Peace which had been made with them, and invaded *Finland*; likewise the *Danes* sought all Occasions to begin a New War: For King *Christian*, at his Daughter's Marriage to *Augustus* Duke of *Saxony*, afterwards Emperor, put *Three Crowns*, which were the Ancient Arms

Popery quite abolished.

Arms of *Sweden*, into the Arms of *Denmark*; as if by this he had pretended to have a Right to that Kingdom. At this time *Guſtavus* was ſenſibly touch'd with the Death of his Wife *Margaret*; tho' the next Year he married *Catharine* Daughter to *Guſtavus Olafson*. A Year after, the *Livonians* ſent him Ambaſſadors, to deſire his Aſſiſtance againſt the Barbarity and unparallel'd Cruelty of the *Muſcovites*. 'Tis true, he abundantly ſhew'd his Inclination to ſuccour them; but the *Muſcovites* prevented him, by making an Inroad into *Finland*, upon Pretext that King *Magnus Laderloſe* having before promis'd them a Part of that Province, without keeping his Word, they were reſolv'd to do themſelves Juſtice. They likewiſe beſieg'd the Town of *Wibourg*, but in vain; beſides that, they were beaten in ſeveral Engagements. *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland*, offer'd to *Guſtavus* to enter in a League with him againſt the *Muſcovites*, promiſing him withal, ſo to manage the *Hans Towns* during this War, that they ſhould not in the leaſt trouble him. Afterwards King *Guſtavus* march'd towards *Finland*, againſt the *Muſcovites*, with a powerful Army, and kept the Field both that Year and the next; but finding that neither the *Livonians* nor *Poles* did unanimouſly concur with him in attacking the Enemy according to the League made between them, he made Peace with the *Muſcovites*, and return'd to *Sweden*. At length, *Guſtavus*, ſeeing himſelf well ſtricken in Years, began to think of providing as well as he could for his Family, and to give his youngeſt Sons more conſiderable Portions than to the Eldeſt, who was already deſign'd Heir of the Crown: To his Second Son, Duke *John*, he gave *Finland*; to Duke *Magnus* his Third Son, he gave *Weſt-Gothland*; and to Duke *Charles* the Youngeſt, the Provinces of *Sudermanca*, *Nericia*, and *Wermerland*; but with this Proviſo, That they were to hold them in Fee of the Crown: And to every one of his Daughters, he aſſign'd a Hundred thouſand Crowns, with ſome Moveables. On the other hand, he gave his Eldeſt Son *Erick* the Province of *Smalia*, with the Iſland of *Oeland*, to ſubſiſt him, till he ſhould come to the Throne. And he made him promiſe by Oath, and by a Writing ſign'd with his Hand, That he would continue Faithful to his Father, to the States, and to his Brethren; To uſe all his Power to defend the Frontiers

A League between Guſtavus *and the King of* Poland.

King Guſtavus *provides for his Children.*

of the Kingdom; To inform his Father of what Prejudice might be done him, and, in case of Necessity, to come to his Assistance with Five hundred Horse, and Two thousand Foot; To make no League with any whatever without his Knowledge; To communicate to him the Letters he should receive from Foreign Countries; To keep the Castles and Men of War in good Condition; Not to establish any Superintendent, or Vassals; Nor to set a Price upon Commodities without his Consent: And, in fine, that he would with his Council and all his Power assist his Brethren, Sister, and Mother-in-Law.

Prince Erick thinks of marrying.

Upon this, Prince *Erick* laid a Design of making an advantagious Marriage, that so, if his Brothers, who had such a Power and Party in the Kingdom, should oppose him, he might be supported from Abroad. There was none of them he fear'd so much as Duke *John*, with whom, from a Child, he had several Debates and Quarrels, and for whom King *Gustavus* seem'd to have a greater Affection than for him. Therefore Prince *Erick* endeavour'd to render himself so Powerful, that after his Father's Death he might have nothing to fear from his Second Brother: And 'twas with this Design that he brought all the Kingdom to his Party, and engag'd the King's Chief Officers in his Interest. This some ill-designing Persons maliciously represented to the King, as if *Erick* contriv'd a Rebellion against him: So that having fill'd the Old Man's Head with Suspicion and Jealousie, he conceiv'd a cruel Hatred against his Son; but having made an exact Enquiry into the Matter, he afterwards receiv'd him into Favour. After this, Prince *Erick* resolv'd to make Proposals of Marriage to *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*. This Design was suggested to him by *Dennis* his Preceptour, a *French* Man, and of the Reformed Religion, who hoped by this means to introduce his Religion into *Sweden*. But this was the very thing *Gustavus* fear'd, and which made him so long refuse to consent to this Marriage: Yet being at length overcome by his Son's Entreaties, he sent *Dennis* into *England*, to find out what the Queen's Intention might be with Respect to this Matter. This *Dennis*, according to the manner of all Flatterers, wrote to his Master what he knew would be pleasing to him; namely, That his Affairs were upon so

Designs to try Queen Elizabeth.

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good a foot, that nothing was wanting but his Presence. Upon which, that Prince, inflam'd with Desire to see *England*, ask'd Permission of *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, to pass through his Territories. When the King his Father warn'd him to give no Credit to that Flatterer, but rather to come to *Calmar*, and deliberate with him about his Voyage, he immediately obey'd him. *Gustavus* finding himself oppress'd with Age and Weakness, he could by no means approve that his Eldest Son, whom he had appointed to succeed him in the Kingdom, should undertake such a Voyage; but chose rather to send his Second Son *John*, with *Steen Erickson*, to *England*; which accordingly was done. They having arrived in *England*, were favourably receiv'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, who gave them good Words, and treated them magnificently; upon which, they did not fail to think that their Affairs went well on: So that they left *London* with great Pomp, throwing a great deal of Money through the Streets as they went along, after they had spent considerable Summs before. Being return'd to *Sweden*, they brought Prince *Erick* the agreeable News, That there was nothing wanting to his Affairs, and that he had nothing more to do but to present himself before his Mistress. But having brought no written Proof, nor any Articles of so Considerable a Marriage, Old King *Gustavus*, who was cunning and prudent, presently suspected that these Ambassadors suffer'd themselves to be blinded, and that they took bare Complements for good Coin. Upon which, he assembled the States of the Kingdom at *Stockholm*, to deliberate with them on this Affair. In this Assembly, the Succession of the Royal Family, and *Gustavus*'s latter Will, were confirmed; and the States, tho' with much Difficulty, consented with his Majesty to the intended Marriage. But as this Affair had already occasion'd great Expences, and must occasion far greater, Prince *Erick* was oblig'd to promise, That when he should be King of *England*, he should come to the Assistance of *Sweden*, against its Enemies; but that if his Marriage did not succeed, he should give his Brethren, out of his Share of the Succession, the Summs that he should expend in that Pursuit: That in his Contract of Marriage, there should be no Clause prejudicial to *Sweden*, or that might tend to subject it to *England*: That in his

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The States consent to the Marriage, on Conditions.

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Abſence he ſhould not give the Adminiſtration of Affairs to a Stranger, but that he would leave it to one of his Brothers: That if *England* ſhould undertake a War without the *Swedes* Knowledge, the *Swedes* ſhould give as much Aſſiſtance as they might expect from them in a like Caſe: That if the *Swedes* were attack'd by the *Muſcovites*, *Danes*, or any other People, he ſhould take care that *England* did aſſiſt them with all its Might: That during his Father's Life, he ſhould not take ſuch conſiderable Summs out of the Treaſury; and that he ſhould content himſelf with the Revenues of his Dukedom: That he ſhould not contract great Debts, that might incommode his Father; and that he could not mortgage, ſell, or alienate any thing of the Kingdom of *Sweden* without his Father's Conſent, or that of his Brethren: That he ſhould not confirm to Strangers their Ancient Privileges; nor grant them any New ones: That he ſhould allow his Brethren and Siſters to enjoy what their Father had given them; and that, in fine, he ſhould make no New League with the *Danes*, who ſought nothing but the Ruine of *Sweden*, and contrary to all Juſtice had taken the *Swediſh* Arms; but that on the other hand, he ſhould with all his Might defend the Ancient Rights of the Crown.

The States furniſh great Sums to carry it on.

After which, the States furniſh'd great Summs of Money for carrying on this Marriage; and the King, for his own part, gave Twenty thouſand Livres; part of which, Prince *Erick* ſent before him into *England*, to provide his Equipage, and make other neceſſary Preparations for his Marriage. At length he came to *Lodex*, whence he was to ſet out immediately for *England*, where he was inform'd of the Death of his Father *Guſtavus* at *Stockholm*. But tho' this new King had ſent *Gabriel Chriſterſon*, and *John Kyle*, to that Town, to take Poſſeſſion of the Crown in his Name, and to make ſure of the Caſtles; and tho' beſides he had a ſtrong Deſire to accompliſh his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, yet he alter'd his Deſign, fearing leſt his Brethren ſhould come to attempt ſomething againſt him in his Abſence; ſo that he put off his Voyage to another time.

King Erick.

King *Erick* was Twenty ſeven Years old when he ſucceeded his Father *Guſtavus*, had made a good Progreſs in his Studies, and was very well skill'd in Foreign Languages; he was beſides very Eloquent, and had a grave

grave and maſculine Air; ſo that great Hopes were conceiv'd of him. But he ſo miſmanag'd his Affairs, partly out of Ignorance, but eſpecially becauſe he gave ear to pernicious Counſel, that at length he loſt his Crown. As ſoon as his Father was buried, and that his latter Will came to be put in execution, his Brethren and Siſters were diſſatisfy'd with him; becauſe, when the Ready Money came to be divided, he would make no Allowance for the Money which was ſpent on his account in *England*: Beſides, he would not grant them any of their Father's Lands, under Pretext, that for the moſt part they were Church-Lands, which the Ancient Kings had formerly given to the Clergy, and conſequently did belong to the Crown. He left them, however the Dukedoms which his Father had aſſign'd them by his latter Will; *Charles* only excepted, who was yet *Minor*. However, he would have them oblig'd to the following Articles; namely, That if any of them ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Life of the King, or any of his Children, he ſhould not only loſe his Principality, but likewiſe ſhould forfeit the Right of ſucceeding to the Caown; which he was alſo to do, that ſhould refuſe to hold his Principality in Fee of the Crown: That the Subjects of the Principalities ſhould not be oblig'd to them by Oath, tho' they were to pay the Impoſitions: That he who combin'd with others, ſhould loſe his Life and Fortune: That if any of the Inhabitants of the Principalities happen'd to offend againſt the King, the King's Officers ſhould ſeize upon his Perſon, and that it ſhould not be lawful for the Prince to oppoſe them: That if any of the Princes ſhould be negligent, or ſhould be wanting to contribute ſo much as he ought, towards the maintaining of the Troops which ſhould be levied, they muſt be oblig'd to pay the ſame Fine that Boors pay'd to their Lords on the like account: That none of them ſhould come to Court with more than an Hundred Men: That they ſhould not aſſemble all the Inhabitants of their Principalities at once: That they ſhould not begin War, make Peace, or any League, nor enter into any Negotiation with another Prince, without firſt informing his Majeſty: That the Subjects of the Principalities, as well as the other Subjects of the Crown, ſhould be oblig'd to pay their Proportion, when the King ſhould build or

His Brethren and Siſters diſpleas'd, and why.

Conditions propos'd by King Erick *to his Brothers.*

repair any Caſtle, or when he ſhould marry any of his Children, or be in War with a Foreign Enemy: That the Princes themſelves ſhould be ſubject to the Ordinances and Declarations of the King: That none o them ſhould have the Power to ennoble any Perſon, or diſpoſe of any of their Lands to perpetuity, or to give any conſiderable Places to Strangers: That they ſhould not be allow'd to buy any Goods pertaining to the Crown, nor to coin ſmaller Money than the King's: That they ſhould not heighten the common Cuſtoms, nor eſtabliſh any Superintendents, or Biſhops: That they could not hinder their Subjects to appeal to the King: That in Matters concerning the Kingdom, the King ſhould have a free Paſſage thorow their Lands: That none of them ſhould exerciſe his Juriſdiction over any of the King's Officers living in his Principality, provided the Officer was a Gentleman; And, in fine, that the Princes ſhould not harbour or protect any Perſon that had attempted any Injuſtice againſt the King, or his Subjects, or entertain any who having incurr'd his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, were diſcarded from his Service. For the reſt, In all things not ſpecify'd in the Will, he would have the Princes to carry their Complaints before the King, and to appeal to none but him, according to the Common Cuſtoms of *Sweden*.

King *Erick* fancied to himſelf, that by all theſe Articles he had ſo ſecur'd his Royal Dignity, that it was impoſſibie for any of his Brethren to come to the Crown: But none of them was willing to receive thoſe Conditions, ſeeing that by that means they ſhould be kept too much in Subjection. However, all theſe Articles were ſigned at *Arboga*, in the Aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom; which conſented again to the Marriage with the Queen of *England*, and to the raiſing a conſiderable Summ of Money; chiefly becauſe they fear'd leaſt he ſhould become fond of one of his old Miſtreſſes, of mean Extract, and marry her. Moreover, King *Erick* made a Decree for regulating the manner after which he would have the Kingdom govern'd in his Abſence; and endeavour'd to aboliſh ſome Ceremonies in the Worſhip, which the Reformed Church did reject; being adviſ'd thereto by his Preceptor, *Dennis Beuzze*, and by the *Engliſh*, with whom he had convers'd; and perhaps alſo with a Deſign to

pleaſe

pleaſe Queen *Elizabeth*. But however, he could do nothing on this matter, by reaſon of the powerful oppoſition of the Arch-Biſhop. 'Twas King *Erick*, who, at his Coronation, firſt introduced *Counts* and *Barons* in *Sweden*; under pretence, that the Crown having became Hereditary, it was reaſonable their might be Lordſhips and Dignities of the ſame Nature. But there are ſome who pretend that he had no other end in this, than to ſow diviſion among the Nobility of the Kingdom, that he might afterwards make his advantage of it. *Peter Brake*, *Suante Staure*, and *Guſtavus Roſa* received the Title of *Counts*, and the other Nine Counſellors of the Kingdoms were made Barons; *viz.* the two *Stenbockens*, the two *Guldenſterns*, *Luwenhoofd*, *Grip*, *Oxenſtiern*, *Flemong*, and *Horn*. King *Erick* in the beginning of his Reign involved himſelf in forreign troubles, which took their riſe from the Trade of *Livonia*, the particulars of which are as follows: *Godart Ketler*, the laſt *Grand Maſter* of *Livonia*, had Engaged himſelf in a troubleſome War againſt the *Muſcovites* who had then *Ivan Bazilowitz* for their *Grand Duke*, by which means the Trade of *Muſcovy*, which was commonly carried on by the way of *Revel* and *Riga*, did mightily decay. But as thoſe of *Lubeck* would not break of their Trade with the *Muſcovites*, they took the way of *Nerva*, carrying with their other Commodities, ſtore or Arms, and other things neceſſary for War. Upon this, the Grand Maſter complain'd to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, that by this means his Enemies were Strengthned to his great loſs, Which oblig'd that Emperor to prohibit this Traffick; and to write to King *Guſtavus*, that, as Maſter of the *Baltick Sea*, he ſhould oppoſe it. But that Prince, who was then in his declining Age, would not involve himſelf in troubles of a long continuance; and therefore did not take this Affair much to conſideration. Upon which, the *Grand Maſter* and the *Revellers* equip'd ſome Ships themſelves, and took not only the *Lubeck* which ſail'd towards *Nerva*, but likewiſe ſeveral that belong'd to *Sweden*.

Original of Counts and Barons *in* Sweden.

King Ericks *troubles abroad.*

Grand Maſter *of* Livonica, *complains to the Emperor.*

Thereupon the *Lubeckers* Complain'd to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, who allow'd them to carry all ſorts of Commodities to *Nerva*, except Arms; and he writ to *Livonica* to the *Grand Maſter*, that he ſhould make up all the loſſes which the *Lubeckers* had ſuſtain'd. On the

Lubeckers *complain to the Emperor.*

other hand, King *Erick*, who had already come to the Crown, ſeveral times ſollicited the *Grand Maſter* to reſtore to his Subjects what he had taken from them; exhorting him for the future not to diſturb the Navogation and Trade of the *Baltick Sea*. In the mean time, the *Revellers* begun to ſee they could not make much by Pirating: For the Affairs of the *Grand Duke* were in ſuch confuſion, that the Biſhop of *Oeſel* gave up his Biſhoprick to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, who gave it to his Brother Duke *Magnus*: As alſo the Grand Maſter *Godart Ketler*, yielded up *Livonia* to *Sigismond* King of *Poland*, keeping *Courland* to himſelf, which he held in Fee of that Crown. At length the *Revellers* not finding what they expected under the protection of any of thoſe *Lords*, being at two great a diſtance from them; and not having any Trade with *Poland* and *Lithuania* as thoſe of *Riga*; they declared to the *Grand Maſter*, that they did renounce the obedience which they had ſworn to him, becauſe he was no longer in condition to protect them, hoping to find themſelves much better under the protection of *Sweden*; to which alſo the Knights of *Eſthonia* conſented. Now that Country being in a manner put to the pillage, King *Erick* fancied that he might alſo put in for his ſhare: eſpecially becauſe the *Grand Maſter* had refus'd to repair the loſſes which his Subjects had ſuſtain'd. To this purpoſe, he ſent an Army under the Command of *Nicholas Horn*, with orders to invade the *Grand Maſters* Country unleſs he gave him ſatisfaction; and at the ſame time to receive the *Revellers* under his protection. When he had arriv'd, the *Revellers*, with the Knights of *Eſthonia* received him with great Joy, and United themſelves under the Crown of *Sweden*. *Gaſpar Eldenbock*, ſtill held out for the *Grand Maſter* in the Cathedral Church of *Revel*; but was forced, Six Weeks after, for famine, to give up himſelf: After which, the King confirm'd to the *Revellers* and to the Knights of *Eſthonia* all their Ancient Priviledges. Beſides which, he lent them a conſiderable ſum of Money, and was very Liberal to ſeveral of the Nobility of *Eſthonia*, ſo that they ware all very well pleaſed with their new Lord. In the mean time the King of *Poland* ſent the Count of *Lansky* Ambaſſadour to *Stockholm*, to deſire the Town of *Revel* for the Crown of *Poland*. But King *Erick* gave him to underſtand, that he had

no

no leſs right to take *Revel* and *Eſtthonia* under his protection, than that King had to pretend to them. Upon this, when the Grand Maſter *Ketler* would have Beſieg'd the Town, to reduce it under the Power of the *Poles*, the *Swediſh* Garriſon that was in the Place Sallied out and forced him to retire.

The Pope ſends a Nuncio to Sweden.

Mean while *John Francis*, Biſhop of *Zaïjutho*, and the Popes *Nuncio*, came to *Sweden* to King *Erick*, with deſign to bring him with all his Kingdom back to the Romiſh Faith. And by that means, to reduce *England* again the more eaſily under the obedience of the Sea of *Rome*, after having gain'd *Erick*, who then paſs'd for the Queen of *Englands* apparent Husband. At the ſame time King *Erick* renew'd with *Charles the Ninth*, King of *France*, the ſame Friendſhip and good Underſtanding that had been begun by his Father *Guſtavus*. After which he diſpatched *Guſtavus Steenboock*, and *Thure Bielke* to the King of *Denmark* to deſire a ſafe conduct for himſelf and Three hundred Men, and a free paſſage thorow his Lands in order to his Voyage to *England*; which was alſo granted; tho' nevertheleſs that Marriage was very unpleaſant to the *Danes*: Tho ſome Ambaſſadors had orders to complain of the King of *Denmark*'s having Joyn'd the Arms of *Sweden* with thoſe of that Kingdom, and ask the reaſon why he ſo long kept poſſeſſion of *Schonen*, the Provinces of *Halland*, *Bleckingia*, and particularly of the Iſland of *Gothalnd*. But the *Danes* ſhifted off all this, by ſaying, that at the laſt interview that had paſt between the two Kings at *Bromſebro* in the year 1546. deciſion of that difference was put off for Fifty years. The *Danes*, after ſuch propoſitions not much truſting the King of *Sweden*, they prepared themſelves, by little and little for War. This made King *Erick* alter his deſign of paſſing thorow *Denmark*, and therefore he went by the way of *Elſbourg*, whence he ſet out with Fourteen Ships, attended by his Brother *Charles* and the two New *Counts*, *Peter Brake* and *Guſtavus Roſa*. Several wonder'd, and thought it very dangerous, that for a Marriage, which was yet uncertain, the King ſhould leave the Kingdom, at a time when he was at War with the *Livonians*; and was like very quickly to be engaged in another War with the *Danes*, *Poles* and *Muſcovites*. But King *Erick* had no ſooner put to Sea, but he was attacked by a violent

King Erick *ſends Ambaſſadors to* France, *and to* Denmark.

He ſets out for England.

Storm

Storm, which oblig'd him the next day to put in to the firſt Harbour he could come at; ſo that he thought ſtill to delay his Voyage to *England* ſome time longer. Immediatly after, he was much put to it, to find new Troops to ſend to *Eſthonia*, his Governour *Larſz Flemming*, with Two thouſand Men having dyed at *Revel* in a very few Weeks, by an extraordinary Sickneſs which only ſeized upon the *Swedes*. Moreover he endeavoured in vain to bring over to his ſide Duke *Magnus*, who was then Governour of the Iſland of *Oeſel*. He alſo called an Aſſembly of the Nobility nf *Jenkoping*, where he appointed how much every one for the future was to contribute in time of War, as well within as without the Kingdom; determining alſo the time that every one was to Serve the King at his own Charges; by which method he mightily diſpleas'd the Nobility.

King Erick *reſolves to Marry the Queen of* Scotland.

In the mean time King *Erick* began to fear a refuſal from Queen *Elizabeth*; or perhaps the inconſtancy of his temper, which did appear on a great many other occaſions, made him alter his reſolution. However it be, he gave over the paſſion he had for her, notwithſtanding the vaſt Expence he had been at with deſign to obtain her, and took a reſolution to Marry the Queen of *Scotland*, and the year following to ſend *Peter Brake* Ambaſſador thither. By another Embaſſy to *Denmark*, he endeavoured to Terminate all the differences he had with that Crown. But as for the Arms of *Sweden* which the *Danes* had Joyn'd with thoſe of *Denmark*, they anſwered, that King *Erick* began to bear the Arms of *Denmark* and *Norway*; that beſides, he had taken poſeſſion of *Eſthonia*, and that he had endeavoured to bring Duke *Magnus*, the King of *Denmark*'s Brother, over to his ſide; ſo that the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors finding there was nothing to be expected from the *Danes*, returned home without ſucceſs. On the other hand the *Hans-Towns* would have King *Erick* grant them the Ancient priveledges they had in *Sweden*. Upon which his Majeſty allowed them toTrade with the Sea-port Towns, ſuch as *Calmar*, *Stockholm*, *Suderkoping*, *Nordkoping*, and *Aboo*, without paying Cuſtom; on condition that the *Swedes* ſhould have ths ſame priviledges in their Towns. Beſides, he promiſed to aſſiſt them againſt their enemies, provided he might

might expect the like aſſiſtance from them on ſuch occaſions: But he would only allow them to Trade to *Muſcovy* by the way of *Revel* and *Wiberg*. Mean while this very much diſpleaſed the *Lubeckers*, who thereupon made their complaint to the Emperour. On the other hand, K. *Erick* publiſh'd a Declaration, by which, on name of confiſcation of Goods, he abſolutly prohibited the *Muſcovite*-Trade, as tending to the general prejudice of Chriſtendom; and at the ſame time, put a Fleet to Sea to take and bring to *Sweden* all the Ships that did contraveen his Orders. Thus a War was kindled between *Sweden* and the *Hans-Towns*: But things did not long continue at this paſs; For *Duke John* broke in pieces in the harbour of *Stockholm*, the Lanthorn of a Ship which bore the Arms of *Denmark* with the *Three Crowns* of *Sweden*, which ſo exaſperated K. *Frederick*, that ſoon after he made War with the King of *Sweden*. But *Duke John* miſtruſting his Brother K. *Erick*, no leſs than he did the *Muſcovites*, who were his Neighbours towards *Finland*, reſolved to ſupport himſelf by an alliance with the King of *Poland*, to whom he had already Lent Sixſcore thouſand Crowns upon ſome Caſtles which that King had in *Livonia*. To this purpoſe he deſired in Marriage the Daughter of *Sigiſmond*, who at the ſame time was ſought for by the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy*; But the latter not Accepting the Conditions propoſed to him, namely, that the Children by *Catherine* ſhould ſucceed to the Government, in prejudice of thoſe of the firſt Marriage, the *Poles*, inſtead of a Miſtreſs, ſent him a Horſe richly harneſs'd; which affront the *Muſcovites* afterwards reveng'd with barbarous Cruelty in *Lithuania*. After which, *Duke John* having a favourable hearing, with the Kings allowance, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Poland*, to propoſe a Marriage between him and that Princeſs.

King Erick *prohibits the* Muſcovites *Trade.*

Duke *John's* Policy.

On the other ſide, King *Erick*, with the approbation of his Council, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Scotland* to Marry Queen *Mary*: But in the mean time, being prevail'd with by ſome flatterers, who very much exalted the beauty of the Princeſs of *Lorrain*, Grandchild to King *Chriſtian*, he ſent alſo Ambaſſadors to the Emperour, as being Gaurdian to the Princeſs, with rich preſents. They return'd to King *Erick* a moſt civil and obliging

K. *Erick* ſends Ambaſſadors to *Scotland* and to the Emperour.

ging answer. Yet afterwards, he resolv'd to renew the propoſals of Marriage to Queen *Elizabeth*, in hopes of getting conſiderable advantage by it: But in ſhort, the King by this inconſtancy of humour, got nothing but confuſion and ſhame; and all the Money which his Father had gathered by his care and good management, was conſumed to no purpoſe. In the mean time, *Nicholas Horn* had forc'd *Perrian* to ſurrender for want of Proviſion: And on the other hand, there came Ambaſſadors from *Muſcovy* to *Sweden*, who brought news of a Peace concluded between *Erick* and the Grand Duke, in which *Livonia* was alſo included. By means of this Peace, K. *Erick* fancied he could eaſily make himself Maſter of a great part of *Livonia*: And the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy* was glad to ſee the *Danes* and *Poles* fighting for that Country, hoping that when they were both weary, he might come to carry away the Prey at laſt. But when Duke *John*'s Ambaſſadors were return'd from *Poland* with acceptable news, he made preparations for his Voyage thither; and obtain'd from his Brother, that, during his abſence, he ſhould not be oblig'd to contribute any thing towards the War; and that he ſhould have a Body of Horſe to conduct him on his paſſage through *Livonia*. But yet after K. *Erick* had granted this to Duke *John*, he began to think with himſelf, how dangerous it would be for him, that his Brother ſhould be allied to the King of *Poland*, eſpecially ſince he was juſt upon entering into a War with *Sigiſmond* upon the account of *Livonia*. For which cauſe, he with all Expedition ſent Expreſſes and Letters to *Duke John*, to endeavour to diſſwade him from his Voyage: But he had no ſooner obtained K. *Erick*'s leave, than he Embark'd and went with all ſpeed to *Dantzick*; after which, he went the fourth of *October* to *Wilda*, where he Married the Princeſs *Catherine*. This Marriage very much increas'd the Suſpicions King *Erick* had conceiv'd againſt his Brother *Duke John*, whoſe Conduct the King's Flatterers very much blam'd; So that he complain'd of it with much bitterneſs: And not knowing whither the *Danes* were his Friends or Enemies, he exacted from the Nobility the Service and Impoſitions which he had laid upon them.

Duke John *Marries the Princeſs of* Poland.

At the ſame time K. *Erick* was much buſied in carrying on all the Marriages he had propos'd; He ſent Chan-

Chancellour *Nils Gulderſten* with *Bengt Gylte* to *England*; but ſoon after call'd them back from *Elfburg*, and for ſome time laid aſide all thoughts of Queen *Elizabeth*. The Count *Peter Brake* whom he ſent Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, put him in hopes of a favourable Anſwer; and thoſe whom he ſent to demand, the Princeſs of *Lorrain*, return'd with very acceptable News; and by this Marriage he hoped to have pretenſions to the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and to be ſupported by that Princeſs Relations. While thoſe things were doing, K. *Erick* received the pleaſant News, that his Troops had taken *Weiſſeſtein* in *Livonia*; And on the other hand, he was informed that the King of *Denmark* was willing to come to an accomodation. But King *Frederick* did not continue long in that reſolution; for being brought over by the *Poles* and *Muſcovites*, he not only united himſelf with them againſt *Sweden*, but engaged the *Lubeckers* in the ſame League. King *Erick*, who a little before had proclaimed thorow the Kingdom, that there was to be Peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, having notice of what was contriving againſt him, was very much irritated againſt them, as well as againſt Duke *John* his Brother, who, as we ſaid, already had Lent Twenty thouſand Crowns to the King of *Poland*; which doubted his ſuſpition that he would joyn with the *Poles*. For which reaſon he ſent Ambaſſadors to Duke *John* to upbraid him, for having Lent Money to King *Sigiſmond*; and alſo for having, againſt his will, Contracted a Marriage which gave ground of Jealouſie to *Sweden*; accuſing him likewiſe, of having made a League with the *Danes* and *Poles* who were his Enemies. But Duke *John* having given a ſhort and blunt anſwer to all this, King *Erick* ſummon'd him immediatly to appear at *Stockholm*, to Juſtifie himſelf of what was laid to his charge; but he refuſed to appear, before he ſhould receive all neceſſary ſecurity: And becauſe that he fear'd that King *Erick* would make War againſt him, he called the King of *Poland* with ſeveral others to his aſſiſtance, and having well forify'd his Caſtles, he took an Oath of fidelity from the *Finlanders*, who were well affected towards him, and inclin'd to aſſiſt him. Upon this, King *Erick* ſends Ambaſſadors to *Ruſſia*, when the *Muſcovites* were beſieging the Town of *Plosko*, offering to make a League with them againſt

K. Erick buſied about his Marriages.

K. Frederick talks of an accommodation, but ſoon alters his reſolution.

Duke John's anſwer to K. Erick's Ambaſſador, &c.

K. Erick ſends Ambaſſadors to Muſcovy.

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the *Poles* who were their common Enemy. On the other hand, *Frederick* King of *Denmark* ſends *Corfits Ulefeld*, one of his Counſellours, to *Sweden*, to ſound the deſigns of King *Erick*; and at the ſame time, to remove the ſuſpitions he might have of the King his Maſter. And having in King *Fredericks* name, made Proteſtations of unchangable Unity and Friendſhip to the King of *Sweden*, he found credit with him, and procur'd ſafe Conduct from the King of *Denmark* for the Ambaſſadors which King *Erick* was to ſend to *Caſſel*, to deſire *Chriſtian*, Daughter to *Philip Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, in Marriage.

The Swediſh *Ambaſſadors to Caſſel detained in* Denmark.

When theſe Ambaſſadors were arriv'd at *Copenhaguen*, they imagined that they ſhould be altogether ſafe whenever they ſhould receive a Paſſport: But yet the Chancellour, *John Frys*, who had ſuſpitions of King *Erick's* ſending ſo conſiderable an Embaſſy into *Germany*, detain'd the Ambaſſadors upon ſeveral pretences, denying to know the Motives of their Deputation. They obſerving his Artifice, and truſting to the Peace which was between both Kingdoms, would have contrived their Journey without waiting for a Paſſport: But as they were going to depart, the Guard which was at the Port, by the Chancellours orders, forc'd them to retire to their Lodgings: And leſt the News of this affront ſhould come to *Sweden* before *Corfits Ulefeld*, Ambaſſador there, return'd to *Denmark*, he hinder'd all Communication between the *Danes* and *Swedes*. As ſoon as *Ulefeld* was return'd from *Sweden*, he told K. *Fredrick* that he muſt never expect to be at Peace with the King of *Sweden*, unleſs he took the Three Crowns out of the *Daniſh* Arms, and reſtor'd to him the Iſland of *Gothland*. After which, he adviſ'd him to keep the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, and particularly *Steen Erickſon*, who contributed all he could to foment Diviſions between the two Crowns. Upon this, they were Guarded very cloſely with all their followers; and after having ſearched their Letters, they conducted them to *Callenburg*, where they were detained two years. The King of *Denmark* deſiring to excuſe this treatment, accus'd them to King *Erick* of ſtiffneſs and inſolency, and that it was this had oblig'd him to detain them: But King *Erick* having let the King of *Denmark* ſee the injuſtice of his procedure, deſir'd he would ſet his Ambaſſadors at liber-

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ty. Notwithstanding which, he seiz'd not only the Ambassadors whom the King of *Sweden* had sent to *Germany*, but also all the *Swedish* Merchants within his Kingdoms; and the Spring following he put a great Fleet to Sea, hoping that he might easily have an advantage over the *Swedes*, having the *Muscovites*, the *Poles*, and *Lubeckers* on his side; fancying also, that troubles might probally happen within the Kingdom of *Sweden*. King *Erick* was not dejected, but represented to the Emperour the Right he had to take *Livonia* under his protection, and to hinder the *Lubeckers* from Trading to *Muscovey*. After which, finding the King of *Poland* involv'd in a War with the *Muscovites*, he took from him Eight considerable Places in *Livonia*: Upon which, King *Sigismond* so much the more animated the *Danes* and *Lubeckers* against *Sweden*. But King *Erick* fearing nothing less than intestine troubles, he sent an Army into *Finland*, not only to serve upon Duke *John* and his Wife, and to bring them dead or alive to *Sweden*; but also to reduce the inhabitants of that Province: So that Duke *John* was besieged Three Months by the Kings Troops in the Castle of *Aboo*.

King Ericks Courage.

In the mean time, the King sent other Ambassadors to the *Landgrave* of *Hesse* to bring home his Mistress: And that they might be safely Transported to *Rostock*, he gave them an Squadron of Twelve men of War, under the Command of Admiral *Jacob Bagge*, who meeting with the *Danish* Fleet upon the Coasts of *Bornholm*, they had a hot Engagement together; but the *Swedes* had the advantage, tho' much inferiour in number to the *Danes*. In this Engagement the *Danish* Admiral *Jacob Brockenhaisen* was taken Prisoner, with Seven Captains and Nine Hundred Sea-men, and lost besides, Six Hundred Men, and Four Men of War were taken by the *Swedes*; all the rest who received great damage being forced to fly. The *Swedish* Fleet after the Victory, sent the Booty to *Stockholm*, and pursued its way to *Rostock*, where the Ambassadors went a-shore, but did no prejudice to the *Danish* Merchant-men. After this, King *Erick* sent *John Gyldenstern*, and his Secretary *Larz Knutson*, Ambassadors to *Denmark*, to complain to King *Frederick*, that the *Danes* attack'd his Fleet in time of Peace, and to protest against this violation; impowering them withal to terminate all those Differences and exchange

King Erick sends other Ambassadors to Hesse.

The Danish Fleet beaten.

King Ericks complaint against the Danes, &c.

change the Prisoners. But the *Danes* made all possible preparations to make War against *Sweden*, and received several Troops from *Germany*; The *Lubeckers* also Joyn'd their Fleet with Twelve men of War. King *Erick* for his part was not wanting to put himself in a posture of defence. King *Frederick* set out a Fleet of Two and Fifty Ships, and a Land Army of Eight and twenty thousand Men, under the Command of *Gunther* Count of *Schouwartsbourg*; to which must be added, that the *Norwegians* at the same time made an inroad into *Dalia* and into the Provinces of *Wermerland* and *Helsingia*. In the mean time, King *Erick's* Ambassadors made proposals to the *Landtgrave* of *Hesse* in their Masters Name, desiring that that Prince would send his Daughter *Christina* into *Sweden*, where the Articles of the contract of Marriage should be treated upon; with this proviso, that if they came to an Agrement, the Marriage should be immediatly concluded; but if not, his Daughter should be sent back to *Cassel*. But these Conditions being no wise agreable to the *Landtgrave*, he sent to tell the Admiral who waited for the Princess with his Fleet, that he thought it fit to delay that Marriage to a more convenient and peaceable time; and that in the mean while, he offer'd his Mediation and that of the Duke of *Saxony* to terminate the differences between the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*: So that the *Swedish* Fleet returned without the Princess, but not without gaining great glory: And the Prisoners they had taken were brought to the Castle, after they had endur'd the Raillery of all that met them in the way. Afterwards King *Erick* sent Deputies to *Calmar*, who were to be present at *Rostock* in the Assembly which was call'd together by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the *Landtgrave* of *Hesse*, as Mediators, but they were obliged to to return to *Stockholm*; because they could not obtain a Passport from the *Danes*. On the other side, King *Frederick* sent Ambassadors to *Rostock*, that he might be thought to have a great desire to enter upon a Negotiation; and yet he sent back the *Swedish* Deputies without giving them any satisfaction about their pretentions; and sent a Herald to *Stockholm* to Declare War against King *Erick*, who gave him Audience in Person: But for the Herald of *Lubeck* the King sent him to the *Town-house*, to present his Commission to the Burger-masters and Senators, being only come from Merchants. In fine, they were both dispatch'd, after they had got an answer proper to their propositions.

Denmark *and* Lubeck *proclaim War against* Sweden.

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The very same day King *Erick*'s Troops by a Stratagem made themselves Masters of the Castle of *Aboo*; so that Duke *John* with his Wife and all his Train were brought to *Stockholm*; where being forc'd to plead, being accus'd of Rebellion, he with all his Faction were condemned to lose their Estates and Lives, unless King *Erick* would be pleas'd to pardon them, and the chief Members of the State were oblig'd to sign their Sentence. After which, more than a hundred of his Domesticks were put to Death, and the rest were condemn'd to severe and slavish Labour, except the Strangers: *viz.* The *Poles*, *Italians*, and *Germans*, whom they only banish'd out of the Kingdom. As for Duke *John*, his Life was spar'd, but all his Goods were Confiscated and himself condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, whither his Wife voluntarily accompanied him, and continued with him four Years and two Months: During which time the Duke was in continual danger of his Life, because King *Erick*, who was much given to the Study of Astrology, pretended to have discover'd by the Rules of that Art, that the Life of the Duke and his own safety were incompatible: And indeed it was very probable that he would have made him away had he not been afraid that his Brethren and Relations in *Sweden*, and particularly the King of *Poland*, would revenge his Death. Some say that King *Erick* went sometimes to visit Duke *John* in Prison, with design to murder him; but as soon as he came to see his Face, he alter'd his Resolution, and fell down at his feet, telling him he was well assur'd that the Kingdom was destin'd for him; and therefore he intreated him that if he came to fall in his hands he might have pity on him, and that upon the account of their nearness of Blood he would not put him to an ignominious Death: Whence we may gather as well as by some other marks that this King was not of such an ill temper as some have imagin'd, but that he was led aside by bad Councellours, the chief of which was *Joran Peerson*, Son to a Priest of *Salberg*, a malicious and cunning fellow, who put King *Erick* on all kind of Wickedness, and had got such an ascendant over him, that he did nothing without his advice.

K. Erick's bad Councellours.

And indeed the moſt conſiderable of the Nobility being allied to his Brethren by the Mothers ſide, King *Erick* durſt not truſt them, and therefore was in a manner forc'd to conſult about Affairs with perſons of the middle rank. Mean while King *Ericks* Troops made conſiderable progreſs in *Livonia*, and the Succours which the King of *Poland*, too late, ſent to Duke *John* to raiſe the Seige of *Aboo*, fell into the hands of the *Swediſh* Fleet. But on the other hand King *Frederick* having encamp'd before *Elfsbourg*, endeavour'd by Letters to withdraw the *Swedes* from their Obedience to King *Erick*; but receiving no Anſwer, he went and diſcharg'd his fury on *West-Gothland*, where he made great havock; and his Fleet did no leſs on the Iſland of *Oeland*. Moreover he us'd all his endeavours to bring King *Erick* to a Battle. But the latter was contented only to plague him by detachments, till he ſhould find an occaſion to attack him with advantage.

King *Erick* divides his Army in 3 parts.

'Twas with this intent that he ſent *Peter Brake* into the Provinces of *Wermeland* and *Dalia*, and and *Guſtavus Steenbock* to *West-Gothland*, marching himſelf by little Journies through *Smalandia* with the main Body of his Army. And as at that time he was more afraid of inteſtine Troubles, than he was of the Enemy abroad, he ſent *Hogenſchild Bialke* to his Brother Duke *Magnus* to make him ſign the Sentence pronounc'd againſt his Brother Duke *John*. But he refuſing it for fear of burthening his Conſcience, King *Erick* promis'd him that he ſhould ſucceed to the Crown if he himſelf came to die without Children, which promiſe having wrought on Duke *Magnus*, he conſented to ſign the Sentence. But ſome affirm that his Conſcience ſo check'd him afterwards for it, that he loſt his Senſes, which weakneſs continu'd with him to the day of his Death; tho there are others who attribute this to other Cauſes. About the ſame time, when the two Ambaſſadours, *Nils Gyldenſtern* and *George Horn*, were return'd from the Emperors Court to the *Baltick* Sea, King *Erick* ſent them to *Caſſel* with full Power to conclude his Marriage with the Princeſs *Chriſtina*, who on her part ſeem'd very much inclin'd

Ambaſſadors ſent again to *Heſſe Caſſel*.

inclin'd to have it finish'd. But King *Erick* having in the mean time writ a Love-letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, the King of *Denmark* intercepted it and sent it straight to the *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, who being highly offended that he should have been thus dealt with, plainly rejected the Proposals of the *Swedish* Ambassadours, and would hear no more of marrying his Daughter to King *Erick*. On the other hand the King of *Sweden* having too long delay'd to return *Elfsburg*, *Erick Kagge*, who Commanded in that place, surrendred it; but however, the *Danes* made no farther progress, that Army not being any longer able to keep the Field, because Winter was approaching, and that they fear'd the coming of the *Swedes*, who were on their March; which oblig'd them to take up their Winter Quarters in *Livonia*. King *Erick*, to revenge the Loss he had suffer'd, took *Jemptedal* and *Hermclak*. Moreover he made an attempt on *Babuus*, which miscarried; and another on *Holmstadt*, where the Garrison for a long time made a vigorous defence; and by putting the *Swedes* in hopes of their surrendring, they amus'd them so long, that the Cold, coming on oblig'd them to raise the Siege. After this, King *Erick* marching forward with a part of his Army was follow'd by the rest some days after: In the mean time the dividing of his Troops in several Bodies gave an opportunity to the *Danes* to attack the last with advantage. In this Engagement the *Swedish* Foot behav'd themselves manfully, but the Horse having abandon'd them, they lost three hundred Men with several Cannon. 'Tis reported that *Nils Sture* was the first that fled at this Encounter: Mean while King *Erick* was reveng'd of this check which his Troops met with by ravaging the Provinces of *Halland* and *Blekingia*. And besides, his Forces took the Town of *Drauntheim* in *Norway*, together with the Castle of *Steenwickholm* which is near that place. But the *Swedes* trusting to the Citizens word left a very small Garrison in it, and return'd with the Booty; upon which, the *Danish* Governour having receiv'd Succours from *Denmark* found no difficulty to drive away the few *Swedes* that were left.

King *Erick* revenges his loss.

The *Swedes* beaten.

K. *Frederick* proposes an Accomodation.

However, King *Frederick* finding at length that he could get nothing by a War with *Sweden*, wrote a Letter to King *Erick* proposing an accomodation between them in conjunction with the *Lubeckers*, desiring to that purpose the Mediation of the Emperour, the King of *France*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Brunswick*; who dispatch'd *Chretoste Minckwits* to King *Erick*, intreating him to send Plenipotentiaries to *Rostock* in order to terminate the differences between the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. Mean time Acts of Hostilities continu'd on both sides; for the King of *Sweden* besieg'd the Town of *Elfsburg* with a mighty Army, and set to Sea a Fleet of forty Ships, which by a violent Storm were totally dispers'd, so that there remained only two Ships with the Admiral which was commonly call'd the *Nonsuch*; probably because it it carried two hundred Brass Pieces. In fine, this Ship alone having met with the *Danish* and *Lubeck* Fleet between the Island of *Gothland* and that of *Oeland*, did not decline the Fight, and as soon as they came to an Engagement so briskly Charg'd the Admiral of *Lubeck* that he sunk it to the bottom: But being surrounded by the Enemies Fleet, after an obstinate Fight, they set Fire to it; so that the Admiral *Jacob Bagge*, and *Arweed Trolle* were made Prisoners, with the rest that belong'd to the Ship: The Enemy who would gladly have preserv'd this Vessel, throng'd into it to extinguish the Flames, but the Powder having taken fire, above four hundred Men were blown up in the Air. After which, the rest of the Fleet that had been dispers'd, desiring to renew the Fight were forc'd to put in at *Stockholm*. King *Erick* now seeing that the day appointed for the Negotiation drew near, sent back *Minckwits*; excusing himself to the Mediators that he could not not send Plenipotentiaries to *Rostock*, because he had not timely notice; and besides, he could not obtain Pass-ports from his Enemy: Adding farther that it was not the Custom to terminate the differences of the *Northern* Crowns in the *Hans-Towns*, but on the Frontiers. As soon as this Answer was brought to the Assembly all the Ambassadours separated and return'd home. On the

The *Swedish* Fleet scatter'd.

The bravery of the *Swedish* Admiral.

K. *Erick*'s excuse to the Mediators.

the other hand, King *Frederick* thought to incommode the *Swedes* very much by ſolliciting the Emperour that he would forbid the *Hans-Towns* to furniſh them with Proviſions, but unto this it was replied, That ſeeing the *Danes* had begun the War without any neceſſity, 'twas not reaſonable that the *German* Towns ſhould be hindred to reap advantages by Commerce.

In the mean time, King *Erick* deſirous to enlarge the Borders of his Kingdom, and at the ſame time to be revenged of King *Frederick* for the wrongs he had ſuffered by him, reſolves not only to repoſſeſs himſelf of the Iſland of *Gothland*, *Schonen*, the Provinces of *Halland* and *Bleckingia*, but alſo to make a New Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Norway*, which the *Danes* had wreſted out of the hands of King *Charles Cnutſon*, contrary to all the Laws of Juſtice and Equity. In order to this, he ſends *Peter Brahe* his Ambaſſadour to the King of *Poland*, that he might free himſelf from a War in which he was then engaged with that King; but his Negotiation proved unſucceſsful, King *Sigiſmond* refuſing to hearken to any Accomodation, untill Duke *John* and his *Dutcheſs* were firſt ſet at liberty. The *Swediſh* Fleet being about this time again put to Sea under the Command of Admiral *Nicholas Horn*, met with a conſiderable number of Merchant Ships, near the Iſland of *Bornholm*, coming from *Narva* richly laden for the *Lubeckers*, of which they took ſixteen with 300 Seamen, which were ſent to *Stockholm*, with many other Veſſels both *Daniſh* and *German*.

At laſt, the *Swediſh* Fleet meeting with that of *Denmark* towards the North Point of the Iſland of *Oeland*, there followed a moſt obſtinate Engagement, which was continued from Noon to Night, in which the *Danes* having loſt four Ships were forc't to retire within the *Belt*. After this, the *Danes* putting again to Sea were routed a ſecond time; and the *Swediſh* Fleet carried off 8 Merchants Ships more near the Iſland of *Gothland*, which were alſo bound from *Narva* to *Lubeck* richly laden. The *Daniſh* Fleet beaten.

Nor was King *Erick* looſing any opportunity the mean time at land; for finding that he could not carry the City of *Elfsburg*, he turns his Arms towards

Blekingia, where he took the Town of *Lukeby*, and cover'd it with ſtrong Fortifications. After this, he ſat down before *Nonneley*, the Inhabitants whereof refuſing to ſurrender at his Summons, and anſwering him in Abuſive Terms, he put them all to the Sword, and razed the place to the ground: After which, having ravag'd and waſted *Schonen*, he return'd home to *Sweden* with great Spoils.

While King *Erick* proceeded in this manner, the *Danes*, aſſembling ſome Troops, recovered the Town of *Lukeby*, before the Fortifications were entirely finiſh'd. But attempting to ranſack the Province of *Smaland*, they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the Peaſants; on the other ſide, the *Swedes* made great havock in *Norway*, where they pillag'd *Drumtheim*, *Uddewalla* and *Kongſal*, with 30 Pariſhes, not meeting with the leaſt oppoſition.

Towards the end of the ſame Year, King *Frederick* ſent Ambaſſadours to *Calmar* to aſſiſt at the meeting, where they were to treat not of the Peace only, but alſo of the Marriage of King *Erick* with the Princeſs of *Heſſe*; and whither the Plenipotentiaries of King *Erick* alſo came, but nothing was concluded in theſe two Affairs. During theſe Tranſactions, the Daughter of the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* was given in Marriage to *Adolphus* Duke of *Holſatia*, by whom that Prince had a Daughter named *Chriſtina*, who was afterward Mother to *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*. After this, the Eſtates of the Kingdom aſſembled at *Upſal*, and gave King *Erick* leave to chooſe a Wife in his own Country; becauſe all the Negotiations that had been ſet on foot to procure him one in Forreign Nations had been unſucceſsful.

The Princeſs of *Heſſe* Married to the Duke of *Holſatia*.

In the beginning of the following Year, King *Erick* marched three Armies at once towards *Norway* and the Province of *Halland*, where they pillag'd, burnt, and laid waſte much of the Country, to the great damage of the *Danes*: Who, on the other hand, having made an irruption into the Province of *Smaland*, proceeded in the ſame manner, and attempting to raiſe the Siege of *Elfsburg*, were twice repulſed, but the third time made themſelves Maſters of the Poſt which the *Swedes* poſſeſſed at *Hiſing*.

About

About this time *Steen Erickson* the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadour who had been arreſted in *Denmark* at the beginning of the War, returned home. But his being releas'd in the time of the War, made him much Suſpected by King *Erick*, who thought that he might probably have made ſome ſecret Treaty with King *Frederick*, with a Deſign to raiſe troubles in *Swedeland* that he might reſtore Duke *John* to his liberty, who was *Steen Erickson*'s Nephew by the Mothers ſide. And it was upon this ſuſpition that he reſolv'd to condemn him with his Wife and Children to perpetual Impriſonment in the Caſtle of *Nykoping*, but the King ſoon changed his mind, and received him again into favour.

This Summer *Nicholas Horn* put to Sea with the *Swediſh* Fleet, being 48 Ships ſtrong, and near *Stralſond* and *Grypſwald* he encountred ſome of the Enemies Ships, which he had without doubt ſunk to the bottom if the Duke of *Pomerania*, friend to both the contending Parties had not interceeded for them that they might be preſerved, promiſing withal to keep theſe Ships arreſted until the end of the War. From hence he Steers his Courſe to *Salſterboo*, where the *Lubeck* Fleet waited for that of *Denmark*, which was not yet in a readineſs to put to Sea. But no ſooner did the *Lubeckers* diſcover the *Swediſh* Veſſels, but they made all their ſail towards *Copenhagen*, where all the Inhabitants were in great Conſternation. The *Swedes* came into the *Sound* and there they ſunk more than 250 Ships coming from the Weſt Sea, and under the very noſe of the *Danes*, they rais'd the Tax that Ships are oblig'd to pay in paſſing theſe Straits, making prize of all the Ships that belong'd to *Denmark* or the City of *Lubeck*, and they ſent away the Booty to *Stockholm*.

Underſtanding afterward that the Admiral Ship of *Lubeck*, which to brave the *Swedes* they had named *Styro-Sweden* was riding near *Trebemond*, they made thither in all haſt with a Deſign to take her, but their Enterprize was without ſucceſs, ſhe lying too near the Shore under the Guns in the Fortreſs; however, they never miſs'd to pick up great numbers of Merchant Ships belonging to the Enemies.

By this time the two Fleets of *Denmark* and *Lubeck* having put themſelves in a poſture, reſolved to find out that of *Sweden*, that they might be revenged for the loſſes they had ſuſtain'd; ſo that falling in with it betwixt *Wiſmar* and *Roſtock*, there followed a moſt bloody and obſtinate Battle between the *Danes* and *Swedes*, upon which occaſion the *Lubeckers* made it appear that they had no great ſtomach for the work: The next day, by reaſon of a great calm that happen'd, they could not renew the Fight: But the third day the *Swedes* making up to the *Daniſh* Fleet in order to attack them, the *Danes* fled into the Straits of the *Sound*, becauſe beſides a great number that were killed and wounded in the firſt Engagement their Admiral *Hertlef Trolle* was mortally wounded. The *Swedes* having purſued them to the Coaſts of *Moen*, there made a deſcent, and killing all that made any oppoſition, return'd with a very conſiderable Booty.

But the Affairs of *Swedeland* did not ſucceed ſo well on the ſide *Livonia*, where they loſt *Pernau*; nevertheleſs the Enemy making an attempt upon *Revel* were ſo beaten by the *Swedes* ſallying out upon them early in the Morning, that they had no inclination to come there any more. Beſides which, they were twice more defeated the ſame Summer: In the midſt of theſe Expeditions there were ſtill ſome thoughts of Peace; for the Ambaſſadours of the Duke of *Pomerania* came back to renew the Negotiation and to make choice of ſome Place in *Germany* to meet in. But King *Erick* was poſitive not to treat of an Accomodation any where but on the Frontiers which divide the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; moreover he demanded that King *Frederick* ſhould abſolutely declare what he intended, to which he ſeem'd enclin'd, deſiring only to hear King *Erick*'s Propoſals; who demanded among other things that for the Injuries and Loſſes he had ſuſtain'd, he might keep all that he had taken during the War, and which had in time paſt belong'd to the Crown of *Sweden*.

But theſe Terms being not at all agreeable to the King of *Denmark*, he deals with *Claud Dancey* the *French* Reſident, to give out that he was newly arrived,

arriv'd, and that he came on the part of the King, his Master, to perſwade King *Erick* to accept of ſuch Conditions of Peace as were reaſonable. This Miniſter ſuffering himſelf to be Practis'd upon by King *Frederick*, promiſes to ſerve him in this Affair. King *Erick*, notwithſtanding the Negotiation for Peace, having ſent Proviſions of all ſorts to *Elfsburg*, and hearing that the *Danes* made great havock in *Weſt-Gothland*, Marches there with his Troops, where the Reſident *Dancey* being come to wait on him, propos'd terms of Accommodation; but the *Swedes* obſerving that he did not deal ſincerely in this Affair, ſoon diſmiſs'd him.

After this, King *Frederick* writes to the King of *Sweden*, That he would rather continue the War, than accept of a Peace upon the Conditions that had been propos'd. Upon which, King *Erick* forthwith takes the Field to go againſt the *Danes* that had Inveſted *Elfsburg*, but they being unwilling to abide the Shock of his Fury, Retreated into *Schonen*, which gave occaſion to the *Swedes* to ſpend their Anger upon *Warberg*: Altho' King *Erick*, after he had Inveſted the Place, Retir'd into the *Weſt-Gothland*, deſiring only to know the Iſſue of the Siege at a diſtance, which was imputed to him for want of Courage and Reſolution. But Duke *Charles*'s Preſence in the Army, ſo encourag'd the Soldiers, that they ſet the City on Fire in ſeveral Places, and after an Aſſault of Five Hours, carried the Place. Yet, though the *Swedes* had thus taken the City by Storm, they were willing to give Quarter to ſuch as laid down their Arms, and by this means Fifty *German* Foot, and 100 others both *French* and *Scotch*, had their Lives preſerv'd; among whom was *Pont de la Gardie*.

The taking of *Warberg* ſtruck ſuch Terrour and Conſternation into the *North* part of the Province of *Halland*, that it forthwith Surrendred to King *Erick*, by whoſe order, the *Swedes*, after they had repuls'd the *Danes* that were come to Raiſe the Siege, having Canonado'd the Caſtle, carried it alſo by Aſſault. The Officers that were found therein, had their Lives ſpared upon the Womens Interceſſion, to whoſe Quarters they were retir'd.

Among

Among these were Commandant *John Kolck*, *Nicholas Tot*, and *Christopher de Dona*.

In the mean while, the *Danes*, under the Conduct of *Joram Bilde*, thought they should be able with Two Thousand Men, to make a diversion in the Province of *Smalland*, but two *Swedish* Companies, with a Troop of the Inhabitants of the Low-Country meeting with them, Charg'd them so furiously, that scarcely was there left one remaining to carry the News of their Overthow into *Denmark*; whereas the *Swedes* lost only two Men upon this occasion.

Besides this, the *Danes* were again defeated in a Sea-Fight near *Bornholm*, where their Admiral *Oton Ruth*, with many more, being made Prisoners, were carried away to *Stockholm*. However, this proving a Bloody Battel, the *Swedes* also lost some Vessels therein, with great numbers of their Men. After this Fight, the *Danes* fled into the *Sound*, and came no more to Sea all this Year.

After the *Swedes* had carried *Warberg*, they returned to *Swedeland*, and the *Danes* took this opportunity to lay Siege to that Place a-new, before the Breaches which the Canon had made in it could be repaired. But, *Charles Mornay*, who had the Command there at that time, thrice vigorously repuls'd the Besiegers. As soon as King *Erick* had notice of the Enterprize of the *Danes*, he Assembled his Troops to March against them, and beat down the Bridge of *Falkenbourg*, that he might cut off the Enemies Passage. After this, having himself encourag'd his Soldiers to signalize themselves upon this occasion, he came to *Jenkoping*.

No sooner had the *Danes* Intelligence of the Marching of the *Swedes*, but they left the Siege of *Warberg*, designing to pass a River near *Suarteraas*. But the *Swedes*, who smelt their Design, put themselves in an advantageous Post to surprize them; So, as the *Danes* despairing, with Hands lifted up, implor'd help from Heaven, which made the *Swedes* to Smile, as if the Enemy already demanded Quarter. After this, they begin first to Fight at a distance, because neither Side was willing to

to loſe their Advantage. But the *Swedes* at laſt, truſting to their Numbers, and not conſidering the danger of engaging a deſperate Enemy, quitted their Poſt, and fell in upon the *Danes* without any Order. 'Tis true, that in the beginning they had the better, but afterwards the *German* Cavalry flying, the Battle became ſo bloody and obſtinate, that when Night came on, the *Swedes* were oblig'd to retire with Flying Colours to the Body of the Army, after that more than Seven Hundred were kill'd and taken on Sides, ſo as neither Party had reaſon to boaſt of the Victory. After this, the *Danes* retir'd towards *Halmſtadt*, and the *Swedes* went into *Weſt-Gothland*.

King *Erick* was highly enrag'd at this Action, and Commanded *Nils Sture*, that he would forthwith cut to pieces all the *German* Horſe which had given ground during the Fight, and at the ſame time burn the Houſes of ſome Bailiffs in *Weſt-Gothland*, who by their Conduct had diſcover'd their Affection to the *Danes*. But, this General being unwilling to put ſo rigorous a Command in Execution, King *Erick* was furiouſly incens'd againſt him for his Refuſal; with which, it is alſo to be conſider'd, that the King bore ſtill an old Grudge to *Nils Sture* and his Brother, from a Suſpicion he had that they endeavour'd to Reſtore Duke *John*, their Kinſman, to his Liberty and ſet him upon the Throne, their Anceſtors having been formerly Protectors of the Kingdom of *Sweden*.

While theſe things were doing, *Dancey*, who was deputed by the King of *Sweden*, was return'd to *Jenkoping*, with Propoſals for a Peace, which were altogether unjuſt, and unreaſonable with regard to the King of *Sweden*; the moſt remarkable of which, were, that King *Erick* ſhould own that he had undertaken that War without any ground, or reaſon; that he ſhould be oblig'd to pay King *Frederick* all the Charges of the War; that he ſhould reſtore all the Places, and Ships that he had taken during the War; that he ſhould give up *Elfsburg*, with the Feife thereof, and *Verend*, to the *Danes*, by virtue of an ancient Treaty between

between the Kings *Waldemar* and *Albert*; and lastly, that he should not any more bear the Arms of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Moreover, as to what concern'd the three Crowns which King *Frederick* had put in his Arms, they should remit that Affair to the Judgment of any Academy in *Germany*. But in as much as the *Danes* had been beaten three several times this same Year, as well by Sea as Land; such Propositions did upon that account appear so much the more ridiculous to King *Erick*: And 'twas also for this reason, that he sent back the Resident of *France* into *Denmark*, without any Answer.

In the mean time, King *Frederick*, and the *Lubeckers* again renew'd their Sollicitations with the Emperour, to prohibit the *Hans-Towns* from Importing any Provisions into *Sweden*. The Emperour yielding to their Importunities, did at last write to King *Erick*, Exhorting him to end the War, and to accept of him as a Mediator between the two *Northern* Crowns. But King *Erick* detaining his Ambassador, that had brought his Letter, for some time in *Sweden*, the Emperour took that opportunity to publish the Prohibition which the *Danes* and *Lubeckers* desired of him.

K. *Erick*'s loss of Men.

The Year following, King *Erick* lost a great number of Men before *Pernau* and *Baltus*, and many more still by a grievous Plague that raged at that time in his Camp. The *Swedish* Fleet nevertheless, put to Sea to find out that of *Denmark*, and to open the Passages that had been shut up to interrupt their Communication. In effect, they had their design, for, having Sail'd to the *Straits* of the *Sound*, they took Toll of many Vessels in the Face of the *Danish* Fleet, which had not Courage to hazard a Battle.

Afterwards they steer'd their Course to *Moen*, and meeting with a great Fleet of Merchant Ships, they forc'd more than two Hundred of them to Sail into *Sweden*, and unlade their Effects in the Ports of that Kingdom, to be sold there, and particularly Salt, which was then very scarce with them.

At

At last, the *Swediſh* Fleet meeting with that of *Denmark* towards the Coaſt of *Oeland*, Attack'd it with ſo much Vigour, and damag'd it ſo much, that it was oblig'd to retire towards *Gothland*, into a very dangerous, and inconvenient Place. And to compleat their Misfortune, there follow'd ſome time after a violent Tempeſt, whereby they were driven upon the Rocks and Sand, and loſt ſixteen Ships, among which were the two Admirals. So as the *Danes* having then loſt nine Thouſand Men, the reſt durſt no more ſet to Sea that Year. The *Daniſh* Fleet forced to fly.

The *Swediſh* Fleet alſo had like to have ſuffer'd by a violent Storm, but they got ſafe back to *Sweden*, except one Ship that was loſt. The *Danes* at this time were as unlucky by Land, as by Sea, for, having made an Irruption into *Weſt-Gothland*, and pillag'd and burnt many Places, *Claud Mornay*, who then commanded at *Warberg*, having got together ſome Troops in the Neighbourhood, fell upon them loaden with Spoil, in their paſſage through a Wood, and having kill'd more than two Thouſand of them, took many Priſoners, and all their Booty.

The *Swedes* went after to Beſiege *Halmſtadt*, with good hopes of carrying that Place. But the Inhabitants demanding three days time to conſider upon a Surrender, diſpatch'd Expreſſes in that time to *Elſburg* and *Bahuus*, to call in the *Daniſh* Army to their Aſſiſtance. The *Swedes* obſerving that the *Danes*, who were on their March, were ſtronger than themſelves, preſently raiſed the Siege, and retir'd without any loſs into their Winter Quarters.

About the End of this Campaign, King *Erick* having accuſed *Nils Sture* of bad Conduct in the Battle of *Suartarea* made him be led through all the City of *Stockholm*, Mounted upon a Peaſant's Mare, with a Crown of Straw upon his Head, expoſing him thus to the mockery of the People. But, though King *Erick* did afterwards receive him into Favour, and likewiſe ſent him on an Embaſſy into *Lorrain*, there to negotiate his Marriage with the Princeſs, yet the unworthy and Ignominious *Nils Sture* Affronted.

minious Affront which had been put upon him, did exceedingly Exasperate his Relations and many others against King *Erick*, making them set their Affection upon Duke *John*.

About this time *Enne Brunrok*, who pretended himself a Gentleman of the best quality in *Norway*, came to King *Erick*, telling him that he was deputed from the most considerable Persons of his Country, who, being weary of the Tyranny of the *Danes*, had resolv'd to take him for their King, and that for this Effect, they had sent him to Treat with his Majesty about the Affair. The King giving Ear to this Impostor, made him great Presents, and form'd the design of an Expedition into *Norway*. To this End he sent forth a great many Companies, both Horse and Foot, which following his Directions, were to March through *Delecarlia*, and get into *Norway* by a by-way; to which we are to add, That the King had given them a great number of Printed *Manifestos* to disperse all over the Country, that he might gain the Affection of the Inhabitants, by the large Promises which he made them. Thus the *Swedes* March'd the space of Twenty Leagues through a Wood, where there was no beaten way, by the direction of their Compass, and came at last into the Country of *Hedemark*, where, having taken the Castle of *Hamershusz*, they continued their March, and defeated a Body of the Peasants, who thought to have hindred their March any farther. Then they sat down before the Castle, whither the great Bailiff was retir'd out of *Arzo*, with all the Inhabitants, and all their Goods, after they had first burnt the City. And 'tis certain, the *Swedes* had carried this Castle, if their General, *John Sigeson* had not left the Cannon behind him, which oblig'd them to lie Idle in their Camp, till King *Erick* had sent them some pieces of Artillery.

K. *Erick's* Credulity.

Afterwards, when they were in a readiness to batter down the Place with their Cannon, the *Danes* came to the Relief of the Besieg'd, under the Conduct of *Frederick Brotherhugen*; they were once or twice vigorously repuls'd, but the *Swedes* were afterwards forc'd to dis-lodge for want

of

of Provisions, after they had burnt *Hamershusz*.

About this time the Intestine Troubles of the Kingdom of *Sweden* began to break out, which gave King *Erick* so much Employment at Home, that he was no more at leisure to apply his Thoughts Abroad, nor so bear his Arms against Strangers, as he might have done, had he not met with this Obstacle. Intestine Troubles in *Sweden*.

They give many causes of these Troubles; as among others, his divers Amours, for he kept a great number of Mistresses in *Sweden*; among whom, there was one *Katherine*, entirely Master of his Spirit, by whom, the preceeding Year he had a Son, nam'd *Gustavus*, who was afterwards under the Reign of King *John*, put into a Sack, and carried out Early in a Morning to *Sudermalm*, by one of the Officers of the Court, who had Orders to Kill him, and Bury him in a Wood. But, a certain Gentleman, of the Family of the *Sparres*, coming from the Country, and by accident meeting him who carried the Sack, demanded what he had gotten in it, to which, the other returning him an Ambiguous Answer, rais'd the Gentleman's Curiosity so, as he forc'd him to open the Sack. This Gentleman having Compassion upon the Infant, took him, and sent him out of the Kingdom to be Educated. After he was come to be of Age, he spent his time at the Courts of divers Princes, till at last he died in *Muscovy* during the Regency of *Charles*.

This *Katherine*'s Father's Name was *Magnus*, who was a Peasant's Son of *Medelpad*. This *Magnus* came to have a Charge in the Garrison of *Stockholm*. His Daughter in her younger Years sold Nuts and Fruit in the Market of *Stockholm*. King *Erick* upon a Transient View of her one Day, was taken with her Beauty, and put her into the Ladies Apartment, where she had the best Education, near the Princess *Elizabeth*, his Sister. Afterwards, when this *Katherine* grew up, the King took her for his Mistress, and became so desperately in Love with her, because of the good Qualities, both of her Body and Mind, that he not only abandon'd all his other Mistresses for her Sake, but also slighting K. *Erick* Marries his Mistress.

ing very considerable Matches, he took her at last to be his Wife, and Queen of *Sweden*.

Some indeed pretend, That this Mistress of his gave the King a Love Potion, which did in the End deprive him of his Senses; but, this can pass only for a Fable Invented to Excuse his Personal Failures. It is agreed on all Hands, That King *Erick* did sufficiently discover by his Conduct, at some certain times, a Distemper'd Brain. But, 'tis believ'd, he Inherited this Infirmity from his Mother, who fell sometimes into such Weaknesses. Besides all this, we are to consider, That the great Inclination he had to Astrology, and the particular Value he set upon that vain Science, had contributed much to the Disorder of his Intellects, there being yet Extant, Journals, written with his own Hand, wherein he Explain'd the divers Aspects, and Influences of the Planets.

To this may be added, That he was of a very Mistrustful and Suspicious Humour, and that being apt to take bad Impressions from many Profligate Persons that were about him, this so disorder'd his Spirit, that he would Engage in very Rash Designs. Besides, he was so desperately Jealous of his Wife *Katherine*, that when a young Ensign, who had formerly been her Lover, did but civilly take Leave of her one day in the Ladies Appartment, he made him be put in a Sack and Drown'd.

King *Erick*'s Jealousie of the *Stures*.

Moreover, the Suspicion he had conceiv'd of the Family of *Nils Sture*, daily increas'd, especially after that this last was return'd from his Embassy in *Lorrain*, and had gone to *Stralsond*, whither all the Ambassadors of the several Parties that were Engag'd in the War, had resorted, by the Emperor's Order, except those of King *Erick*, who had excus'd himself; for, then he fancied a thousand Chimera's, as if *Nils Sture* had had a Design to Plot some Mischief against him there. To which, *Jorum Peerson* did also much Contribute, who ordinarily inspir'd him with Pernicious Designs, and who perswaded him, that *Nils Sture* was gone to *Stralsond*, only that he might Treat with the Enemies concerning the Crown of *Sweden*, as he had done with

his

his Kindred and Alliances within the Kingdom, that he might attempt something against him in Revenge of the Affront he had formerly Receiv'd, and that he might recover the Royal Dignity of his Ancestors, or perhaps Restore Duke *John* to his Liberty. *Denis Beurre* also, who had formerly been Preceptor to King *Erick*, was a Promoter of such Insinuations, and was wont to say, *'Twas fit to Let Blood when the Veins were too full*

At last, it being resolv'd that the Family of the *Stures* must be totally Extirpated, they left no Stone unturn'd to find out Expedients to carry on their Work. Whereupon, King *Erick* meeting one Day upon the *Norder-Malm* a Servant of *Suante Sture* with a Pistol, which he was carrying to a Gunsmith to be mended, he made him presently to be Seiz'd, and *Joran Peerson*, by great Promises and Threats of Torture, would have had him Confess that he had design'd to Assassinate the King. But, though this Domestick did absolutely deny the Crime that was laid to his Charge, yet he was Condemn'd to Die, though afterward they mitigated the Sentence, and were contented only to send him to the Mines.

After this, they gain'd a young Merchant of *Pomerania*, who was prevail'd with to affirm, that he had heard a Gentleman of his Country say, That *Nils Sture* design'd to Dethrone King *Erick* by the help of his Friends in *Sweden* and others that he had in Forreign Countries, which Report of his was Confirm'd by the Attestation of a Physician, and his Majesty's Organist, to which they join'd false, and Counterfeit Letters to Attest the same thing.

Upon this, King *Erick* Assembled the States of the Kingdom at *Upsal*, upon pretext of deliberating concerning some Conspiracies that were Plotting in the Nation; and in the mean time he retires to *Swartsio*, as not thinking himself safe enough in *Stockholm*. After which, he made *Suante Sture*, with his Son *Erick*, *Steen Erikson*, *Steen Bamer*, and *Ivar Ivarson*, to be Arrested; there were also others besides whom he Suspected, and whom he Summon'd to *Upsal*. And tho' *Suante* had been

Examin'd by the King at *Suartsio*, and His Majesty had found him Innocent, yet he was, with several others, Cited to appear at *Upsal* before their Judges, and to give in their Defence; where, when he was Arriv'd, *Joran Peerson*, and *Denis Beuree* Accus'd him before the States, with much Heat and Passion, for a Traytor.

When those things were doing, *Nils Sture* return'd from his Embassy, and gave an Account of his Negotiation to the King, with such Clearness, and Confidence, as his Majesty presently wrote to his Father, that he found him Innocent as well as his Son, desiring him only to forget what was past, and for the future to continue Faithful to him, and the State. Two Days after, King *Erick* went in Person to pay a visit to *Suante*, and *Erick Sture*, in their Prison, and with a Gesture and Air which seem'd to testifie an Intire Reconciliation, ask'd them Pardon. But, soon after, meeting with *Nils Sture*, he stabb'd him in the Breast with a Dagger, which the Wounded drawing out of his Body, presented to the King after he had Kissed it, notwithstanding which, the King's Attendants knock'd him on the Head with their Halberts.

After this, King *Erick* all in Despair, retir'd to a Wood, giving Orders to his Men to Kill *Denis Beurre*, who had formerly been his Preceptor, for having upbraided him for the Death of *Nils Sture*, as being a thing unworthy of a King to dip his Hands in the Blood of his Subjects. Besides, all the Prisoners were cruelly Murther'd; but this black and Infamous Action was kept secret for fourteen Days. On the other Hand, *Joran Peerson* passed Sentence of Death on the Prisoners, who had been already Murther'd, and compell'd the States of the Kingdom to Sign it before they had Read it. At this time, King *Erick* was three Days together wandring in the Wood in Boors Cloaths; but, his Men, who had search'd every where for him, found him at last in a Chancel four Miles from *Upsal*. After which, his Mistress or Wife, *Katherine*, having perswaded him to take some Nourishment, and go to Rest, he came to himself again. After this, he distributed great

great Sums of Money to the States of the Kingdom, that by this means he might be reconcil'd to them; and beſides, he made it apparent by his Geſture and Countenance that he was ſenſibly touch'd with the Murthers he had Committed. Particularly, he was very Liberal, and made great Promiſes to the Relations of thoſe that were Murther'd; laying the blame of all his Cruelties on *Joran Peerſon*, who had Seduc'd and Deceiv'd him on that Occaſion. Upon which, that Pernicious Miniſter was Condemn'd to Die by Forty Eight Gentlemen and others, not only for that Crime, but ſeveral others he had Committed; and eſpecially, becauſe he made more than Six Score Perſons to be Beheaded, Hang'd, or Drown'd, without his Majeſty's Knowledge; and to give ſome Satisfaction to the Heirs of *Dennis Beurre*, they had a large Preſent made them of Gold. In the mean time, the Relations of thoſe that were Murther'd ſeem'd to be ſatisfied with King *Erick*, yet in their Hearts they breathed nothing but Vengeance, waiting only for a favourable occaſion to make their Reſentment appear; ſo that King *Erick* had no reaſon to put any Confidence in them. And therefore, to try if they had any Inclination to ſtir, and Riſe in Arms againſt him, he left the Government of the Kingdom for ſome time to the Senators, feigning not to meddle any more with the Adminiſtration of Affairs. During the Summer, the *Danes* only obſerv'd his Conduct, hoping that *Sweden* would be turn'd Topſy-turvy with Inteſtine Troubles. In the mean time, King *Frederick* did not neglect to make Preparations for Attacking the *Swedes* the following Winter; which King *Erick* being inform'd of, he judg'd that the beſt means for putting himſelf in a Poſture of Defence, was intirely to Root out the Inteſtine Diviſions of his Kingdom, which would otherwiſe be a hinderance to him; hoping to bring this Deſign about by being reconcil'd to his Brother Duke *John*, and ſetting him at Liberty. To which alſo, his Brother *Charles*, his Mother-in-Law, his Miſtreſs *Katherine*, and the Chief of the Kingdom puſh'd him on; as likewiſe the Relations

K. *Erick* pretends to quit the Government.

Reſolves to appease the Inteſtine Diviſions.

of the Lords that were Murther'd at *Upſal*; tho' in their Hearts they had a Mortal Hatred againſt King *Erick*, and had no other Deſign than to find a favourable Occaſion to Avenge themſelves. In fine, King *Erick* ſent Propoſals of Freedom to Duke *John*, on certain Conditions, which the Priſoner accepted without any Difficulty; ſo that he had been immediately ſet at Liberty, if an Accident that happen'd had not hinder'd his Deliverance.

Some Years before, King *Erick* Sollicited the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy* to make a League with him, that they might Act jointly againſt the *Poles*. But, the Duke always inſiſted, that King *Erick* ſhould ſend him *Katherine*, Wife to Duke *John* his Brother; but His Majeſty would by no means hearken to ſuch a diſhonourable Propoſition, upon which the League was immediately put off. However, the King, after the Maſſacre of *Upſal*, finding himſelf in a ſtrange Confuſion, wrote Letters to the Grand Duke, to let him know, he would Conſent to his Demand; Upon which, the Duke ſent immediately Ambaſſadors to *Stockholm* with an Equipage of Three Hundred Perſons to bring away Princeſs *Katherine*, and to make a more ſtrict Union with King *Erick*. The Ambaſſadors having Arriv'd at *Sweden*, the King deliberated for a long time, how he was to Behave himſelf with Reſpect to Duke *John*, till at length, he was Inform'd, that the *Danes* were Advanc'd to the Frontiers of *Sweden*, with a Powerful Army. This made him fear a Revolt in his Kingdom, if he ſhould keep Duke *John* any longer in Priſon; and a Rebellion at that time would have been of very dangerous Conſequence to him. This Fear made him leave *Grypsholm*, and go with ſpeed to *Wenteholm*, where Duke *John* oblig'd himſelf by Writing, and promis'd to King *Erick* to be always true to him, and that he would not aſpire to the Crown of *Sweden*, neither during his Life, nor after his Death; that he would not look upon his Children by his Wife *Katherine*, as Lawful Heirs of the Crown; That he and his Wife ſhould forget all the Injuries they had receiv'd during their Impri-

The Conditions of D. *John*'s Releaſement.

Impriſonment, excepting thoſe they had receiv'd from *Joran Peerſon*, *Henry Claeſſon*, and *Harman Flemming*, from whom they had met with inſults too hainous to be pardon'd. Beſides, Duke *John* offer'd his Service to Mediate a Peace between King *Erick* and the King of *Poland*, excluding the King of *Denmark* and the Town of *Lubeck*; and that in caſe thoſe two Parties were comprehended in the Accommodation, that King *Erick* ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of the Province of *Halland*, *Schonen*, the Iſland of *Gothland*, *Blekingia*, and *Elfsburg*, with all the Conqueſts he had made in *Norway* and *Livonia*. And which is more, he promis'd to order Matters ſo that the *Poles* ſhould not make Peace with the *Muſcovites* without including *Sweden*: After which, he proteſted that he was willing to confirm all the Articles, not only by Oath but alſo by writings ſeal'd with his Seal, and ſign'd with his Hand.

Theſe Propoſitions made ſuch impreſſion on the mind of King *Erick*, that he ſent for King *John*, who again promis'd the ſame things before him. After which, thoſe two Brothers having embrac'd each other, ſeveral Complements paſſed on both ſides: And in fine, thoſe Marks of Reconcilation were again reiterated at *Suartſio* by the direction of Duke *John* and thoſe that favour'd him. In all theſe Ceremonies King *Erick* did more than became the Majeſty of a King. In ſhort, the accomodation being entirely made up between the two Brothers, Duke *John* pardon'd all thoſe that had us'd him baſely, even *Joran Peerſon* not excepted, unleſs he ſhould be convicted of Treaſon againſt the King.

As ſoon as Duke *John* was ſet at liberty, he gave notice of it to the King of *Poland*, intreating him withal to diſpoſe himſelf to live for the future in Peace and good Underſtanding with *Sweden*. *Joran Peerſon* being ſet at liberty, began to inſinuate himſelf a-new into the King's favour; and put his old Villanies in practice. In the mean time the *Danes* under the Command of *Daniel Rantzau*, made an Inroad into the Province of *Smaland*, where there were then no Troops to oppoſe the Enemy, the *Swedes* themſelves burnt the Town and

The Danes invade Smaland

Castle of *Jenkoping*, lest the *Danes* should Quarter there in Winter. The latter having taken their way by *Holveden* came to *Gothland*, where having laid the Town of *Wadstena* in Ashes, they were however repuls'd from the Castle they would have besieg'd, those of *Sudercoping* and *Lincoping* burnt their Towns themselves. The *Danes* made great progress, and with so much the greater facility that the *Swedes* requir'd a considerable time to bring themselves together into one Body; besides, King *Erick* had great difficulty to determine what General he should chuse to Command his Army; particularly because he would not trust it to the Conduct of his Brethren: However, at length he made choice of *Peter Brahe* and *Hogenschild Bielke*. Those two Generals having gone to *East-Gothland*, encamp'd at *Konings-Norby* to hinder the *Danes* from penetrating farther in the Country, and sent out several Detachments to take possession of *Holveden* and some other Passes to oppose the *Danes* in their return home. The *Danes* observing that they design'd to bring them to straits, sent to King *Frederick* for more Troops, to attack the *Swedes* in the Rear who were design'd to cut off their Passage. But the Reigments which came to their assistance were so routed near *Warnemo*, that there remain'd but very few to carry home the News of their defeat. Upon this, King *Frederick* concluded that his Troops must unavoidably perish in *East-Gothland*; In the mean time, the *Swedish* Generals by the means of a pretended Deserter to the *Danish* Camp, endeavour'd by fair promises to bring over the *Germans* that were in the *Danish* Service to their side. But the *Danes* being inform'd that the *Swedish* Army was not so strong near *Norby* as was given out, they resolved to set upon it with all speed. The *Swedes*, tho' they had notice given them of the Enemies Design, continued secure, because of a River that run by their Camp; so that the *Danes* falling furiously upon them before break of Day, cut most of them in pieces; and put them so to it that their Generals had difficulty to escape. In this Action the *Danes* got a rich Booty, and took seven pieces of Artilery from the

the *Swedes*. After which, they were inform'd of the Design which was laid against them, and that the Troops which King *Frederick* sent to their Assistance had been Routed near *Warnemo*, which oblig'd them to return in all haste to *Denmark*. Upon which, King *Erick*, with his two Brothers, *John* and *Charles*, took the Field with a considerable Army to pursue them, hoping they should meet them at the Pass; and in effect, near *Ebesio*, the *Danes* were met with, being forc'd to make their way through the *Swedish* Army with the loss of three Thousand Men and seven Hundred Baggage-Waggons, and by all appearance there had not one of them Escap'd, if King *Erick* had come up a little sooner.

On the other hand, *Hogenschild Bielke*, to be reveng'd of the Defeat at *Norby*, secretly took the shortest way to get before the *Danes*, and to wait their coming near *Filchult*. But they having set upon him unexpectedly, beat his Troops, and made both him and *Steen Baner* Prisoners. Not far from thence, there was an Ambush laid for the *Danes* in a Wood, but they took another way, passing over a River, where some of them were Drown'd, with several pieces of Cannon. After which, they March'd with all haste to *Denmark*, with great danger of their Lives; so that they were receiv'd by King *Frederick* as so many Risen from the Dead. The *Swedes*, who pursued them to the Province of *Halland*, and to *Schonen*, cut a great many of them to pieces, and return'd home laden with Spoil. In fine, no sooner were the *Danes* driven away, but *Sweden* was troubled with Intestine Divisions. For, *Joran Peerson* having a-new insinuated himself into the Favour of King *Erick*, got such an Ascendant over him, that when his Secretary, *Martin Helsing* exhorted him not to give access to such a Man, and not to hearken to his Counsel, the King run him through the Belly with a Pitchfork, of which he died. But, the Soldiers in the last Campaign having given several Testimonies of their Obedience and Fidelity to King *Erick*, *Joran Peerson* presently fancied that he had no more to fear from His Majesty's Brethren, nor from the Chief of the Kingdom. In fine, he prevail'd so much with King *Erick*, as to perswade him to Publish

liſh a Writing in his Favour, and to declare that the Lords who had been Murther'd at *Upſal* had been puniſh'd according to Law and Juſtice. To which his Majeſty conſented, breaking off at the ſame time the Accommodation he had made with their Relations. This Conduct renew'd the old Grudge which his Subjects had conceiv'd againſt him; and that which Exaſperated them yet more, was, That inſtead of the Provinces of *Finland*, and *Sudermania*, which his Father had by his Laſt Will left to his Brethren, he would have given them ſome Lands in *Livonia*, not thinking himſelf Secure ſo long as they had their Reſidence in *Sweden*. So that thoſe poor Princes muſt have found out means to defend thoſe Places againſt the *Poles*, *Muſcovites*, and *Danes*. But, when he found that his Brethren would no ways hearken to ſuch Propoſitions, he form'd a Deſign of Killing them, and of giving up the Wife of Duke *John* to the Ambaſſadors of the *Grand Duke of Muſcovy*, who were at that time at *Stockholm*, reſolving to put that Deſign in Execution at the Solemnity of his Marriage with *Katherine* his Miſtreſs, at which time, he was to give his Siſter *Sophia* in Marriage to *Magnus* Duke of *Saxonlawenbourgh*. But this Princeſs adviſ'd her Brethren not to be preſent at that Solemnity. And there are ſome who Imagine that *Katherine* had given them Notice of the King's Deſign, being ſtruck with Horrour at the thoughts of ſuch an Execrable Action.

Upon this, King *Erick*'s Brethren held a Council with the Relations of thoſe who were Maſſacred at *Upſal*, and particularly with *Steen Erickſon* their Uncle by the Mother-ſide, and with *Thure Bielk* Son-in-Law to *Suante Sture*; ſo that after a ſerious Deliberation, they all reſolved together, That King *Erick* muſt be Dethron'd. But, leſt the *Danes* ſhould oppoſe them in their Deſign, they ſent *Thure Bielk* to *Denmark*, who, upon the Sollicitation of the King of *Poland*, made a Truce with King *Frederick* for ſix Months. After which, having aſſembled about three Hundred of their Domeſticks, they brought over alſo to their Party the *Germans* that were in the *Swediſh* Service, with whom King *Erick* was ſo diſpleas'd for the Action of *Suarteraa*, that he would

not

not give them their Pay. Thoſe Princes found alſo a great Party in the two *Gothlands*, amongſt thoſe whoſe who were diſaffected to King *Erick*; and beſides, the Prieſts of *Gothland* were altogether on their ſide, and us'd all their Endeavour to promote their Cauſe. In the mean time, *Duke John* obſerving that his Brother *Charles* had more Credit with the People and Soldiers than himſelf, he made an Agreement with him under an Oak, That if *Charles* did aſſiſt him in his Undertaking, he would divide the Government with him, without bearing any outward Mark of the Royal Dignity. So that for this Reaſon, their Domeſticks, for a long time after, wore Branches of Oak in their Hats, in remembrance of this Agreement. But when Duke *John* came to the Throne, he did not keep his Promiſe to his Brother, which occaſion'd Diſcontent and Miſtruſt between them. King *Erick*, who knew nothing of his Brother's Deſigns, invited them to his Marriage at *Stockholm*, with the Chief of the States of the Kingdom; but they excus'd themſelves upon ſpecious Pretexts. In fine, King *Erick* Married his Miſtreſs, and *Magnus*, Duke of *Saxonlawenbourgh*, the Princeſs *Sophia*. This Princeſs, and her Sister *Elizabeth* were not a little diſpleaſed, to ſee *Katherine*, who was newly declar'd Queen, take place of them; ſhe having before ſerv'd as Maid to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. To which we muſt add, That every Body was offended at this Marriage, as well as at the Titles of Nobility, which he gave to the two Brothers of this *Katherine*, who had been *Boors*. While King *Erick* was buſied in celebrating his Marriage, his two Brothers, *John* and *Charles*, made themſelves Maſters of the Caſtles of *Wadſtena*, *Stekebourg*, and *Leckoo*, the Garriſons of which took an Oath of Fidelity to thoſe two Princes. At *Wadſtena* they found the Treaſure of Duke *Magnus*, of which they Coin'd Money bearing both their Names. After this, they wrote to King *Erick*, that he muſt fullfil the Conditions of the Treaty he had made at *Suartſio*; exhorting him at the ſame time to govern his Kingdom well, to lead a better Life than he had done formerly, and to ſend *Joran Peerſon* a packing. To which, King *Erick* having

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ſent an Anſwer which did not pleaſe them, declar'd War againſt him, and publiſh'd over all the Kingdom the reaſons of their riſing in Arms. The chief of them were theſe following, namely, That he had often violated his Faith both to God and Man; That he had kept his Brother Duke *John*, with his Wife and Children, five Years in Priſon, without having Convicted him of any Crime; That he had Murder'd ſeveral Innocent Lords at *Upſal*; That he had a Deſign to Aſſaſſinate ſeveral others together with his two Brethren at the Solemnity of his Marriage: And, That to the great Scandal of the Royal Family, he had made his Concubine, a Perſon of mean Extract, Queen of *Sweden*. To which they added, That he would have given up Duke *John*'s Wife to the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy*; That contrary to his own Letters he had reſtor'd *Joran Peerſon*, Author of all theſe and ſeveral other Diſorders to Places, and Credit; And, That in fine, he had committed a great many black and infamous Actions unworthy of the Majeſty of a King.

In the mean time, General *Nicolas Kurſell* took the Caſtle of *Sonnebourg*, in the Iſland of *Oeſel*, near *Livonia*, which King *Erick* had reſolv'd to give his Brother *John* inſtead of his Dutchy, though afterwards he was ſoundly beaten at *Pernau*; and having at length heard what paſs'd in *Sweden*, he made a Ceſſation of Arms with the Enemy. Moreover, the King aſſembled the States of *Sweden*, without calling thoſe of *Gothland*, to deliberate about the Inteſtine Troubles of the Kingdom; where ſome Propoſitions were made for endeavouring to terminate the War with *Denmark* and *Poland*, that they might the more eaſily appeaſe the Commotions of *Sweden*. But the two Brothers made ſo ſpeedy a Progreſs, that the King had no leiſure to enter upon any Forreign Negotiation; For, being full of hopes of ſucceeding, they March'd with a ſtrong Army to the Province of *Upland*; upon which, the King, without thinking any more of making Peace abroad, took the Field with a conſiderable Army, and having ſeveral times Attack'd the Troops commanded by his Brothers, he beat their Advanc'd Guard, and burnt the Town of *Nycoping*, which belong'd to Duke *Charles*.

Charles. In the mean time, a part of their Troops advanc'd through *Sudermania* to *Stockholm*, having frequently the Advantage of King *Erick*'s Army; and the Dukes themſelves having paſſed through the Provinces of *Nericia*, and *Weſtmania*, advanc'd as far as *Upſal*, drawing over the Boors to their ſide in all places as they went along. To which may be added, that there was a great number of King *Erick*'s Soldiers, who came over to their Party, and many of the chief Citizens of *Stockholm* came out of the Town and join'd them; and among others, *Magnus* Duke of *Saxonlauwenbourg*, under pretext of going a Hunting, went to them at *Upſal*, with the Princeſs *Elizabeth* his Wife. Upon this, King *Erick* complain'd heavily of the Citizens of *Stockholm*, for leaving the Town to join with his Enemies. But there was none that minded him, every Body calling him a Tyrant and Madman. On the other Side, the Dukes being inform'd, by the Deſerters, of King *Erick*'s Affairs, reſolv'd to Attack the Town of *Stockholm*, to which end they March'd with their Army, and Encamped by *North-Malm*. When King *Erick* ſaw them approaching, *Joran Peerſon* ſaid to the King, *If Your Majeſty had taken my Advice in making away Duke* John *when you had him in your Power, you would not now have the diſpleaſure of ſeeing your ſelf Beſieg'd by ſuch an Army.* After this, Deputies were ſent from both ſides to make propoſals of Peace, but to no Effect, becauſe the Dukes ſtrongly inſiſted upon having *Joran Peerſon* given up to them, as being the cauſe of all their Diſſentions. The ſame was likewiſe deſir'd by the Burgeſſes and Garriſon of *Stockholm*, who ſaid, that there could never be a good Correſpondence, or perfect Union in the Kingdom as long as the King did hearken to the Counſel of that pernicious Miniſter. At laſt the King was perſwaded to deliver him to the Enemies Guards, which ware poſted in the Suburbs of *Stockholm*. Upon which, he was immediately ſeized on, and carried out of the City, together with his Mother who paſs'd for a Witch. On the way, he complain'd very much of his Misfortune, ſaying, That he had believ'd the Heavens would have fallen before *Erick* would have abandon'd him. As ſoon as

Joran Peerſon given up to the Dukes.

as he was brought to the Enemies Camp, he was put upon the Rack, and cruelly Tortur'd. Upon which it is ſaid that he confeſſed many Execrable Crimes which he had Committed, partly with, and partly without King *Erick*'s Knowledge. And at length he diſcover'd the Deſign which the King had to pillage *Stockholm*, and lay it in Aſhes; after which, he was to put the Spoil on board the greateſt Ships of his Fleet, and to Embark for *Nerva*. Upon this, the Dukes, to prevent the Deſign, reſolv'd to attack that place with all Vigour; and to this end, they Canonado'd it with a Battery which they had rais'd upon *Brunkenberg*: But on the other Hand, the King ſtrongly reſiſted them in ſeveral Sallies.

In fine, truſting more to King *Frederick*, who was then his Enemy, than to his own Brothers, he deſir'd his aſſiſtance, promiſing him very advantageous Conditions. However, he did not offer the Sovereignty of the Kingdom as ſome have groundleſly alledged; but the Perſon he ſent with the Expreſs being taken at Sea, after he had thrown his Inſtructions into the Water, was put to Death at *Calmar*; moreover, King *Erick* had reſolv'd to hide in a certain place under ground fifty thouſand Ducats of Silver, in hopes that if he came to eſcape out of his Enemies hands, he might imploy that Money to raiſe Troops to put him in a condition to regain his Kingdom. But all the Deſigns he had form'd vaniſh'd after he had parted with his Favorite, who was a ſubtile and cunning Man. This *Peerſon* was condemn'd to Death, as a Traytor to the King, a Robber, Murderer, and Adulterer, and as a Diſturber of the Publick Peace. Firſt his Ears were cut off and nailed to the Gibbet, with his Patent of Nobility, and being afterwards hang'd, he was immediately cut down and put upon the Wheel, where his Arms and Legs were broken, and his Head was cut off with a Hatchet; and at laſt his Body was cut in four parts and put upon four Wheels at *Brunkenberg*; and as they were leading his Mother to the Place of Execution, ſhe fell off her Horſe and broke her Neck: After which they thought it enough to put a Stake through her Body and bury her in the

next Marsh. At length the Senate of *Stockholm* favour'd the Dukes, as well because they saw there was no possibility of keeping out the Town any longer, as also because the Dukes made them several advantageous promises. Upon which, the Members of that Council openly propos'd to the King to surrender, representing to him that all their resistance could signifie nothing since the Dukes had almost reduced all the Kingdom, and exhorting him to fall upon some other expedient to prevent their ruin and that of their Families. But finding that the King took no notice of their Remonstrances, they sent word under-hand to the Dukes that they would open the Gates to them at an appointed hour. And thus their Troops enter'd into the Town just in the time that King *Erick* was at Divine Service in the Cathedral Church. As soon as he had notice of their coming, he went out of the Church in all hast to betake himself to the Castle: But *Steen Erickson*, who was on Horse back, meeting him, threatned to fire at him unless he yielded himself Prisoner, which the King refusing to do, one of his Guards at the same time run a Halberd thro the Body of *Erickson*, so that the King had time enough to make his escape into the Castle and to shut the Gate after him. The first of the Besiegers that enter'd in with Duke *Charles* fell a pillaging the Houses of *Joran Peerson* and others, who were of the Kings side; but afterwards running furiously towards the Ambassador of *Muscovy's* House, Duke *Charles* stopt them, and oblidged them to besiege the Castle: After which, King *Erick* having lost all hopes, and finding himself altogether helpless, began to parley and to see if things might come to an Accomodation. And having given him Hostages, he came out of the Castle to the Cathedral Church, where, after several Conferences on both sides, being convicted of several Crimes he resign'd the Kingdom, giving himself up to his Brother *Charles*, only desir'd him to allow him an honourable Imprisonment; and the States then assembled declar'd that they did not any longer own him for their Sovereign. At length King *Erick* was led to the Castle, where he was strictly guarded

guarded for a long time in the Chamber Royal; and that they might the better ſecure his Perſon, they intruſted the keeping of him to the Relations of thoſe who were murder'd at *Upſal*; who out of revenge treated him very rudely. In fine, they accus'd him of having committed ſeveral hainous Crimes beſides thoſe already mention'd; tho many think they were but Calumnies invented, partly to juſtifie his Brethern, and partly ſpread abroad by the Relations of *Joran Peerſon* to make his memory leſs odious, and lay his abominable Actions at the Kings door.

K. *John.* King *Erick* being thus dethron'd *John*, made his entry into *Stockholm* where he was complemented as King by the States of the Kingdom, who were then in Town, to the great Diſcontent of his brother *Charles*, who by that means ſaw himſelf excluded from a Share in the Government, contrary to the Promiſe made him by his Brother Duke *John*. King *John* upon his coming to the Throne, put to Death ſome of his Enemies, as alſo the chief Authors of the Maſſacre of *Upſal*. But gave the Title of Count to *Steen Erickſon* his Uncle by the Mother's ſide (who ſome days after died of his Wound) and alſo to his Children. He wrote to the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy*, to acquaint him with his coming to the Throne, letting him know withal, the Reſolution he had taken of making Peace with *Denmark*; adding further, that if he had a mind to Treat with him, he might ſend his Ambaſſadors to the Frontiers; and that the Deſire he had to come to an Accommodation with him had prevail'd with him not to affront his Ambaſſadors, though their coming to *Sweden* was for very pernicious Ends. On the other hand, the Grand Duke was very much troubled that his Ambaſſadors had been amuſed and put off ſo long; beſides, He entirely loſt hopes of ever attaining *Katherine*; to which may be added, That his good Friend King *Erick* was Impriſoned. Nevertheleſs, he diſſembled till his Ambaſſadors were return'd from *Sweden*, and pretended an Inclination to a Peace. But the Truce with the King of *Denmark* being almoſt expir'd, King *John* ſent *Thure Bielke*, and *Joran Gyldenſten* thither, to endeavour to prolong it, or

to

or to conclude an absolute Peace. Those Ambassadours sign'd, at *Roschild*, Articles very unjust and disadvantageous to *Sweden*, and were therefore very ill receiv'd at their Return. In order to deliberate on this Affair, *John* call'd an Assembly of the States at *Stockholm*, in which the black and infamous Actions of K. *Erick* were expos'd, and the good qualities of *Duke John* much magnified, *And the Writing, by which they had promised Obedience to* K. Erick, *was torn to pieces, and cast into the Fire, himself Condemn'd to Perpetual Imprisonment, and his Children declar'd Incapable of succeeding to the Crown.* And as for the Treaty of Peace made at *Roschild*, they concluded they would rather have War with *Denmark* than agree to such shameful Articles. K. *Erick* being afterwards obliged to Plead, the *States* let him know *that they had Renounced their Obedience to him.* K. *Erick* vented several Spiteful Expressions against the Nobility, casting all the Cause of his Misfortunes on them. But he was thrown into Prison, where he was very ill used, suffering both Hunger and Cold. King *John* sent Ambassadors again to the King of *Denmark*, and intreated Him to make more reasonable Propositions of Peace than he had done before. And to satisfie in some Measure His Brother D. *Charles*, He gave him *Sudermania*, *Nericia*, and *Wermeland*, according to the Tenour of his Father's latter Will; but, on condition that the Inhabitants of those Provinces should acknowledge the King and his Heirs for their Supreme Lord: After which, He, and his Wife were Crown'd at *Upsal*. K. *John* having form'd a Design to bring the *Roman Catholick Religion* again insensibly into *Sweden*, propos'd some Articles to the *Clergy* relating to their *Garments*, *Manners*, *Discipline*, *Maintenance*, and such like things; intending to make a more considerable Progress afterward; but He could not gain his Point. K. *John*, after his Coronation, sent away the *Muscouite* Ambassadors laden with Rich Presents, and sent likewise an Embassie to the *Grand Duke* to Sollicit Him to prolong the Truce between them: But as soon as the *Swedish* Ambassadors Arriv'd in *Muscovy*, the *Grand Duke* gave Orders to Arrest them, and throw them into Close Prison, where he kept them

as

as many years as his had remain'd in *Sweden*. Moreover, the King of *Denmark* about the beginning of Autumn laid Seige to *Warberg*. But the Garrison defended themselves with great Courage and Resolution; tho' at last the Castle was taken by Treachery. In the mean time, Duke *Charles* made an irruption into *Schonen*, where he made great havock, which the *Danes* revenge'd by wasting *West-Gothland* and the Province of *Smalland*, laying the Town of *Wexio* in Ashes. But the *Swedes* again pay'd them doubly home, by an Invasion they made into *Norway*: After which, King *Frederick* consented to enter into a Negotiation at *Stettin*, to Treat of Peace. However, the *Swedes* had work enough in *Livonia*, where the *Muscovites* had put their Affairs in a dangerous condition.

Nicholas Kunsel the *Swedish* General in *Livonia*, seeing King *John* engag'd in a War with the *Danes*, endeavour'd to make himself Master of the Cathedral Church of *Revel*, upon pretext that there was a considerable Sum owing both to him and to his Soldiers; resolving afterwards to treat with the *Muscovites* or *Danes* about that place. His enterprise succeeded so far, that he and his Men were receiv'd into the place, and forc'd the Garrison, and having taken the Governour Prisoner, he made himself Master of the Castle. Mean while, the grand Duke of *Muscovy* thought upon an expedient to make himself Master of *Livonia*. For having observ'd that the Inhabitants of that Province had an aversion to the Government of the *Muscovites*, and that they would more patiently submit themselves to some *Danish* or *German* Princes; he gave out that he pretended to no more than to be their Protector, and that he would make over the Possession and Sovereignty of their Country to *Magnus* Duke of *Holsatia*, giving him the Title of King of *Livonia*. This proposal very much pleas'd the Duke of *Holsatia*, and took with a great many *Livonians*, who promis'd themselves a Golden Age under a *German* King: And King *Frederick* so confirm'd his Brother in this opinion, that immediately he sent Ambassadours to *Muscovy* to treat seriously about this Affair: And having receiv'd a favourable Answer, he took a Journey thither himself; the *Swedish* General *Nicholas Kunsel*

Kurſel having put him in hopes that he would give up to him the Cathedral Church of *Revel*. But the *Swediſh* Soldiers, having found *Kurſels* intention, endeavour'd to make themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle; and one of their Captains, call'd *Nils Dublare*, having won over ſome of the Garriſon, got the Guard made drunk, upon which, he enter'd into the Caſtle with his Soldiers by an obſcure and hidden way; and cutting ſeveral in pieces, took the reſt Priſoners, together with *Nicholas Kurſel*, and ſet the Governour at liberty. However, *Magnus* receiv'd great Honour from the Grand Duke, who declar'd him King of *Livonia*, on condition that he ſhould pay him yearly Tribute; the Grand Duke promiſing to content himſelf with the bare Title of Protector, and aſſuring Duke *Magnus* that he ſhould have *Livonia* for himſelf and his Heirs Male; but that failing, he ſhould have a Succeſſor from *Holſatia* or *Denmark*, and from no other Country. To which he added, that no *Muſcovite* of what quality ſoever, ſhould have any Command or Juriſdiction in *Livonia*.

Upon this, Duke *Magnus* uſed all means to win the Hearts of the *Livonians*, and particularly the *Revelers*, promiſing them Mountains of Gold, and threatning ſevere Puniſhments againſt thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit themſelves to his Obedience: But his promiſes and threatnings being little regarded, the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy* ſet a great Army on foot to put this New King in poſſeſſion by Force of Arms: To this the King of *Denmark* ſtrongly exhorted him, that ſo when the *Swedes* ſhould be attackt by the *Muſcovites*, he might obtain a more advantageous Peace, which was then begun ſeriouſly to be treated off at *Stettin*. There was at this Aſſembly Ambaſſadours from the Emperor *Maximilian* the Second, from *Charles* the Ninth King of *France*, from *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland*, and from *Auguſtus* Elector of *Saxony*, who had all been ſollicited to contribute to the terminating of the Differences between *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the Town of *Lubeck*. In the mean time, the *Muſcovites* under the Command of the Duke of *Holſatia* vigorouſly attack'd the Towns of *Revel* and *Wittenſtein* in *Livonia*, but were ſoundly beaten before them both. Moreover, King *John* ſent a Fleet

The famous Aſſembly at Stettin.

Place this half Sheet between S. and T.

to *Revel* to furniſh that place with Ammunition, which it before wanted: Notwithſtanding the Letters which King *John* had wrote to the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy* to perſwade him to enter upon a Negotiation, he would hearken to no reaſonable Propoſitions. And on the other hand, the *Danes*, who combin'd with the *Muſcovites*, ſhew'd themſelves fierce and arrogant at the Aſſembly of *Stettin*. This obliged King *John* to accept very diſadvantageous Conditions, that he might turn all his Forces againſt the *Muſcovites*; and all the Articles, having been ratified, were ſtraight put in Execution. And the two Kings, as Maſters of the *Baltick*, agreed to purge it of ſeveral Pyrates, which came from the *Low Country* to hinder the Navigation and Trade. Moreover, King *John* had ſo much the more reaſon to obſerve the *Muſcovites*, becauſe the Grand Duke, by means of a *Swediſh* Interpreter, kept a ſecret correſpondence with King *Erick* (whom King *John* had ſent to the Caſtle of *Aboo* to be ſtrictly guarded) and endeavour'd to ſet him at liberty. But at the very time when the Grand Duke reſolved to employ all his Forces againſt *Livonia* and *Finland*, the *Tartars* at the ſollicitation of the King of *Poland* invaded *Muſcovy*, and having taken the very Town of *Muſcow*, they laid it in Aſhes, and kill'd more than thirty thouſand Men. King *John*, having made Peace with the *Danes*, begins to renew his old Deſign of making an alteration in Religion, but reſolv'd to execute it after the moſt cunning and ſubtile manner poſſible; and being inform'd that Arch-Biſhop *Laurent Nericius* had compos'd a Book containing a Sum of Religion, he deſir'd to ſee it; and having read it all over, he perſwaded that Prelate to leave out ſome Articles which were contrary to his Deſign, and to inſert others more for his purpoſe; and in fine, to add in the concluſion, *That there were ſeveral Things wanting to render it compleat, which he recommended to his Succeſſour to ſupply.* This having been read to the Aſſembly of the Clergy at *Upſal*, was approved of, and received as the certain Standard of the Doctrine of the Church. But a little after, *John Herbſt* the Queens Preacher wrote againſt it, which occaſion'd ſeveral Debates among the Clergy.

K. John *accepts the Conditions of* Stettin.

On

On the other hand, an other ſort of diſpute happen'd between King *John* and the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy*. For the latter wrote the King ſeveral Letters, wherein he treated him after the moſt ignominious manner, to which however the *Swedes* answer'd with abundance of Reaſon. Upon this, the Grand Duke propos'd to the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadours, whom he kept Priſoners, Conditions very contrary both to the Intereſt and Honour of their Country; threatning to pour in his Troops upon *Sweden* and *Finland* if King *John* did not accept of them. Theſe threatnings made King *John* ſend *Erick* from *Aboo* to *Gryphsholm*, and from thence to *Oerby*, to be ſtrictly guarded, particularly, becauſe he found that many in *Sweden* were ſtill well affected to him. The ſame Year there happen'd an *Interregnum* in *Poland* by the Death of King *Sigismond Auguſtus*. King *John* among ſeveral others aſpir'd to this Crown; and he had part of the Nobility for him: But *Henry of Valois* carried it againſt him by reaſon of the ſollicitations the Grand *Segnior*'s Ambaſſadours made in his favour. At length, the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy* having made a Truce for ſome Years with the *Poles* and *Tartars*, and threatning to Invade *Livonia*, King *John* not only gather'd together a great Army in *Sweden*, but alſo ſent *Charles Mornay* into *England* and *Scotland* to make New Levies. This *Mornay* paſſionately deſir'd to ſee his Old Maſter at liberty; to which Queen *Elizabeth*, who was well affected to King *Erick* that was once her Lover, did very much encourage him. In the mean time, King *John* ſent an Army into *Livonia* under the Command of *Nicholas Ackeſon*, and *Peter de la Gardie*, who did much damnage to the *Muſcovites*. But on the other hand, the Grand Duke invaded *Livonia* with an Army of fourſcore thouſand Men; and having ſurpris'd a great number of the Inhabitants, who thought themſelves ſecure, took *Wittenſtein* and put all he found to the Sword. Moreover, he caus'd the Commander of the Place and all the *Swedes* and *Livonians* to be roaſted upon Iaunces; and the like Cruelties he committed alſo at *Neiuwhof*. After he had made himſelf Maſter of *Karkauſen* he returned with part of his Army to *Newgarte*; leaving the reſt to invade *Eſthonia*, where they made terrible havock.

Nicholas Ackeſon the *Swediſh* General went out of *Revel* with a few Troops, and having met the *Muſcovites* at *Lode*, he march'd his Advanc'd Guard, compos'd of *Livonians*, to fall upon them, who having broke the Enemies Battallions, immediately took the Flight, and left thoſe who followed in the midſt of the *Muſcovites*. Notwithſtanding, the *Swedes*, who were in all but ſix hundred Horſe and a hundred Foot, fought with great Valour againſt ſixteen thouſand of the Enemies, killing ſeven thouſand of them, and putting the reſt to flight, and having taken a thouſand Baggage Waggons, they got a very rich Booty.

Glorious Victory of the Swedes *over the* Muſcovites.

This overthrow ſtruck ſuch terrour into the Grand Duke, that he wrote to King *John* Letters full of meekneſs and civility, wherein he offer'd to enter upon a Negotiation of Peace with him: But in the mean time, he married one of his Relations to the pretended King of *Livonia*, to gain the affection of the Inhabitants of that Province. King *John*, on the other hand, let him know he was willing to treat of a Peace with him, provided the place of Negotiation ſhould be on the Frontiers. And in the mean time, he ſent five thouſand *Scots* into *Livonia*, who ſtruck ſuch terrour into the *Muſcovites*, that the Grand Duke accepted the offer of treating with him; and in order thereto deſir'd a Ceſſation of Arms: But King *John*, who put no truſt in him, ſtill maintain'd his Army, tho' with vaſt Charges. But, as the Grand Duke ſtiffly inſiſted to have the Treaty at *Newgarte*, and King *John* would abſolutely have it at *Soſterbeck* on the Frontiers, the War broke out again in *Livonia*. The *Swediſh* Army made great havock in the Grand Dukes Lands; which the *Tartars* and *Muſcovites* reveng'd by the Devaſtations they committed in *Eſthonia*. At laſt, the Grand Duke ſeeming a little more inclin'd to Peace than before, King *John* ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Livonia*: But while they were there, the *Muſcovites*, having made a new Irruption into that Province, committed great Hoſtilities, and at the ſame time took the Town of *Pernau*. Moreover, the *German* Horſe gave up alſo ſome Caſtles in *Eſthonia* to the *Danes* upon their advancing them the pay which was due to them by the *Swedes*. At length, the Ambaſſadours of *Sweden* and *Muſcovy* coming to the Frontiers

entered

enter'd upon the Treaty; but, instead of concluding a lasting Peace, made only a Truce for two Years between the *Muscovites* and *Finlanders*, without including *Livonia*. On the other side, *Nicholas Ungeren*, with the assistance of the *Danes*, took for the King of *Denmark* the Castle of *Sconenburg* in the Island of *Oesel*, notwithstanding the Treaty made for five Years at *Stettin*. One of the chief Causes which hinder'd the *Swedes* from prosecuting the War in *Livonia* with vigour and success, was, that King *John* thought more upon making an alteration in Religion than carrying on the War; for which he thought he had found a very favourable conjuncture upon the Death of the Archbishop *Laurent Nericius*, and a little after, of the Bishops of *Lincoping* and *Westeraas*. *Truce between the Swedes and Muscovits.*

But, that the Reader may the better comprehend King *John*'s Design, 'tis necessary he should know, That tho' this King had been well educated and instructed in the *Protestant Religion*, yet he had read several Popish Books, and by means of his Wife, often convers'd with learned Men of that Communion; who, according to their custome, had propos'd their Doctrines to him with a great shew of Truth. But that which most displeas'd him was the Dispute which then happen'd in *Germany* between some Divines, part of which came very near the *Romanists* in the point of Good Works. The Adversaries of those Divines gave them the hard name of *Synergicks* and *Adiaphoristes*. And besides this, at his coming to the Throne, the Pope and several Princes of the *Romish Religion* by Letters very much sollicited him to abjure *Lutheranism*, and to return to the bosom of the Church. Mean while, as he could not deny but that several gross Errors and great Abuses had crept into the Church of *Rome*, he fancied to have found an expedient to put the Christian Religion on the same Foot it was in some Ages after the Birth of *Christ*. But I will not take upon me to determine precisely that he would have stopt there, and that he would not have introduc'd the *Romish Faith* insensibly and by degrees; For, he durst not at first make use of the way of compulsion to come to his purpose, because he fear'd the Clergy, who stiffly adher'd to the *Ausburg* Confession, should meet with a strong support in his

Brother

Brother Duke *Charles*. Wherefore he took the same method which *George Cassander* had taken in his writings when he was imployed by the Emperors *Ferdinand the First*, and *Maximilian the Second*, to reunite the differing Parties of Christians. And to compass his Designs the better, he call'd a Convocation of the Bishops and Ministers of every Diocess at *Stockholm*, to consult about the choice of a new Archbishop; to whom he represented how many Heresies daily grew up in *Europe*, and how great Troubles and Disorders they had occasion'd in the *Low-Countries*, *France*, and *Germany*: Whence he infer'd it was best to adhere to the Doctrine of the Catholick and Apostolick Church. To which he added, that when their Predecessors had had gone about to destroy the Ancient Errors, they had also, at the same time, abolish'd several Good, and Decent, Ordinancies, to the great prejudice of Piety.

A New Liturgy accepted by the Clergy.

By such Propositions as these, the King persuaded the Clergy to consent to a Form of the Mass. This Condescention of the Clergy so much pleas'd King *John*, that he gave them Leave to proceed to the Election of the Bishops of *Linkoping* and *Westeraas*. But the new Bishops could not obtain their Confirmation till they had sign'd some Articles tending to promote his Design. This foundation being laid, the King called another Assembly of the Bishops and learned Ministers of the Kingdom at *Stockholm*; where he exhorted them to revise the Forms and Ordinances of the Church, to retain the Doctrines which were Conformable to the Belief of the Ancients, to cut off Those that were contrary to it, and to make up what was wanting; to throw out all Superfluous and absurd Articles, and to compose a compleat Formulary. The New Bishops having approv'd all these Propositions perswaded the rest to do the same: Upon which, they began to make a New Liturgy by the direction of *Peter Festenius*, and to give it quite another Form than it had before. So that they introduced anew several Ceremonies of the *Romish* Church, and particularly such as related to the Sacraments, the Celebrating of Mass, and the Consecrating of Priests and Bishops. All those that were present at the Assembly

Assembly sign'd the Formulary, with all the Clergy of *Stockholm*, but without prejudice to the absent, who were to give their Judgment at the General Assembly of the *States* of the Kingdom, which was to meet at *Upsal* the Summer following, where the New Bishops were to be Consecrated, that the King's Design might be brought to its full perfection. In the mean time, one *Klooster-Laze*, a Person bred up among the Jesuits of *Louain*, and sent for by King *John*, came to *Sweden* with some Clergy-Men from the *Low-Countries*; and being a Man of considerable Learning and Eloquence, was made Professor of Theology in the Convent of *Monksholm*. After which, he preach'd in the Church adjacent to that Cloyster, and was follow'd by a great concourse of People, who with great pleasure heard this New Preacher; especially, because he not only pretended to prove the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church by Scripture and the Writings of the Fathers, but also out of *Luthers* own Works, *viz.* Those which he had wrote before he had discovered the Errors of Popery. And bringing that Doctors Writings to his Hearers, and shewing them the places which he had cited, drew them, by this trick, into such confusion and uncertainty, that there were but few of them could conceive any difference between the two Religions.

At length, when the appointed day was come, the Arch-Bishop and the two other Bishops were Consecrated according to the Ceremonies of the *Romish* Church; and the Clergy who were present at that Assembly signed the Formulary which was receiv'd a little before; but with this Proviso, that no Change should be made, but only in Ceremonies, and that occasion should not be taken from this to introduce Errors and Superstition into the Church of *Sweden*. Upon which, the Kings Deputies promis'd that no Innovation should be made in those Matters. After this, the Bishops with some of the most learned Priests came to *Stockholm* to examine the Doctrines of Religion to the bottom. There they revis'd and augmented the Liturgy; but yet so, that they who alter'd it would do nothing

thing in prejudice to the absent Clergy, who were likewise to assemble for the same purpose. King *John*, that he might dispose the Priests to consent to his Design, promis'd to grant them great Priviledges and Immunities, which *Fettenius* was to draw up in Writing. However, this Liturgy having been Publish'd before it had been Examin'd and revised by the Synod, and before the Priviledges the King had promised had been Confirm'd; and some things also having been Inserted in it without the Knowledge of the Bishops, some of the Clergy would not Sign it, which occasion'd much Trouble and Disturbance. Having found the way thus to Introduce the *Romish* Religion by little and little, they began to say *Mass* after the manner of the Church of *Rome*.

Moreover, it was represented, that Celibacy was very convenient for the Clergy, who ought to have nothing but the Service of God in their Eye, without Involving themselves in Worldly Affairs. And to avoid the odious Name of the *Mass*, they gave the *Formulary* the Title of *The Liturgy of the Church of* Sweden *according to the Catholick and Orthodox Church*; and it was Printed in *Latin* and *Swedish*, that at first, they might make use of both Languages; and that when the People should be accustom'd to it, they might, in their worship, only imploy the Latin.

But tho' this Liturgy was patch'd up by *Peter Herbst* and *Klooster Laſze*, yet the Arch-Bishop and *Erasmus* Bishop of *Westeraas* were prevail'd with to sign it, and give it their approbation, as if it had been their own Work; and it was afterwards publish'd under the Archbishops name. After this, the Mass and Hymns began to be introduc'd over all the Kingdom of *Sweden*, except in the Countries that were under the obedience of Duke *Charles*. As soon as the Liturgy came from the Press, King *John* sent a considerable Embassy to Duke *Charles*, earnestly intreating him to introduce it into all the Countries under his Dominion.

But

But he sent him this answer, that according to their Fathers Testament, neither he nor the King were to make any alteration in Religion, the contrary of which King *John* pretended to prove, which occasion'd a great misunderstanding between those two Brothers. However, King *John* fancied that when once the Pope came to approve his design, he should easily find an expedient to propagate his Doctrine through all the Kingdom of *Sweden*. To this end, he sent *Pont de la Gardie*, and *Peter Fectanius* to *Rome*, to Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, with the New Liturgy, and all the Formulary; But *Fectenius* was drowned by the way, and the Pope was by no means satisfi'd with all this; because he would not have Princes and Secular Powers to Meddle in matters of Religion. Upon which King *John*, afterward resolves to Strike in with the *Greek* Church: Because the Judgement with the *Patriarch of Constantinople* had given of the Confession of *Ausburg*, that had been sent him by *Martin Crasius*, and *David Chytreas*, was much according to the Kings mind. However, King *John* oblig'd the Ministers of *Stockholm* to put their thoughts of the Liturgy in writting; but they sent him this answer by Mr. *Abraham*, Rector of the School, that the design of such a Project must be to introduce the *Romish* Religion again into *Sweden*. This answer so vex'd the King, who would not pass for a Papist, that he depos'd them from their Charge, as ignorant, seditious, obstinate and unconstant Fellows, who renounced what they had sign'd with their hands, and caused them to be Imprison'd for some time in their Houses. There happenned also some troubles in other places of the Kingdom upon the account of this Liturgy; but by the Kings Prudence they were even Stifled. The Preachers of *Stockholm* who had been Imprison'd, excus'd themselves to the King, by a writing which they presented to him about the Crime of which they were accus'd; shewing, that it was true, they had sign'd the Liturgy, but that there had been several alterations made in it since their signing of it. To which, they added, that they were resolved to appeal to a free Council in the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and to consent to whatever should be determin'd there by a common accord. Upon this, King *John* the year following Assembled the Chief of the Clergy of *Sweden* at *Stockholm*; but notwithstanding

Duke Charles *refuses to accept the new Liturgy.*

Ministers of Stockholm *Arrested.*

ſeveral things were writ againſt the Liturgy; which *Klooſter Laſze* conſtantly anſwer'd. King *John*, on the other hand, ſent out Spyes to hear what was ſaid of the Liturgy and of his Project, and appointed Commiſſioners to Judge of ſuch Affairs, over which he made *Klooſter Laſze* Preſident.

At length, when all the Clergy of *Sweden* had met at the appointed time, except thoſe who were under the Government of Duke *Charles*, The Arch-Biſhop, and the Biſhop of *Weſteraas*, by Intrigues and Sollicitations, got moſt voices on their ſide. After which, a Conference was held, to examine what difference there was betwixt a a *Sacrament* and a *Sacrifice*. In this Conferrence the Biſhop of *Linkoping* and *M. Abraham* ſuſtain'd the opinion of the Proteſtants: But the other Biſhops, with the King and *Klooſter Laſze*, defended that of the Church of *Rome*, and cited ſo many paſſages of the Fathers which favour'd the *Sacrifice without Blood*, that ſeveral who were of the Contrary opinion, abandon'd it; inſomuch, that the Biſhop of *Linkoping* came over to the King's ſide. But, M. *Abraham*, the Miniſters of *Stockholm*, thoſe of the Dutchy, the Profeſſours of *Upſal*, and ſeveral others, vigorouſly oppos'd the new Liturgy, and continu'd ſtedfaſt in their firſt opinion; upon which they were Depos'd and put in Priſon. Thus the King having got moſt of the Clergy on his ſide, had no great difficulty to bring the *Secular States*, who were then Aſſembled, to ſign the Liturgy; as did alſo the reſt of the Clergy, highly Magnifying it. After which, a Decree paſt, That they, who, for the future, ſhould oppoſe the deciſions that were then made, ſhould be look'd upon as Rebels and Enemies to the State; and to ſtrike fear into others, M. *Abraham* was Baniſh'd into the Iſland of *Aland*. The King alſo order'd *Peter Jonas*, *Olaus Luth*, and *Heury Gadalene*, Profeſſours at *Upſal*, to put their Sentiments about the Conference at *Stockholm* in writing. Thoſe Profeſſors abſolutely rejected the new Liturgy, making uſe of Arguments taken from *Luther*, *Chemnitius*, *George Maſer* and *Flaccus*. Moſt of them rely'd on the ſupport which they expected from Duke *Charles*: And thoſe who were of the Contrary party, finding themſelves ſupported by the King, wrote againſt their Adverſaries in a moſt bitter and ſpiteful manner, in name of the Arch-Biſhops, endeavouring by all means

Diſpute of the Difference between a Sacrament and a Sacrifice.

to

to prove, that the Ceremonies Preſcribed in the Liturgy, were commendable and good, and that in compiling of it, their was no deſin of introducing the Popiſh Religion. On the other hand, they who rejected this Liturgy, ſent to Divers Univerſities in *Germany*; as to *Wertenberg*, *Leipſich*, *Helmſtadt* and *Franckfort*, as alſo to ſeveral Divines of the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*, to know their Judgment in this matter. To which they received no other anſwer, but that they ſtrongly diſſwaded them to approve the Liturgy, becauſe they pretended, it was made for no other end but to open a Door again to the *Romiſh* Religion; after which their party became very conſiderable in *Sweden*. They who Defended the new Liturgy, Publiſh'd a very infamous Libel againſt their Adverſaries under the Name of the *Devil*, who, as they ſaid, excited them to raiſe new troubles in the Kingdom, and to riſe in Rebellion. And they Printed another Book at *Stockholm*, with this Title, *Georgii Caſſandri conſultatio*; But thoſe practiſes had not the ſucceſs which they expected.

Judgment of the German Univerſities of the Liturgy.

King *John* was ſo Bigotted to Religion, that he took no great care to make his Forces Act in *Livonia* with that Vigour that was neceſſary; ſo that he ſuffer'd the *Muſcovites* to ravage that Province according to their Pleaſure, contenting himſelf with only writing Letters to his Enemy, inſtead of imploying his Arms againſt him. Moreover, the Grand Duke puſhed on the *Tarters* to make an unexpected Iruption into *Finland* with Fifteen hundred Men; Five hundred of which being drown'd, the reſt were routed by the Boors. After which, he went himſelf to lay Siege to *Revel*: But the Beſieged defended themſelves with much Valour and Reſolution, and ſo incommoded the *Muſcovites* in ſeveral Sallies, that they were forced to raiſe the Siege, after they had loſt many of their Men. The following Summer the *Swedes* did much Damage to the Grand Duke of *Muſcovy*, by ſeveral incurſions into his Country. Hitherto King *Erick*, who had been changed from one Caſtle to another, was kept more than Eight Years under cloſe and ſtrict Impriſonment: But as he always endeavour'd to make his eſcape, and had ſeveral Favorites in the Kingdom, who did all they could to ſet him at Liberty, King *John* fear'd, leſt one Day he might effect his deſign, which the Priſoner himſelf

King Erick Poiſon'd.

ſelf always fancied: Wherefore with conſent of his Council, and of the chief of the States of the Kingdom, he order'd thoſe who had the keeping of him, that in caſe they could perceive he had any deſign to make his eſcape out of the Priſon, they ſhould, without delay, put him to Death after the moſt eaſie manner they could poſſibly contrive, however, they had not all this while come to that extremity. But now the conſpiracy of the *Scots* having been lately diſcover'd, for which *Charles Mornay* loſt his Head; and the new Liturgy creating troubles, which might give occaſion to King *Erick's* deliverance, King *John* ſent his Secretary to *Oerby* with Poiſon which had been prepar'd by his Majeſties Surgeon: And that he might be better diſpoſed to die, they gave him opportunity to communicate before, and having allow'd him two days reſt, they made him take the Poiſon of which he immediatly died. As ſoon as he had expir'd, they Buried him at *Weſteraas*, and at the Ceremony of his Funeral they left his Coffin open in the Church, that every one might ſee he was really Dead, leſt afterward ſome Perſon might give himſelf out for King *Erick*. About the ſame time *Pont de la Gardie* returns from *Rome*, telling the King, that *Antonius Poſſevinus* the Jeſuit was ſhortly to come to *Sweden* as Ambaſſador from *Gregory* the Thirteenth. This Ambaſſador had a very handſome reception at *Sockholm*; and that he might Blind the Eyes of the People, he gave out, that he did not come from the Court of *Rome*, but from the Emperour; and that he had received his Commiſſion from him. The Jeſuit told the King, in the Popes Name, that the deſign he had to introduce the Catholick Religion into *Sweden*, was very agreeable to his Holyneſs, but that the way he had taken to bring it about, did no way pleaſe him; Wherefore he adviſ'd him to lay aſide the diſſimulation and hypocriſy, which ought not to be imploy'd in matters of Religion; and to declare himſelf openly, Protector of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*; and he ſharply upbraided *Klooſter Laſze* and other *Jeſuits* for having diſſembled after the ſame manner.

Pont de la Gardie returns from Rome.

The Nuncio's advice to King John.

But tho' the Archbiſhop ſecretly made the King to know, that he repented the ſigning of the Liturgy, becauſe it neither agreed with the Doctrine of the *Roman Catholicks*, nor with that of the Proteſtants; that it gave

gave Scandal to both Parties, and occaſion'd ſeveral Troubles and Diviſions in the Kingdom, yet, his Majeſty did not fail to follow the Counſel of the *Jeſuit Poſſevin*, and began at the ſame time to find out an expedient publickly to introduce the *Romiſh* Religion into *Sweden*. To this purpoſe, the King gave orders to erect a new Pulpit in the Cathedral of *Upſal*, which *Klooſter Laſze* having aſcended, he made a long Sermon before the King and Senators, proving the Invocation of Saints. Beſides, this King *John* made the Relicks and Bones of St. *Erick* to be put in a Silver Cheſt, and brought to the Church with great Pomp and Splendour; nor did he ceaſe at the ſame time to appoint the Profeſſors to anſwer in Writing, the Reaſons that *Klooſter Laſze* had advanced for the Worſhip and Invocation of Saints. But when they had Repeated that Sermon with abundance of Sharpneſs, the King was ſo incenſed againſt them, that he made them all to be Arreſted; and propoſed to found another Accademy in *Stockholm*, where no Profeſſors ſhould be admitted, but ſuch as were *Roman* Catholicks: After which, he Eſtabliſhed one of his Chaplains Preacher in the Town, and finding he could not have a man altogether fit to execute his deſign, he kept the Biſhoprick of *Aboo* void the ſpace of Seven Years. After this, he ſent one *Malvezi* to the Court of *Rome* to reſide their as his Ambaſſador, as *Antonia Poſſevinus* reſided in *Sweden* with the Character of *Nuncio a Latere*, aſſuming to himſelf the Power of diſpnſing in Matters of Marriage. In the mean time, the Archbiſhop being inform'd of all that paſt, began to open his Eyes, to diſcover the intention of the *Swediſh* Papiſts, to reject the new Liturgy, and at laſt, to joyn himſelf to the Party which he had formerly oppos'd. And moreover, he Secretly Printed a little Book, without putting his Name to it, in which he expoſed, very pleaſantly, the Tricks and Practiſes of the Church of *Rome*, to which *Klooſter Laſze* wrote an Anſwer. At length, King *John* ſeeing that he could not compaſs his deſign by open force, reſolves to take the ſame way he had followed before, deſigning, by means of the new Liturgy, to introduce the *Romiſh* Religion inſenſibly into *Sweden*; and the *Nuncio* allow'd him to take that method, when he had obſerved the conſtitution of the Kingdom. The Archbiſhop dying the Year following, they think of ch[illegible]ſing

The King follows his advice.

The Archbiſhop rejects the Liturgy.

a Perſon fit to carry on the deſign which the King had propoſed. To this effect, they Elect *Lorent Magnus*, Brother to Two Archbiſhops that had preceded him, Namely *Olaus* and *John Magnus*: This *Lorent* was ſent to *Rome*, to learn the true Prjnciples of the *Romiſh* Religion; and that he might have adherents to ſupport him in time and place, ſeveral youth were ſent to the School of the *Jeſuits* at *Rome*, *Olmatz*, *Wilda*, and *Brantzberg*. After this, ſeveral Popiſh Books were brought into *Sweden*, to inſtruct the People in that Doctrine; They compoſed beſide, new Hymns, and they inſerted in the Litanies, Prayers for the dead, and ſeveral other ſuch things: All this was done by the orders of the King, and the *Nuncio Poſſevin*.

Moreover, His Majeſty made a Pulpit to be ſet up in one of the Appartments of the Caſtle, which look'd towards the *North*, where his Queen went to Divine-Service, which was perform'd after the manner of the Church of *Rome*. In the mean time, Duke *Charles* oppos'd theſe Innovations with all his might, and the Clergy of his Territories held a general Aſſembly at *Nykoping*, wherein, after mature deliberation, they enter'd into a Bond with that Prince, obliging themſelves by Writing and by Oath, never to receive the new Liturgy, and to adhere firmly to the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*. It is not in the leaſt to be doubted, but that all thoſe Broils muſt have broke out into an open War, if the Queen, and *Mary*, Wife to Duke *Charles*, and Daughter to *Lewis Count Palatine*, and *Elector* of the Empire, had not, by their interceſſion, preſerved Peace between the Two Brothers. And as *Charles* had that ſame year gone to bring his Wife from *Heidelberg*, his Enemies took occaſion from thence, to give out, That he had imbib'd ſome of the Principles of *Calviniſme*. In the mean time, the War continued ſtill in *Livonia*, and *Oberpalen* ſurrendred willingly to the *Swedes*, for fear of falling into the hands of the Grand Duke; nevertheleſs, the *Summer* following, that place was retaken by the *Muſcovites*, the *Swedes* who were ſent from *Revel* to Succour it, coming too late. Upon which, fearing they had incurr'd the King's diſpleaſure by their negligence, they endeavour'd by ſome other way to regain his favour, and to ſignaliſe themſelves by ſome exploit againſt the *Muſcovites*, who had then beſieged

D. Charles oppoſes Innovations

Minden

Minden with Eighteen thouſand Men. Some *Poliſh* Troops had before advanced to raiſe the Siege; but not being ſtrong enough to attack the Enemy, *George Boyz*, General of the *Swedes*, offered to *Andre Sapieha*, who Commanded the *Poles*, to joyn both their Forces together and fall upon the commoh Enemy. The *Poles* having deliberated ſome time upon this propoſal, they at length chearfully accepted it. As ſoon as the *Swedes* had Joyned the *Poles*, they attack'd the Army of the *Muſcovites*, cut off more than Seven thouſand of them, took many Priſoners, put the reſt to the flight, and got a rich booty which was equally divided among the Troops of both Nations; tho' afterwards there fell out ſome conteſts between the King of *Sweden* and the King of *Poland*, becauſe the *Poles* had kept to themſelves more than Twenty Pieces of Artillery. In this Engagement the *Swedes* and *Poles* loſt not above a Hundred Men. The Grand Duke of *Muſcovy* was ſo vex'd at this defeat, that he reſolved to invade *Livonia*, *Curland*, and *Pruſſia*, with a deſign to ſubdue thoſe three Provinces: And the better to compaſs his ends, he made a Ceſſation of Arms with the *Tartars*, and rais'd an Army of a Hundred thouſand Men, which he March'd ſlowly towards the Town of *Ploſcou*. King *John*, to give a diverſion to the Enemy, ſent Troops to the Provinces of *Carelia* and *Ingermanland*, who committed great havock, and carried away a rich booty. But after that *Stephen* King of *Poland* had defeated the *Muſcovites*, they were oblidged to *Livonia* for ſome time. Mean while, King *John* obſerving the Enemies motion, ſent a Fleet to *Nerva*, which having pillaged the Harbour and Suburbs of that place, carried away a conſiderable booty.

Great defeat of the Muſcovites.

On the other hand, the *Muſcovites* ſent *Tartars* to make an irruption into the Country of *Hana*, but moſt off them were cut off by the *Swedes*. King *John*, who was reſolv'd to regain the Town of *Nerva*, ſent a powerful Army to that Place, which attack'd it moſt vigorouſly; but the *Swedes* not receiving Ammunition, and finding none in the Country, which had been laid waſte by the *Tartars*; Famine, Peſtilence, and continual Rains forc'd them to raiſe the Siege; and in their Retreat towards *Revel*, they were ſtrangely harraſs'd by the Enemy. However, the *Muſcovites* not finding

Defeat of the Muſcovites.

themſelves able to reſiſt the *Swedes* and *Poles* together, the Grand Duke endeavour'd to make Peace with the laſt, that he might be in a better condition to cope with the other: But the *Poles* firmly reſolved to continue the War againſt the *Muſcovites*, and to make a League with *Sweden*, to which alſo King *John* was ſufficiently inclin'd. For this end, he call'd a Meeting of the States of the Kingdom at *Wadſtena* at the beginning of next Year; wherein the Members of the Aſſembly repreſented to him, That ſince he was accus'd of having begun to introduce ſeveral Innovations into the Religion of the Kingdom, he wou'd be pleaſed to declare in preſence of the States, that the Doctrine of the Church of *Sweden* was agreeable to that of the Primitive Church; to avoid, by that means, all the Schiſm and Hereſies that dayly ſprung up in Chriſtendom. And that his Majeſty might remove all ſort of ſuſpition, they judged it expedient to forbid the great Number of Popiſh Books which were brought into *Sweden*; To provide the Schools with Men of Learning and exemplary Lives, and againſt whom their was nothing to be objected; And, in fine, to Educate the Prince, who was to Succeed to the Crown, in the Proteſtant Religion, to make him the more acceptable to the People, who were afraid, that otherwiſe, when he came to the Throne, he ſhould think of forcing his Subjects to be of the Church of *Rome*. Beſides, they Sollicited the King to make Peace with the *Muſcovites*, for fear the *Poles* ſhould prevent him and make a ſeparate Peace with them; or that the *Danes*, or ſome other Nation who were hindred from Trading to *Nerva*, ſhould make War againſt *Sweden*; to which, they added, ſeveral other things of leſs importance. But notwithſtanding all theſe Remonſtrances, he rather followed his own Inclination than their Advice. It is true indeed, he wrote to *Stockholm* to *Kooſter Laſze*, to handle matters of Religion with more prudence and circumſpection; but yet the *Nuncio Poſſevin* had ſuch an aſcendant over King *John*, that he perſwaded him to Communicate and Confeſs at *Wadſtena*, after the form of the Church of *Rome*; and to acknowledg in ſecret, that he had imbraced the *Romiſh* Faith, after he had Diſputed for along time before with the Jeſuits. Upon which, the year following, an Anſwer was Printed with this Title,

The States Advice to K. John.

Title, *Antonii Possevini responsiones ad Nobilissimi veri Septentriona his interrogationes qui de Salutis eterna comparande ratione cupi Abat institui.* In the mean time, the *Nuncio* enjoyn'd him a Penance upon the account of the Death of King *Erick*, obliging him every *Wednesday*, which was the day he Poyson'd his Brother, to keep a Fast, as he did to the day of his Death. To which, must be added, that he gave great liberalities to the *Nuns* at *Wadstena*.

The *Swedes* had a great esteem for the Writings of *David Chrytreus*, for which reason *Possevin* Publish'd a Book to refute him, to which *Chrytreus* reply'd with much sharpness; at which King *John* was highly offended. As *Possevin* was just ready to return to *Rome*, King *John* very much recommended to him the Church of *Sweden*, intreating him to interceed with his Holyness, to allow the Marriage of Priests, and the Cup in the Sacrament to the People, with some other things. The *Nuncio*, on the other hand, complain'd to his Majesty, that the Bishop of *Linkoping*, Preaching a little time before, called the *Pope Antichrist*. Which King *John* took so ill, that he caus'd that Prelate to be stript of his Episcopal Ornaments, and depos'd from his Charge; But Duke *Charles* afterwards made him Preacher at *Linkoping*. At length, King *John* recommended to the *Nuncio*, to use his endeavours to have the Publick Acts which *John Magnus* had brought to *Rome*, sent back to him to *Sweden*. To which the Pope willingly consented, provided the Convent of *Ridderholm* was given the *Jesuits*. King *John* and the King of *Poland* made a League Relating to the War with the *Muscovites*; the Articles of which were, That they should each of them attack them a part, and each keep what he Conquer'd. Upon this King *Stephen* went to set upon the Enemy with Vigour; and on the other hand, the King of *Sweden* sent a powerful Army to *Kexholm*, under the Command of *Pont de la Gardie*, to whom, a little before, he had given *Sophia*, his natural Daughter, in Marriage with the Town of *Eckholm*, which that General Conquer'd, withal the Fiefs that depended on that place. To which must be added, that he took the Castle of *Padai* in *Livonia*, and put all the *Muscovites* in it to the Sword. *Pont de la Gardie* resolving to pursue his Victory, chose an unknown way thorrow a great desart of *Livonia*; And falling unexpectedly on the Enemy, near

Pont de la Gardie's *Success.*

near *Wetenberg*, he cut off a Company of Soldiers who were making all speed to escape the Fort, of which he made himself Master, finding in it store of Ammunition; after which he took *Felsburg* on Composition. But not being able to make any further progress, because of the frequent Rains, he march'd his Army towards *Finland*, that he might continue the War with greater Vigour. This Winter, at the Sollicitation of the *Swedes*, the *Poles*, and *Tartars* attacked the *Muscovites* on the other side, and committed great Hostilities. In the absence of *Pont de la Gardie*, the *Swedish* Troops took *Lode*, *Leala*, *Fickel* and *Hapsal*. The Grand Duke of *Muscovey* was so allarm'd, finding himself attack'd by three Enemies at the same time, that he could fall on no other expedient than to send an Ambassador to the Pope, intreating him to imploy his mediation for making a Peace betwixt him and the King of *Poland*. And to compass his design the better, he let his Holyness know, that he had an inclination to receive the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*; Solliciting him withal, to Honour him with the Title of Emperour. The Pope thereupon sends *Antonius Possevinus* to *Muscovy*, to introduce the *Romish* Religion there, as also to procure a Peace to the Grand Duke. But *la Gardie* having enter'd into *Livonia* with a great Number of Troops which he had brought from *Sweden*, march'd directly towards *Nerva*. Having in two days, made a considerable Breach with a Battery of Twenty four Guns, he gave orders to Storm that place; promising his Souldiers to give them leave to Plunder it for Twenty four Hours. Upon which, they attack'd it with so much heat and fury, that they took it in a little time, and cut off Seven Thousand *Muscovites* that lay their in Garison. After which, resolving to lose no time, he advanc'd towards *Nerva* in *Russia*, and took it upon Capitulation; as he did also *Jamsyrod*, *Corporie*, and *Wittenstein*, which had been long before Besieg'd by the *Swedes*. After which, he laid all the Country waste to the Borders of *Newgarte*; his Fortune, however, was somewhat interrupted; For several Officers and Soldiers, that were going by Sea from *Revel* to *Sweden*, Perish'd in a Storm: Besides, *James Typot*, Secretary to the King, endeavoured, by all means, to put *Pont de la Gardie* out of the Kings favour: But that General clear'd himself so well of all the Secretaries Calumnies, and so plainly ex. os'd his falshood

Nerva *taken by the* Swedes.

hood, that the King Condemned him to perpetual Impriſonment: But he afterwards made his Eſcape out of *Sweden* to *Germany*. At length the King of *Poland* growing Jealous of all the *Swediſh* Conqueſts, by the interceſſion of *Poſſevin*, made a ſeparate Peace with the *Muſcovites*. Among ſeveral other things, the *Muſcovites* gave over *Livonia* to the *Poles*, with Four and Twenty, as well Towns as Caſtles contain'd in that Province. But the *Swedes*, not thinking it convenient to break immediatly with the *Poles*, abandon the Siege of *Pennacow*, after they had been Six Months before it. Upon which, King *John* Aſſembled the States of the Kingdom at *Stockholm*, to conſult about the Affairs relating to *Poland* and *Muſcovy*. All the Members told King *John* that they were ready to aſſiſt him; and promis'd to declare his Son *Sigiſmond* Heir to the Crown, as in effect they did. After which, the Affair of the new Liturgy was mov'd, and that the Clergy might admit it with leſs backwardneſs, he confirm'd the *Formulary* that had been Compoſed in the Year 1556. touching the benifit of Burials. In fine, the Liturgy was approved both by the Clergy and Laity, and an Act was made, declaring, that whoever ſhould in the leaſt oppoſe it, ſhould be look'd upon as guilty of High Treaſon. However, Duke *Charles*, and all the Clergy of his Dutchy, would by no means receive that Liturgy; norſome *Swediſh* Lords, namely *Maurice* and *Axel Leuwenhooſts*, *Maurice Grip*, *Chriſtiern* and *Bengt Oxenſtierns*, and *Steen Banier*; Upon which, the States of the Kingdom Publiſh'd a Declaration, by which they prohibited him to pretend to any Right or Power in matters of Religion; injoyning him withal, to conform himſelf to the determination of the General Aſſembly of the States of *Sweden*; and ſtrongly exhorted him to give no ſhelter or aſſiſtance to ſuch as made their eſcape out of *Sweden*.

Popes Bull for the new Stile.

About the ſame time, *Poſſevin* the *Nuncio*, ſent a Bull into *Sweden* for introducing the *New Stile*, which King *John* Commanded to be Read in all the Churches, ſtrictly Charging his Subjects to regulate themſelves by this Computation, which was generally receiv'd, becauſe none, made any ſcruple to follow an Innovation of this Nature. Peace being concluded between *Muſcovy* and *Poland*, The Grand Duke immediatly gave the *Poles* all he poſſeſſed in *Livonia*. But the King of

Poland

King of Poland's *Demands.*

Poland not being content with their Advantages, sent an Embassy to King *John*, to demand *Nerva*, *Wesenberg*, *Telsburg*, *Wittertein*, *Lode*, *Leala*, *Hapsal*, and the Town of *Revel*. This Proposition seem'd both strange and impertinent to King *John*, who prov'd clearly, that the *Poles* had no pretensions on the Province of *Esthonia*. However, the King of *Poland* sent another Embassy to *Sweden*, with the same Demand. The *Polish* Ambassador *Christofle Warsawitz*, made a long Speech to prove that *Livonia* depended on *Lithuania*. It is true, says he, that tho' in the late War, all the Towns were taken by *Swedes*; and that by the Treaty made between *Sweden* and *Poland*, each was to possess what he Conquer'd; yet this was only precisely to be understood of the Conquests obtain'd over the *Muscovites*: That notwithstanding, to preserve the Peace between the Two Nations, the *Poles* were content to repay the *Swedes* all the Expence they had been at in taking those Places, provided they would give them up willingly; otherwise, they would seize them by force. In short, King *John* sent back the *Polish* Ambassador with this answer, namely, That the *Swedes* had fought with far greater Courage than the *Poles* in Conquering *Livonia*; That he wonder'd his Brother-in-Law durst pretend to the Fruit of his Victories; That on the contrary, he should have thought himself mightily oblidg'd to him for having assisted him faithfully in that War, and condescending to allow him half the Cannon the *Swedes* had taken from the Enemy; and besides, That his Wife's Dowry and the Money Disburs'd, the Interest of which, amounted to Three hundred thousand Crowns; And in fine, the King of *Poland* might consider that there was still a remnant in *Sweden* of those ancient *Goths*, who had formerly subdued *Asia* and *Europe*, and were no ways afraid of the *Polish* or *Muscovitish* Cimitars. King *Stephen* having receiv'd such an answer, used all his Endeavours to bring the States of *Poland* to make War against *Sweden*; to which they were no way willing to consent. The same Year the *Swedes* besieged *Noteburg*; but without Success. After which, they wasted a great Tract of Land in *Russia*, the *Muscovites* being busied on the other side, in a War with the *Tartars*. The Grand Duke had a great desire to be Reveng'd, but finding that the *Swedes* were

King John's *Answer.*

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in readineſs for a Vigorous Reſiſtance, he thought it more convenient to ſend Commiſſioners to the *Frontiers* to enter into a Negiociation with *Sweden*. However, in this Conference, there was only a Ceſſation of Arms concluded for two Months; and the Negociation about Peace was put off to another time. One of the Chief Reaſons which made King *John* deſire a Peace with *Muſcovy*, was, That he had conceiv'd ſome ſuſpicions againſt Duke *Charles*, and fancied that he had fram'd ſome bad Deſign againſt him, becauſe of his reſiding ſo long at *Heidelberg*, where Endeavours were us'd for making a League between the Kings of *Navarre*, *England*, *Denmark*, and the Princes of *Germany*, for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion againſt the *Roman Catholicks*: And that he might the better diſcover what was carrying on, he ſent an Ambaſſador to Queen *Elizabeth*; and on the other hand, to ſatisfy the Clergy, he conferr'd the Biſhopricks of *Upſal* and *Aboo* on Perſons who were altogether for the New Leturgy.

Poſſevin's diligence at the Court of *Rome*, for K. *John*.

In the mean time, The *Nuncio Poſſevin* Puſh'd on at the Court of *Rome* the Affair relating to the Marriage of the Clergy, and Communicating under both kinds; and tho' the Pope would not conſent to it, yet *Poſſevin*, to give ſome comfort to King *John*, made him hope, he would fall upon ſome Expedient to bring it about; the Pope, as he alleadged, having a great Affection to the *Swediſh* Nation. Moreover, he ſent ſeveral *Jeſuits* to *Sweden*, who, to avoid danger, went in Lay-mens Dreſs. Among ſeveral other things, they perſwaded the Queen to give Ten thouſand Crowns to the Colledge of *Bransberg* in *Pruſſia*; The Intereſt of which ſhould be imployed for the Mentainance of ſome *Swediſh* Students. At the ſame time a Peace was concluded between the *Swedes* and *Muſcovites* for two Years, on thoſe Articles, That each ſhould keep what he had, and that there ſhould be a free Trade between the two Nations during that time. Soon after, Queen *Katharine* Dy'd: On her Death-Bed ſhe made her Son *Sigiſmond*, and the Princeſs *Anne* her Daughter, to Swear that they would continue ſtedfaſt in the *Roman Catholick* Religion, intreating the King at the ſame time, not to force them to any other Doctrine. When ſhe was in the Agony, ſhe was ſtrangely Tormented with the fear of Purgatory, and having ask'd *Staniſlaus Verſevicia's*

a *Jeſuit*, whither there was any ſuch fire in any Place? He being mov'd with Compaſſion towards the Queen, anſwer'd, ſhe might take a Courage without troubling her ſelf with that fancy; That in Effect, there was no Purgatory; but that this fiction was invented to keep down the Rage and Saucineſs of the People. Upon which, the Queen Curſing the Cheat, would give no more Ear to that Confeſſour, but relying intirely on the Merits of Chriſt, ſhe Dy'd in that belief. The Princeſs *Anne*, who without the *Jeſuits* Knowledge, lay hid at the Bed-ſide, heard all that paſs'd. After the Queens Death, the Archbiſhop *Andrew Lacurn* Preach'd her Funeral Sermon in the Church of *Upſal*, where, among ſeveral other things, he ſaid boldly, that ſhe had perſever'd in the Ancient *Catholick* Faith, without which, none could be ſaved. As ſoon as he was come down from the Pulpit, the *Catholicks* thank'd him, and wiſh'd him Joy, but the Proteſtants were highly diſſatisfy'd with him; But to all that ſpoke to him on this head, that Prelate gave this anſwer; that he was oblidged to obey the Kings orders. From this time the *Romiſh* Religion began to decay. It is true, indeed, that the *Roman Catholicks* had reſolved to Print the *Liturgy* only in *Latin*; That by this means, the Miniſters might be inſenſibly occaſion'd to the Service of the *Maſs*, after the *Romiſh* way; but as ſoon as the Face of Affairs began to change, all their Deſigns vaniſh'd into ſmoak. On the other hand, the Senators of *Sweden* us'd all Endeavours to perſwade Prince *Sigiſmond* to Embrace the Proteſtant Religion; warning him at the ſame time, that unleſs he did timely abjure Popery, he would loſe the Right of ſucceeding to the Crown. But he anſwer'd; that he prefer'd the Kingdom of Heaven to all the Kingdoms on Earth; and all they could do by their frequent Exhortations to the ſame purpoſe, could never draw any other anſwer from him; tho' in the mean time he came often with his Father to hear Divine Service in the Proteſtant Churches. The Senators alſo Exhorted King *John* not to favour the *Popiſh* Party openly; becauſe, by ſuch a Conduct, he would unavoidably bring troubles on the Kingdom. The King hearken'd the more to their Advice, becauſe his ſuſpicions of Duke *Charles* daily increas'd; partly, becauſe he had not been preſent at his Marriage to *Anna Bieth*, and

A Prieſt's Anſwer to the Dying Queen.

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that he came ſeldom to Court; and partly, becauſe he had preſented to the Biſhoprick of *Stregens*, which the King pretended to be his right. The Senators repreſented further to his Majeſty, that he ſhould not allow Prince *Sigiſmond* to favour Popery too much, for fear Duke *Charles* ſhould lay a Trap for him, and do him ſome miſchief.

King *John* ſeriouſly reflecting on thoſe things, reſolv'd to avoid all occaſions of troubles; to which end, he began to bring down the Pride of the Papiſts, and to drive the *Jeſuits* out of the Kingdom, to which his Wife *Gunilla* did greatly contribute; Beſides, he pretended not to be diſpleas'd at the Depoſition of a Miniſter of *Stockholm*, for abandoning the Proteſtant Religion to turn Papiſt. Moreover, he did not Receive the ſame Kindneſs from Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, which he had from his Predeceſſor *Gregory the Thirteenth*: This put him on a Project of Uniting with the *Greek* Church, and of Tranſlating the New Formulary and the Church Diſcipline into *Greek*, tho' ſoon after he alter'd his Reſolution. Nevertheleſs, he ſent the *Jeſuits* and *Klooſter Laſze* a Packing, and Commanded their Colledge at *Ridderholm* to be rais'd to the Ground. Beſides, he prohibitted the Papiſts to keep any Meetings at *Stockholm* as they did formerly. However, we will not determine whither the King took this Method out of hatred to the Papiſts, or out of Policy, to give ſome Satisfaction to the Enemies of the New *Liturgy*. At length King *John* ſet himſelf altogether for Peace, and prolonged the Truce with the *Muſcovites* for Four years. But as *Pont de la Gardie* was returning home from that Negociation, coming near *Nerva* on the River, he made ſome Fieldpieces which he had with him to be diſcharged; which ſhattered the Ship he was in to pieces, ſo that he he was Drown'd with Sixteen of his Attendants; tho' ſome are of Opinion, that the Ship ſplit upon a Rock. As to King *John*'s difference with the *Danes*, upon the Account of the *Three Crowns* which their King had put into his Arms; he appointed Commiſſioners of the Country to regulate that Affair in the ſpace of Four years. But on the other hand, the Diſtruſts and Suſpicions between King *John* and Duke *Charels* always continued (tho' the latter had ſent Ambaſſadors to his Majeſty, ſhewing he deſir'd all their Differences might

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be taken away by friendly Accommodations;) fearing, leſt his Brother finding himſelf freed from Enemies abroad, ſhould take in his head to come and oppreſs him. In Effect, King *John* not being pleas'd with Duke *Charles*'s Anſwer, Aſſembled the States of the Kingdom at *Wadſtena*, where he was ſummon'd to come and Juſtify himſelf; But for fear the People, who were well affected to Duke *Charles*, ſhould make a Mutiny on this Account, he order'd the Miniſters to Publiſh in all the Churches of the Kingdom, That by this Summons, he had no deſign of Arreſting the Duke, but that all the Differences conſiſted in his having eſtabliſh'd a Biſhop and a Bailiff in his Territories, and that beſides, he had laid too great Impoſitions on his Subjects. But Duke *Charles*, who gave no faith to this Diſcourſe, Aſſembled in One Body all the Troops he had in his Country, as King *John* alſo did: Upon which, by the Advice of an Old Officer, he advanc'd to the neareſt Village to to *Wadſtena*, where the States of the Kingdom putting themſelves between them, by their interceſſion brought Duke *Charles* to ask the King's Pardon, which he willingly granted, upon Condition, the Duke ſhould be obliged to receive and approve the Articles which King *Erick* had propos'd at *Arboga*, to his Brothers, *John* and *Magneſs*, in the Year 1561. As for the refuſal of the New Liturgy, he imputed it altogether to the Clergy, adding, that with the firſt conveniency he would call them together, and afterward admit whatever ſhould be reſolv'd in their Aſſembly.

The King, with the approbation of the States of the Kingdom, reſolv'd, that if the Clergy of Duke *Charles*'s Dutchy were willing to ſubmit to it, means ſhould be agreed upon on both ſides, to Compoſe an Uniformity of Doctrine and Worſhip: But all the Clergy in that Country unanimouſly rejected the Liturgy, looking upon it as a Door to let in Popery again to *Sweden*. And they gave this reaſon for rejecting it; That they had all, both by Writing and Oath, promiſed to adhere to the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*. This mightily vexed King *John*. In the mean time, *Stephen* King of *Poland* dying; Queen *Anne* his Wife, Prince *Segiſmond*'s Mother's Siſter, deſir'd to put that Crown on her Nephews Head. To this end ſhe prevails with a great many *Poles*, and particularly with the Chancellour of the Kingdom, and the

the Mariſchal *John Zamoisky*; after which ſhe ſent to King *John* to make him conſent to this Affair: And after Mature deliberation, his Majeſty ſent *Erick Sparre* and *Erick Brake* Ambaſſadors to *Poland*, to demand payment of the old Debt, and Sollicit the Election of Prince *Sigiſmond*; but with this reſerve, that if they Succeded in the Principal Affair, they ſhould make no mention of the Debt. And that the *Poles* might be the more eaſily perſwaded to Elect the Prince, the Ambaſſadors had likewiſe a power to conclude a perpetual League with them againſt the *Muſcovites*, but without letting any thing fall that might tend to the prejudice of the Crown of *Sweden*. But the *Muſcovy* Ambaſſadors having Audience before the *Swediſh*; the latter would not appear before they had firſt preſented an Act, by which they proved the Antiquity of the Kingdom of the *Goths* and *Swedes*, with a Speech *Regnald* had formerly made on that Subject at the Council of *Baſile*. In ſhort, they brought ſo many ſolid Proofs and convincing Reaſons, that Prince *Sigiſmond* was choſen King of *Poland* by Plurality of Votes; on condition that there ſhould be a perpetual League and Union between *Sweden* and *Poland*, againſt all their Neighbours on both ſides; That Prince *Sigiſmond*, after his Fathers Death, ſhould be King of *Sweden*, and ſhould tranſmit it to his Heir Male; That in caſe of neceſſity, he might return thither with the conſent of the States of *Poland*; That he ſhould keep up a Fleet at his own Charge, which in time of need was to aſſiſt *Poland*; and which he ſhould lend to the *Poles*, when they were in War with the *Muſcovites*; beſides all this, the *Poles* would have him require the old Debt, and all the pretentions he might have on them, that with conſent of the States of the Kingdom he might at his own Charge, Build Five Forts upon the Frontiers of *Poland*; That he ſhould be allow'd to bring Foreign Troops into the Kingdom, but upon condition, that he would pay them himſelf, and ſend them back to their Country after being ſome time in his Service; That after his coming to the Crown of *Sweden*, he ſhould not make uſe of *Swediſh* Counſellors in *Poland*; That he ſhould only have *Poles* and *Lithuanians* for his Guards; and that he ſhould give the *Fiefs* and *Offices* of the Kingdom to none but them; That he ſhould not keep their pay from the *Quartians*; That he would inviolably

The Poles *conſent to make Prince* Sigismond *King.*

obſerve the Treaty relating to the differences of Religion; and, in fine, That he would Annex to the Kingdom of *Poland*, that part of *Livonia* that was under the Dominion of the *Swedes*: But the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors not conſenting to this laſt Article, Queen *Anne* engaged all her Intereſt for the making it good.

King *John* being inform'd of all that paſt, gave Notice thereof to Duke *Charles*, to know his thoughts of the matter; charging him and the States of the Kingdom immediatly to ſubmit themſelves to Prince *Sigiſmond*; that by that means, he might be the more aſſur'd of his Fathers Kingdom.

Thereupon Duke *Charles* declared, that he was ready to pay his Duty and Obligation to the Prince; but was firſt deſirous to know what ſort of Duty and Obligation was required of him; adding that he could not conſent that the Province of *Eſthonia* ſhould fall into a Strangers Hands; yet in the mean time, he ſent Ambaſſadors to Prince *Sigiſmond* to complement him upon his acceſſion to the Crown of *Poland*.

Not long after, when it was ſaid that ſome of the *Poles* had Elected the Arch Duke *Maximilian*, King *John* and Prince *Sigiſmond* laid aſide all thoughts of contending any longer for the Crown of *Poland*. But after, when *Erick Sparre* came to the King at *Calmar*, together with the Ambaſſadors of *Poland*, who aſſured him that they would not inſiſt on the ſubject of *Eſthonia*, both the Father and Son began to conceive better hopes. Tho' King *John* nevertheleſs did not conſent to all their propoſitions, put with this Proviſo, That when the Prince ſhould arrive to *Dantzick* with the Fleet, he ſhould not ſet his Foot on Land, until the *Poliſh* Lords, who were to be there to receive him, had proteſted that they would never more pretend any claim to the Province of *Eſthonia*. If this were not done, that he would have him preſently return to *Sweden*. And Prince *Sigiſmond* declared, tha the had much rather abandon the Crown of *Poland* and return home, than conſent to any thing prejudicial to his Country.

Conditions by the Swedes to Prince Sigiſmond.

Before the Prince ſet out for *Poland*, the Counſel of the Kingdom prevail'd with King *John* to give them a Writing, Signed both by the Father and the Son, which contain'd the following Articles: Firſt, that when Prince *Sigiſmond* return'd from *Poland* into *Sweden*, he might not

not bring back with him any Prieſts of the *Romiſh* Religion, ſuch as he was wont to Entertain at his Court; and that he might not grant them greater Priviledges for the Exerciſe of their Religion, than thoſe they then Enjoy'd: That in *Poland*, he ſhould not make any Proteſtant Officers, that he had in his Service, uneaſy, upon the account of their Religion: That he ſhould not raiſe any *Polander*, to the Employs and Dignities of the *Swediſh* Kingdom, unleſs he Profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion: That no Prieſt of a different Religion, whether he were a *Pole* or *Swede*, ſhould be allow'd to introduce any Novelty, or make any Alteration in the Ordinary Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Church of *Sweden*: That Prince *Sigiſmond* ſhould maintain all the Religious Houſes, and all the Hoſpitals which his Father had founded, according to the Religion Eſtabliſh'd in *Sweden*, except at *Wadſtena*, where the Religious ſhould be allowed a Prieſt of the *Romiſh* Faith: That none of a Religion differing from the Proteſtants, ſhould be allowed either Publick or Private Worſhip: That he ſhould carry away with him into *Poland*, the Prieſts that were with him in *Sweden*; and that during their Reſidence there, they ſhould not be allowed to meddle in ſecular Affairs, nor in any Intrigues; That they ſhould not do any Service, nor Teach in any Schools; That they ſhould not Treat any Perſon as a *Heritick*; And finnally, That the *Pope* ſhould not be permitted to Inſtal any Biſhops or Biſhopricks in *Sweden*; and that he ſhould not introduce the New Stile, or *The Gregorian Calendar*.

To which, 'twas added, That Prince *Sigiſmond* might not Sell nor Alienate any of the Provinces of the Kingdom of *Sweden*; That he ſhould make a ſtrict Alliance between *Sweden* and *Poland* againſt all Enemies, and particularly againſt the *Muſcovites*; ſo, as neither of the Two States might make Peace, nor undertake War, without the conſent of the other; That he might Marry any Woman he pleaſes, and aſſign her a Dowry in the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Poland*: That he might not Alienate what belong'd to his Siſter, without her Knowledge and Conſent; That when he ſhould have the Two Crowns, he ſhould equally favour the Two Nations, and Honour the one as much as the other; That at leaſt, he ſhould come

once every Three years into *Sweden*; and that during his ſtay, the States of the Kingdom would bear the Charges of his Court; That when he return'd into *Poland*, he ſhould ſend back the Ships with the Cannon, and whatever elſe he had taken with him for his Voyage; which nevertheleſs, were to be ready for his Service whenever he pleas'd to return into *Sweden*; That in his abſence, he ſhould give the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom, to the moſt Conſiderable in the Country; and that Duke *Charles* might ſend thither a Deputy; and that he ſhould have in *Poland* with him, *A* Swediſh *Chancellour*, *Councellour* and *Secretary*, who yet ſhould not meddle in the Affairs of *Poland*, no more than the *Poliſh* Miniſters ſhould do in thoſe of *Sweden*.

Moreover, in as much as the difference of Tongues would oblige the Two Nations to the frequent Uſe of the Latin, the King ſhould therefore keep ſome of the moſt Capable Young Men, both of the Nobility and Common People, to Study that Language at his own Charges; That during his ſtay in *Poland*, there might be no new impoſitions laid upon *Sweden*; and that they ſhould keep all the Ordinary Rents and Revenues of the Kingdom, until his Majeſty's coming: And th t he might not have them out of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, unleſs it were to pay his own, or his Father's Children's Portions; but that he ſhould leave in *Sweden*, all his Moveables and Tapeſtries, with the Archives and Publick Acts of the Kingdom: That in his Abſence, he ſhould not enter upon any Negociation with Foreign Princes, touching any Affairs that ſhould concern *Sweden*, till he firſt acquainted the Council of the Kingdom with it; That all the Buſineſs of the State, ſhould be decided in the Country it ſelf; That the *Swediſh* Troops ſhould be Commanded by Generals of their own Nation; That he ſhould permit the Soldiers to keep all the Spoil they ſhould take; and that he ſhould keep the *Swediſh* Troops upon his own Pay, when they ſhould be at any time Employ'd to help the *Poles*; That during his ſtay in the Kingdom of *Sweden*, he ſhould bear the Title and Arms thereof; and that he ſhould always prefer his Natural Subjects to the *Poles*: That he ſhould be Crown'd by the

the Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, and not by any other Prelate: That his Eldeſt Son ſhould inherit the Kingdom of *Sweden*: That his Daughters, that he had in *Sweden*, ſhould have a Hundred Thouſand Crowns at their Marriage; but thoſe that ſhould be born to him in *Poland*, ſhould draw an equal Sum from both the Kingdoms: And finally, That in Caſe the King ſhould, by the Popes Permiſſion, contraveen any one of the Articles which they had propos'd; that then the *Swedes* ſhould be diſcharged from their Oath of Fidelity and Obedience, which they had Sworn to him.

Yet, not long after, the Councellours of the Kingdom were accuſed by ſome, as if they had cunningly contrived the Articles of this Contract, and forced Prince *Sigiſmond* to Sign them when he was departing to *Poland*; becauſe, King *John* having no other Male Iſſue but him, they hoped, after the Death of the Father, and of Duke *Charles* his Brother, to find an Occaſion to Exclude Prince *Sigiſmond* from the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Sweden*, upon pretence, that he had Acted contrary to ſome one of theſe Articles: And the Family of the *Stures* and their Kindred, were ſuſpected to be aſpiring to the Crown of *Sweden*.

At the time that Prince *Sigiſmond* ſet Sail to *Dantzick* with a Fleet of 24 Ships, *Erick Sparre* and *Guſtavus*, made a Voyage into *Sweden*, to obſerve the Conſtitution of that Kingdom. Upon the coming of the New King, there happened a great diſpute upon the Subject of the Province of *Eſthonia*, and a part of *Livonia*, which the *Polanders* would abſolutely have, according to the Articles agreed upon at the Election of King *Sigiſmond*; alledging for themſelves, that the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors had then yielded them that clauſe. Yet at laſt, they carried their Matters ſo far, that the New King Signed the Articles which they required of him, proteſting, nevertheleſs, againſt that which concern'd *Livonia*; as alſo he did the ſecond time, when his Oath was given in the Church of *Oliva*. But afterwards, theſe Controverſies came to a greater height at *Cracow*, where the *Polanders* inſiſted upon this Point with much obſtinancy, tho' Prince *Sigiſmond* made a Vigorous oppoſition; ſo as in the end, the deciſion of this difference was remitted,

until ſuch time as King *John* being Dead, Prince *Sigiſmond* ſhould come to the Crown of *Sweden.*

On the other hand, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors that were come into *Poland*, fearing a bad reception upon their return to *Sweden*, pray'd King *Sigiſmond* to give them a Letter, wherein he ſhould declare, that in granting this Clauſe, he had no deſign to annex *Eſthonia* to the Kingdom of *Poland* after his Father's Death; but had done it only to deliver himſelf from the importunity of the *Polanders*; and likewiſe to prevent the inconveniencies which he might meet with upon that head, from the aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom, which was to be held ſoon after: And that for this Reaſon, he had given Notice to all the Governours in the Province of *Eſthonia*, not to obey him, in Caſe he ſhould give them any ſuch like Orders; That they ſhould look upon his Orders only extorted from him againſt his Will. But notwithſtanding all theſe Excuſes, King *John* ſent his Son many Reproaches, and made him ſenſible how much he was offended.

King *Sigiſmond* excuſed himſelf to his Father, aſſuring him, that he had often told the *Polander*, that he would chuſe rather to abandon the Kingdom of *Poland*, than part with the leaſt Village belonging to the Crown of *Sweden*; and much leſs, a great Province, ſuch as *Eſthonia*, that had coſt his Country-Men ſo much Blood. Moreover, he deſired *Erick Bielke* who carried his Letter to King *John*, to let him know, that becauſe of the inſupportable Pride of the *Polanders*, he had reſolved to give his Siſter *Anne* in Marriage to Archduke *Erneſte*, to yield him the Kingdom of *Poland*, and to return himſelf into *Sweden.*

The New Liturgy renew'd.

After this, King *John* took the Affair of the New Liturgy again into his thoughts; becauſe he had heard that the Eccleſiaſticks of the *Dutchy*, had Condemn'd it with an unanimous conſent. For this end, he made *Placart* to be affix'd throughout all the Kingdom; wherein he accus'd them of Rebelion, Hereſy and Treaſon. He moreover named them Diſciples of the Devil, threatning to Baniſh them out of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, if they did not confeſs their Crime, and demand

and Pardon: And he alſo burn'd all the Books that Mr. *Abram* had publiſh'd to refute the *Liturgy*. Upon this, the Clergy of the *Dutchy* met at *ORERBRO*, and preſented a Writing to Duke *Charles*, wherein they demanded of him, if he judg'd it fit, that in order to anſwer the Accuſations that were brought againſt them, they ſhould appear in preſence of the King, the Senate, and States of *Sweden*; and what help they might expect from him, in caſe they were Cited before the King, or perhaps Empriſon'd upon this Account.

The *Eccleſiaſtick's* receiving a Gracious Anſwer from Duke *Charles*, Wrote a Letter, wherein they refuted the Calumnies wherewith they were charged, and refuſed to receive the New *Liturgy*: They appeal'd alſo to the Word of God, the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, and *Luther's* Catechiſm; intreating his Majeſty, at the ſame time, that he would be pleas'd to annul the Sentence that had been paſs'd againſt them. They Wrote alſo to this ſame Effect to the Counſel and Clergy of the Kingdom of *Sweden*. All which Remonſtrances did ſo Exaſperate King *John*, that he reſolved to call back his Son *Sigiſmond* out of *Poland*, to aſſiſt him in the preſent Conjuncture; becauſe Duke *Charles* his Brother, ſupported the *Eccleſiaſticks*, and he was uneaſie that he ſhould have formerly at *Wadſtena* propos'd to him Articles he cou'd not digeſt.

All this ſerved only the more to encreaſe the miſtruſt and hatred that was between King *John* and Duke *Charles* his Brother. Moreover, the *Eccleſiaſticks* of the *Dutchy*, and thoſe at *Upſal*, Wrote againſt one another with much Bitterneſs and Animoſity. And in as much as King *John* was well informed, that the Enemies of the New *Liturgy* were ſupported by Duke *Charles*, he oblig'd all the Clergy of *Sweden* to bind themſelves to him by an Oath, not only that they ſhould continue faithful to him, and that they would not give any manner of Aſſiſtance to Duke *Charles's* Subjects if they did Rebel; but that on the contrary, they would, with the utmoſt of their power, oppoſe their Enterpriſes. This Writing was Sign'd by all the Clergy of *Stockholm*, except M. *Erick Scopper*,

Scopper, whom he treated in a very injurious manner; and upon whoſe anſwer, he ſaid, he could have trampled him under his Feet, repeating the words of the *Pſalm*: *Thou ſhalt tread upon the Lyon and the Adder.*

The following Year, when the Truce between the *Swedes* and the *Muſcovites* was expir'd, King *John* Aſſembled the States of the Kingdom at *Upſal*, to deliberate with them upon the preſent Affairs: And in as much, as the Duke of *Muſcovy* would not hear of a Perpetual Peace with *Sweden*, unleſs the *Swedes* would give back the Provinces which they had Conquered from him, and which lay ſo convenient for King *John*: The States of the Kingdom declar'd to his Majeſty, that they were ready to provide him, with the Means and Succours that were neceſſary for carrying on the War.

But the Jealouſies between King *John* and Duke *Charles* his Brother, ſtill increaſing, His Majeſty acquainted King *Sigiſmond* his Son, by *Erick Bielke*, that he deſigned to come to ſee him at *Revel*, having firſt demanded permiſſion of the *Polanders* to make that Voyage; to the end, that he might accompany him back to *Sweden*, never to return more into *Poland*. What was pretended to the *Polanders*, was, that King *Sigiſmond* was reſolved to make the *Muſcovites* believe, that in that enterview with his Father, it was decreed that they ſhould both together make War upon them; to the end, that by this means, they might be brought to grant, both to *Sweden* and *Poland*, ſuch Articles of Peace as might be for the Advantage of the Two Nations. Thereupon, King *Sigiſmond* came to *Revel* by Land, and King *John* his Father, arrived there alſo with a conſiderable Fleet. After that, the Father and the Son had remain'd there the ſpace of Four weeks, King *Sigiſmond* made known his Inclinations to Return to *Sweden*: And that the Counſellors of the Two Kingdoms might the more eaſily give their conſent, King *John* endeavour'd to perſwade them, that he had no other deſign in this Voyage, but to get his Son *Sigiſmond* Crown'd in *Sweden*, and to ſend him back

back into *Polaand* presently after his Coronation. But the *Poles* nevertheless, smelling out the the deceit, opposed the departure of King *Sigismond*.

And that they might not suffer an affront, like that which was put upon them by *Henry of Valois*, they represented to King *Sigismond*, the Oath that he had taken upon his Accession to the Crown of *Poland*, and insisted much upon his return. The Councellors of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, having no oppertunity to conferr with King *John*, made a Petition be presented to him, wherein they were very pressing with him, that he would put off King *Sigismond*'s return into *Sweden*, till a more convenient opportunity; promising at the same time, that as soon as they had found one that was willing to accept of the Crown of *Poland*, they would send Ambassadors into *Poland*, to Sollicit them to send him back his Son, to be a Support and Comfort to him in his Old Age: For they represented to him, that in case he should then bring back his Son into *Sweden*, the *Polanders* would certainly look upon it as an insufferable Affront, and it may be take the great Duke of *Muscovy* for their King; or at least, make an Alliance with him against *Sweden*, to make War on it, with the utmost Vigour. To which they added, that in such a Conjuncture, the *Swedes* could not possibly but be worsted; especially, considering that their State was much in Debt, haras'd with intestine Troubles, and continually allarm'd with the Snares and Practices of the *Danes*. Besides, that *Sweden* alone, was not capable to bear up against two so potent Enemies; both because there was no Money in the Kingdom to pay their Soldiers, and also that their frontier Towns were but Weak and in ill Condition. To all these inconveniencies, they alleg'd in the last place, that the *Swedes* would infallibly lose the Provinces of *Ingermania*, *Carelia*, *Esthonia* and *Finlandia*: That the Forts which they had built, would serve for no use, but to incommode them; That by that means, King *Sigismond* and his Sister *Anne*, would lose their Parts of the Estate which they were to expect from their Mother's Sister; That King *Sigismond*'s Creditors would not fail to come into *Swe-*

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den to demand Payment of what he owed them: And lastly, that they should repent of the whole Affair, when 'twould be too late to apply any Remedy. Moreover, they protested to his Majesty, that they should be incomparably better pleased to see King *Sigismond* in *Sweden*, than that he should be left in *Poland*; and that they would receive him with open Arms, provided there could be any Remedy found, for all the inconveniencies that they had alledged; but if none could be found, they intreated the King to prefer Prudence to his Natural Inclination.

This Petition was signed by *Erick Gustaesson*, *Maurice Sture*, *Nicholas Ackeson*, *Gustavus* and *Steen Banier*, *Erick Sparre*, *Christierne Oxenstiern*, *Maurice Gryp*, *Thuron Bielcke*, and *Erick Abrahamson*. Nevertheless, they were but ill repay'd afterwards for their Counsel which they had given; when the Counsellors of the Kingdom had observed what little impression their Reasons had made upon the King, they put the Officers of the Militia in such a Ferment against him, that they laid down their Colours before the Palace Royal; protesting with Excerations, that they would never more bear Arms in his Majesty's Service, if he brought back King *Sigismond* into *Sweden*; because his return, would be great prejudice to the whole Nation.

In the mean while, the *Turks* and *Tartars* making an incursion into *Poland*; having first sent Ambassadors to complain of the Ravage which the *Cossacks* made in their Lands: The Chancellor of the Kingdom, dispatch'd some Persons of Note, in great hast to King *Sigismond*, intreating him to return forthwith to *Poland*; Besides the pressing necessity which call'd upon him to oppose the Enemies; his long Absence had given the *Polanders* great suspicions of him. On this, the Father and Son, were at last forced to part, so as they never more saw one another after that Separation.

When those things were doing, King *John* sent Ambassadors into the Frontiers of *Muscovy*; but their Negociation came to nothing at last, but a Cessation of Arms for three Months. Yet the *Muscovites* seem'd very inclinable to a Peace; for they offered

ed to the *Swedes*, to redeem the Towns and Provinces which they had loſt, with a Sum of Money.

About this time, King *John* received Lettes from *Hogenſchild Bielke*, whom he had made Gevernour of *Sweden* in his Abſence; wherein he accuſed Duke *Charles* of Rebellion and Inſurrection. Whereupon, his Majeſty returned into *Sweden* with all diligence; where, finding all peaceable, inſtead of being angry with his Brother, he gave Teſtimonies of his Diſpleaſure with the Governour *Bielke*; accuſing him and many Senators of Sedition and Mutiny, becauſe they had diſſwaded him to bring back King *Sigiſmond* with him. *Duke Charles ſuſpected again.*

Being afterwards relaps'd into the ſame Miſtruſt which formerly poſſeſt him, he charg'd the Senators themſelves, and particularly *Hogenſchild*, and *Thuron Bielke*, *Erick Guſtaeſſon*, and *Guſtavus Banier*, that they have been Plotting together to extirpate all the Royal Family: And that for that end, they had adviſed the ſending Prince *Sigiſmond* into *Poland*; That they had fomented Diviſions in *Sweden*, between him and Duke *Charles* his Brother; That they might have occaſion to exclude Prince *Sigiſmond* from the Succeſſion to the Crown, after the two Brothers ſhould have intirely drain'd their Forces upon one another, by Inteſtine Wars.

Thereupon, King *John* made Duke *Charles* come to *Stockholm*, and being reconciled to him, made him Share in the Government of the State: So as he never went about any Buſineſs of Importance without his Brother's Advice. Beſides, his Indignation was ſo much the greater for the Duke, becauſe he had a Son by the Princeſs of *Hotſal*; and had aſſur'd him, that altho' his Wife were Dead ſome time before, he will never more enter into the Bonds of Martiage.

King *John* following the Advice of Duke *Charles* his Brother, reſolves to aſſemble the States of the Kingdom, the beginning of the next Year, at *Stockholm*; that in that aſſembly, he might inquire into the Crimes of the Lords, whom he had accuſed; and at the ſame time lay down Meaſures for the War of *Muſcovy*.

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On the other hand, the Great Duke of *Muscovy* imagining right, that the King of *Sweden* would never for Money restore those Places which the *Swedes* had Conquered from him; and besides this, observing, that notwithstanding the Truce between the two Nations, the *Swedish* Troops had not ceas'd to make havock on his Dominions; he raises a powerful Army. However, he sent Commissioners upon the *Frontiers* of *Muscovy*, and follow'd after with his Forces, that he might fall upon the *Swedes* before they were aware, in case they should refuse to receive the Money which he then order'd to be tendered unto them. The Deputies from *Sweden* took care to be present there also. They promis'd on both hands, to cease from all Acts of Hostiliy, so long as the Negociation should be continued.

In the mean while, when the *Swedes* understood that without any regard to their mutual promises, the *Muscovites* had burnt *Iama*, they gave up the Negociation for Peace, and betook themselves to the Field. And tho' the *Musovites* protested, that this Act of Hostility was done without their knowledge or consent, and earnestly beg'd of the *Swedes* to continue the Negociation which they had begun; yet not being able to prevail with them, they at last patiently desisted.

Some time after, the *Swedes* had intiligence that the *Muscovites* were on their March with an Hundred thousand Men, and that they were going with all Expedition towards *Narva*. They soon carried the City of *Jamogrod*; after which, they went to lay Siege to *Narva*; from which, the *Swedish* Army was retired to go to *Wesenberg*, and furiously attack'd the City; tho' they were nevertheless Vigorously repulsed by the besieged.

In the mean time, the *Tartars* wasted *Finland*, and put many Thousands there to the Sword: And because the *Swedes*, who were in Garrison at *Narva*, had lost many Men during the Seige, and had no Succours to hope for from *Charles Horn*, the Governour of the Place, made an Agreement with the *Muscovites*, upon Condition, That if they would aban-

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don the Siege of *Narva*, he would in Lue of that City, reſtore them *Ivanogorod*, and *Copory*; and that, in fine, there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms for a whole Year between the two Nations. As ſoon as the *Muſcovites* had taken Poſſeſſion of theſe Two places, they return'd Home. Yet in *Sweden* it was not well taken, that the *Swediſh* Army, which during the Siege of *Narva*, lay incamped about *Weſenberg*, had given no ſuccour to the Beſieged, nor had been ſo much as any manner of check upon the Enemies; which was the reaſon that *Charles Horn* and *Guſtavus Banier*, who commanded the *Swediſh* Army, were both of them diſgrac'd with the King.

When thoſe things were doing, *Hogenſchild*, *Thuron Bielke*, *Axel Lewenhaupt*, *Guſtavus* and *Steen Banier*, with *Erick Sparre*, who had been Cited to appear before the States at *Stockholm*; were there Condemned, and put out of their Offices, upon the above mention'd accuſations: And many more Perſons of Quality, and other of lower Rank were Impriſon'd, on pretence, that they had been Complices in the ſame Crime.

On the other Hand, King *John* revoked all the Articles wherewith Duke *Charles* had formerly been charg'd at *Wadſtena*; alledging, that they had been ſuggeſted unto him by the Counſellors of the Kingdom, for no other deſign, but to Sow differences between the two Brothers: And withal, he made the Duke Governour of all *Sweden*, and put the Direction of all the State Affairs in his hands. In like manner alſo, he made the right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *Sweden* to be publickly Read and Confirmed in this Aſſembly; to which, it was added, in expreſs Terms, That all that were deſcended of the Royal Family, in the Maſculine Line, ſhould ſucceed one after another.

A little before the breaking up of this Aſſembly of the States, they had the News of the Surrender of the Forts which the *Swedes* poſſeſſed in the Province of *Ingermania*: Whereupon, King *John* reſolved to take them back by force. For this purpoſe, he cauſes ſome thouſands of *Germans* to be Levied, who were to Rendevouz about *Dantzick*, who yet all Deſerted for want of Pay.

Duke

Duke *Charles* being Entred into *Ingermania* with the *Swediſh* Troops, Attack'd *Ivanogorod* with much Vigour; but after all, was forc'd to return into *Sweden* without having made any Progreſs. After this, King *John* call'd an Aſſembly of the States at *Stockholm*, to deliberate about the Expedition which ſeem'd neceſſary againſt the *Muſcovites*; and at the ſame time, they enquir'd into the Affair of the Impriſon'd Lords. Among many other Accuſations, the King reproach'd *Hogenſchild Bielke* with this, That in the War with *Denmark*, he had ſuffer'd himſelf to be taken Priſoner by a Groom: And on the other hand, he accuſed *Guſtavus Banier*, that he had been the cauſe of the loſs of *Ivanogorod*, by not ſending ſuccour to *Charles*, who Commanded in *Narva*: Moreover, he imputed to *Erick Sparre*, his having promis'd the Province of *Eſthonia* to the *Polanders*, contrary to the Inſtructions and Orders that had been given him: But all Three made anſwer to theſe Accuſations, and to many others in ſuch manner, as they were neither Condemned nor Enlarged, but only Impriſoned in their own Houſes. Yet Duke *Charles* favour'd their Cauſe as much as poſſible: King *Sigiſmond* alſo interceeded with his Father ſo Effectually for them, that he conſented they ſhould be diſcharg'd, tho' he was ſurpris'd by Death at the time that the Act for their Enlargement was preparing.

In this ſame Aſſembly, Commiſſioners were empower'd to treat with the *Danes* upon the *Frontiers*, concerning the Three Crowns which they had inſerted into the Arms of *Denmark*; but the King of *Denmark* intreated, that the Deciſion of this Affair might be put off for Six years. The next Year, Duke *Charles* Married *Chriſtina* Daughter to *Adolphus* Duke of *Alſace*; which Marriage was no wiſe pleaſing to King *John*; both becauſe the promiſe which his Brother had made him, never to Marry; and alſo, that he fear'd the Children of this Marriage might diſpute the Crown of *Sweden* with his Sons Children, and exclude them from the Succeſſion. Some alledge, that before King *Sigiſmond* departed for *Poland*, he Courted that Princeſs, and had made her many Preſents: But that *Elizabeth*, who was Siſter to his Father, had perſwaded him againſt that

that Alliance; and that for this Reaſon, the Princeſs *Catherina* had conceived ſuch hatred of King *Sigiſmond*, as ſhe Excited Duke *Charles* to Raviſh the Crown of *Sweden* from him.

On the other Hand, King *Sigiſmond* this ſame Year eſpouſes the Princeſs *Anne*, Daughter to *Charles* Arch-duke of *Auſtria*: And about the ſame time, King *John* dies. It is reported of him, that for the laſt Year of his Life, the pernitious Counſels of his Flatterrers had made ſuch an impreſſion upon his Spirit, that he miſtruſted every body, and was afraid of his own Shadow: And for this Reaſon, the Enlargement of the Priſoners was put off till his Death.

In the beginning of his illneſs, they could obſerve no Symptoms nor ſigns of Death; but afterwards, his Malady came to be Mortal, by the Dregs and Poyſons he received from ignorant Apothecaries; for at that time, there were no Phyſicians in *Sweden*. When he was upon his Death-Bed, they ask'd his Sentements as to the Liturgy; to which he made anſwer, that ſeeing the greater part of his Subjects were unwilling to receive it, and were ready to riſe in Arms upon that account, he was unwilling ever any more to contend with a People that was ſo Opiniatre and Obſtinate. King *John* died at *Stockholm* the 17th of *September*, 1592.

The End of the Firſt Part.

THE Compleat Hiſtory OF SWEDEN.

PART II.

THE Death of K. *John* was conceal'd two Days, till the Royal Treaſury was riffled: After which Duke *Charles*, who then reſided at *Tellie*, was acquainted with it. As ſoon as the Duke receiv'd the News, he came Poſt to *Stockholm*, where he ſeverely reprimanded the Senators for not giving him notice of the King's Sickneſs, that he might have conſulted with him about the Affairs of the Kingdom. He was likewiſe diſſatisfied with the Queen, becauſe the Wardrobe as well as the Treaſury, was pillag'd. However, ſhe would not obey his Command of being gone from the Caſtle, till the King was interr'd. Soon after he releas'd all the Priſoners, whether Eccleſiaſtick or Secular; and reſtor'd the five impriſon'd Lords to their former Dignities. He likewiſe took an inventory of what Goods the King had left, and ſent K. *Sigiſmund* advice of his Father's Death, and promis'd to ſerve him faithfully in the Adminiſtration of the Government till his arrival, adding alſo, that he doubted not, but he would be ſo juſt as to confirm his privileges and thoſe of the States of the Country; and that in the mean time he would *K. Sigiſmund.*

employ all his Intereſt in procuring a Peace, at leaſt prolonging the time between the *Sweedes* and *Ruſſians*. At the ſame time the Duke being apprehenſive, that upon K. *John*'s Death the *Poles* would oblige the *Swedes* to yield them up *Eſthonia*; he writ to the Officers that Commanded in that Province, to caution 'em not to take any notice of the *Poles*, in caſe they ſent them civil and obliging Letters, to perſwade 'em to ſurrender the places under their command: And likewiſe imparted this *Caveat* to *Sigiſmund*. But Count *Axel Leuwenhooſt* put a Conſtruction upon D. *Charles*'s Orders, as if he had aſpir'd to the Soveraignty of the Kingdom of *Sweden*; and exhorted the *Viſi-Goths* to continue firm to the Allegiance they had Swore to K. *Sigiſmund*; upon which the *Viſi-goths* threaten'd to puniſh Duke *Charles* as a diſturber of the publick Peace, if he did not, alter his Conduct; and order'd him to continue at *Stockholm* with the reſt of the Senators. But the Duke not daring to truſt himſelf in *Stockholm*, retir'd to *Poland*, where he obtain'd of King *Sigiſmund* a Letter, aſſuring him of his Protection, and then return'd with him to *Sweden*. In the mean time Duke *Charles* fearing that King *Sigiſmund* would make the Count Governor of *Weſt Gothland* and *Finland*, writ to the Inhabitants of that Country not to accept of him, in caſe he ſhould ſhew 'em his Commiſſion. At the ſame time *Oluf-ſteenboch* retir'd likewiſe to *Poland* to avoid being impriſon'd by Duke *Charles*, for not giving in his Anſwers to a Charge drawn up againſt him. Thus *Oluf*, in conjunction with Count *Axel*, inflam'd K. *Sigiſmund*'s Jealouſie of Duke *Charles*; inſomuch that in the Letters of protection given him by the King, he was order'd to give an account of his proceedings at a place appointed. But the five Senators, whom *Charles* had reſtor'd to their Places and Dignities, promis'd, out of gratitude, to manage his Interſts with all fidelity, and prevent his coming to any harm; and alſo would reſerve a *Salvo* for their Oath of Allegiance to King *Sigiſmund*.

A prouiſional Treaty betwen D. Cha. and the Senat.

While K. *Sigiſmund* knew nothing of his Father's Death, he had diſpatch'd *James Horn* to Duke *Charles*, to acquaint him, that if his Father's indiſpoſition ſhould carry him off, he had fully reſolv'd to be in

Sweden

Sweden the next Spring; that in the mean time the ſaid Duke ſhould take upon him the adminiſtration of the Government of the Kingdom, ſtifle all Seditions and Commotions, and pardon all Crimes and Miſdemeanours whatſoever; that upon his arrival in *Sweden*, he might poſſeſs his Crown in Peace. But in this time Duke *Charles* had already taken upon him the management of publick Affairs, becauſe D. *John*, K. *Sigiſmund*'s Brother, was then but four Years of Age; and K. *John* his Father, in his Life-time had taken him in as Co-partner in the Government of the Kingdom. D. *Charles* having interr'd K. *John* in the Caſtle Chappel, ſent Commiſſioners to enter into Negotiation with the *Ruſſians*; and clap'd up a Treaty with the Senate; in which it was agreed, That ſeeing Prince *John* was then under Age, they ſhould acknowledge the Duke to be Senior of the Royal Family, he ſhould be intruſted with the adminiſtration of Affairs in K. *Sigiſmund*'s Abſence. By virtue of this Treaty, all the Senators were oblig'd to obey him in every thing that he enjoyn'd in conſert with them for the Glory of God, the Intereſt of the Catholick Religion, and the preſervation of the privileges of the *Swediſh* Nation, reſerving ſtill a *Salvo* for their Oath of Allegiance to K. *Sigiſmund*. On the other hand D. *Charles* aſſur'd them he would engage in no Enterprize relating to Affairs of Importance without their advice and conſent; and that whatever was reſolv'd upon by a general Voice, ſhould be put in Execution by him, in conjunction with the Senat. This Treaty was ſign'd by *Nyls Gyldenſtern*, *Erick Guſtaofſon*, *Guſtavus Banier*, *Erick Sparre*, *Nicolas Bielke*, *Erick Abrahamſon*, *Stephen Banier*, *Thuron Bielke*, *Bengt Ribbing*, *Guſtavus Oxenſtiern*, *Guſtavus Biern* and *Joram Poſze*.

A Convention call'd to extirpate Popery.

The above-mentioned Subſcribers having thus laid the Foundation of a New Govermnent, call'd a Convention of the States to find out expedients for ſinking the odious Name of the *Maſs*, and introducing the *Ausbourg* Confeſſion, deſigning by that means, to prevent the Preaching of Popiſh Doctrines in that Country before *Sigiſmund*'s return to *Sweden*; the Reaſon of which proceedings was becauſe they imagin'd he would endeavour, by all means, to Re-

eſtabliſh the *Popiſh* Religion in his Dominions. For this purpoſe a Convention was call'd next *March*, at which time they likewiſe intended to chuſe a Proteſtant Archbiſhop. K. *Sigiſmund* knowing nothing of theſe Contrivances, wrote a Letter to the States of the Kingdom, in which he promis'd to be in *Sweden* next Summer, to confirm all their Rights and Privileges, and would oblige none to change their Religion, nor favour or perſecute any upon that account. He likewiſe aſſur'd them, That it was contrary to his Inclination, that he left his own Country to be King of *Poland*; and that his only aim, in taking that Crown, was to prevent the *Muſcovites* from poſſeſſing themſelves of that Kingdom; and alſo, by the intereſt of the *Poles*, procure a ſolid Peace between *Sweden* and *Muſcovy*. This ſaid, he ordered the States of the Kingdom to obey D. *Charles* and the Council in every thing that tended to their advantage.

Soon after Count *Axel Leuwenhooft*, having made a journey to *Poland*, repreſented to K. *Sigiſmund*, that *Charles* had writ Letters to the *Viſi-goths*, *Finlanders*, and *Eſthonians*, which diſcover'd his deſign of forſaking his Allegiance to His Majeſty. Hereupon K. *Sigiſmund* ſent ſome Swediſh Lords, in whom he confided, to be Governors of the Caſtles of *Sweden* and *Eſthonia*; and at the ſame time diſpatch'd *John Sparr* to *Finland*, where he adminiſtred the Oath of Allegiance to the Inhabitants, and ſecur'd their Forts.

A Difference between K. Sigiſmund and D. Charles.

Theſe were the firſt Sparks that kindled the Fire of Diſſention between *K. Sigiſmund* and D. *Charles*. However, *K. Sigiſmund* conceal'd his Diſpleaſure, and writ to D. *Charles* in very obliging terms, proteſting his only aim in ſending new Governors to the Caſtles, was, to prevent Commotions that might enſue upon the Depoſition of the Old ones; and withal, deſiring the Duke would ſend him Secretary *Oluf Snercherſon*, with an inventory, of what was receiv'd and laid out of the Royal Revenues, that upon his arrival in *Sweden* he might be able to put all things in order. All this was but K. *Sigiſmund*'s pretence; for his real intention was to diſcover whether D. *Charles* was juſtly charg'd with miſmanaging the Treaſury. After this K. *Sigiſmund* order'd ſome Senators to conduct the Fleet to *Dantzick*, in order to attend him about

about the beginning of *July*. Soon after he countermanded his former Orders, and desir'd *Thuron Bielke* might be sent in Quality of Embassador to to the States of *Poland* to hasten his departure. D. *Charles*, pursuant to the King's Orders, sent *Oluf Snercherson* with full assurances of his faithful Service and sincere Obedience, humbly intreating him, that upon his arrival in *Sweden*, he would be pleas'd to confirm the Privileges of his Subjects, and support the Protestant Religion. He likewise exhorted the King not to precipitate his return to *Sweden*, lest he should thereby endanger his possession of the Crown of *Poland*, also that he would not give 'em an absolute denial of *Esthonia*; but on the contrary to bring 'em over to an Alliance with the *Swedes*, that thereby they might act joyntly against the *Muscovites*. By the same Messenger, he begg'd he would provide a Subsistence for D. *John* and the Q. *Dowager*, and pay him out of the Revenues of the Crown what he had laid out, and not dissolve the Convention that was call'd at *Upsal*, but rather confirm their Resolutions, and stand to the Treaty of *Calmar*, in which K. *Sigismund* had stipulated, that the Senators depos'd by his Father, should be restor'd to their former Dignities. In conclusion, he complain'd of *Axel Leuwenhooft* and *Oluf Steenbook*, and pray'd the King not to credit the Calumnies and Reproaches of his other Enemies; but to hearken to the Secretary whom he had sent to him, being a Man of Fidelity and probity. But Secretary *Oluf Snercherson* was so far from being true to D. *Charles*'s Commission, that on the contrary, he bespatter'd him with the blackest Calumnies he could invent; and on the other hand when he return'd to *Sweden*, discover'd all K. *Sigismund*'s Plot to the Duke. In the mean time the Commissioners that had been sent to *Muscovy*, procur'd a continuation of the Truce for two Years, and the *Finlanders*, to whom *John Sparr* had administred the Oath of Allegiance, enter'd into a mutual League to oppose all the King's Enemies, and to suffer none, of whom they had the least mistrust, to take possession of their Castles. For the same reason they refus'd to be present at the Convention at *Upsal*, because they thought K. *Sigismund* was not pleas'd

Popish Superstition aboliſh'd.

with it. But the *Sweeds* and *Goths* came very willingly. That Convention confirm'd the *Ausbourg* Confeſſion and aboliſh'd the Maſs; and having defac'd all the tracts of the Roman Religion, prohibited the Elevation of the Hoſte in the celebration of the Lord's Supper; the Exorciſm in Baptiſm, the white Habits, the Wax-Candles, and ſuch other inſignificant Ceremonies: After which they introduc'd a new Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and confer'd the Archbiſhoprick upon one *Abraham*, who was a mortal Enemy to the Maſs-Book, and for that cauſe had been baniſh'd *Sweden* 13 Years. The Preſident of this Convention was *Nicholas* of *Bothnia*. Their decrees were ſign'd by D. *Charles*, the Senate, the Nobility, the Clergy, the Miniſters of State, the Bourgomaſters of Cities, and in a word, all the Members of the Convention; and Deputies were ſent round the Country to take the Subſcriptions of thoſe who were abſent, and the refuſers were look'd upon as Hereticks. Farther, the Convention came to a Reſolution, that in matters of Law they could not, without forfeiting their Rights, appeal to the King in *Poland*; and therefore that no Swediſh Affair ſhould be tranſacted in that Kingdom. 'Tis true they allow'd Appeals to the King whilſt in *Sweden*; but all Appeals were to be null and ineffectual during his abſence from the Kingdom. Both theſe Decrees, relating to Religion, and the nature of Appeals, were alſo to be ſign'd by the King before his acceſſion, to the Crown, and in caſe of his refuſal he was prohibited from Aſcending the Throne. This done, D. *Charles* ſent *Thuron Bielke* to *Poland* to take an Authentick Obligation in writing, that before his departure from *Poland*, he would confirm the States of the Kingdom in their Privileges and Immunities, and allow them the ſame liberty in their Religion as they enjoy'd in the latter end of the Reign of *Guſtavus*, and the beginning of K. *John*'s. Beſides, *Thuron Bielke* had orders to adviſe the King not to bring with him a greater Retinue, than the miſerable condition of *Sweden* would allow.

K. Sigiſmund comes from Poland to Sweden.

At a general Diet of the Polonian States held at *Warſaw*, K. *Sigiſmund* eaſily obtain'd leave to go to *Sweden*, upon Condition he would remember his Oath,

Oath, and not desert *Poland* as *Henry de Valois* had done; and that after he had settled the Affairs of *Sweden*, he would forthwith return and reside continually among them. It is alleg'd by some, that this last Clause pleas'd D. *Charles* mightily, and was the first thing that tempted him to aspire to the Crown of *Sweden*. K. *Sigismund* gave Secretary *Snercherson* a very favourable Answer to all the Articles in his Commission; but at the same time he declar'd, that all the Resolves concluded upon at *Upsal*, without his knowledge, should be invalid. The States of *Sweden* were mightily alarm'd with this Declaration, which taught them what they were to expect from the King upon the score of Religion. At last K. *Sigismund* prepares for his Voyage, having sent before him *Gustavus Braha*, and *Peter Brasch*, to assure the States of *Sweden*, that he was resolv'd to maintain their Rights and Privileges, and to adjust the Ceremonies to be observ'd at his Reception. But by the same Messengers he declar'd, That he could not satisfie their Request till his Coronation; and that the assurances they requir'd were not proper to be demanded of an Hereditary, but only from an Elective Prince. Then *Nicholas Bielke*, and *Erick Sparre* were sent as Deputies to *Dantzick* to receive K. *Sigismund*, and thank the States of *Poland* for their Civility in countenancing K. *Sigismund*'s Voyage to *Sweden*. As soon as K. *Sigismund* arriv'd from on Board a Dutch Ship that he hir'd to carry him over, D. *Charles* went and complimented him upon his arrival, and immediately after retir'd to *Nykoping*, leaving the King alone with the Council of *Sweden*. The arrival of *K. Sigismund*, as well as the return of his Wife and Sister, were matter of universal Joy: But the *Swedes* were soon undeceiv'd, when they saw him accompanied with *Francis Malsalpiva* the *Popes Nuncio*, who had been sent by the Court of *Rome* to compliment him upon his Accession to the Crown of *Sweden*, who had not only Solicited him to promote the Roman Religion, but had likewise presented him with 30000 Ducats towards defraying the Charges of his Voyage to *Sweden*. In a word, his pernicious Designs were quickly perceived; for he began to press the *Swedes* to allow a Church in every City

for the exerciſe of the Popiſh Religion. He revers'd the Decrees of the Convention at *Upſal* as Illegal, being held without his Knowledge as well as againſt his Will; and order'd them to chuſe another Archbiſhop, becauſe Mr. *Abraham* had been an inveterate Enemy to K. *John*, and was inſtall'd without his Approbation, adding further, That he would not be Conſecrated or Crown'd by a *Lutheran* Biſhop, but by the Pope's Nuncio only. All the Members of the Convention made a vigorous Oppoſition to his demands; and the Clergy then aſſembled at *Upſal*, ſent Deputies to entreat him not to inſiſt upon the Reſolves he had made; but he would not liſten to their Remonſtrances. However, the confidence the *Swedes* put in D. *Charles* inſpir'd them with Courage in that juncture; and the Clergy Unanimouſly and Zealouſly Preached againſt the King's Deſigns and thoſe his pernicious Councellors at Court. To which Secretary *Snercherſon* contributed not a little, by revealing to the Conſiſtory all that was done at Court. On the other hand the Jeſuits and Court Favourites declar'd with equal Zeal againſt the *Lutherans*; which only ſerving to ſowre and greive the Proteſtants, the Papiſts offer'd to prove the Truth of their Religion by Scripture and Miracles, making bold Challenges to their Adverſaries; but the *Lutherans* declin'd the Trial, ſaying, They doubted not of the purity of their Doctrine which was reveal'd in Gods Word; and therefore they would not tempt *God Almighty*: And further, whereas the *Lutherans* allow'd the *Poles* that died in *Sweden* to be interr'd in the Church of *Ridderſhelm*, tho' the *Swedes* were not allow'd the ſame Priviledge in *Poland*; yet they would not allow them to Preach Funeral Sermons in their Pulpits: Upon which the *Papiſts* buried their Dead in the Church with Arms in their Hands, wounded ſome that oppos'd them, ſeiz'd upon the Pulpit by open force, and then made their Funeral harrangues. Theſe inſolent Actions proceeding from mere Forreigners, were more provoking to the *Swedes*, eſpecially becauſe the King openly juſtify'd them; and tho' the Nobility remonſtrated to K. *Sigiſmund*, that it was his Duty to puniſh the Offenders; yet he ſuffer'd their Violences to paſs with impunity, alledging, for their juſtification, that neither

neither the Churches or Pulpits were Built or Beautify'd by the *Lutherans*, but only by the Papists; and that the *Lutherans* had no right to hinder the Roman Catholicks from performing their Worship in the Churches that themselves had Founded, whereupon the Senate, in the Name of all the States of the Kingdom, presented a long memorial to His Majesty, praying him to do them Justice in the Quality of Soveraign, and give them assurance in some proper Instrument before his Coronation, that he would maintain their Privileges, and particularly the Libery of their Religion. But K. *Sigismund* gave no other Answer than this, *That at his Coronation, he would grant the States of the Kingdom all that should be just and reasonable.*

The Senat's Remonstrances to K. Sigismund before his Coronation.

The Ceremony of the Coronation was put off a long time, because the King would give no regard to the repeated Desires and Remonstrances of the States: For the *Poles* had perswaded him that he had an absolute Power to govern his herditary Kingdom without the consent of the States, and only by such Laws or Edicts as he thought fit to publish. In the mean time the Duke seem'd to stand Neuture, that he might observe the event of Affairs. But the States being entirely satisfy'd with his good Inclination, oppos'd the King more vigorously. Besides, a great many of the King's Counsellours foresaw he could not carry himself successfully in this enterprize, tho' none of them had the Honesty or Courage to give him good Counsel, except one Officer of his Household, whose Name was *Livin Bulow*, a very sensible Man, who out of Compassion to his Master, deliver'd him a piece of Paper, in which he besought him to be advis'd by the Natives of the Country and not by Forreigners, because the former were best acquainted with the Constitution of the Kingdom. He likewise represented, that the Affairs of the Kingdom were at that pass, that he would be oblig'd either to reduce those who opposed him by open force, or must make a virtue of necessity and comply with their demands. And since the present conjuncture would not allow of open Force, it was his Interest to confirm the Protestant Religion for his own Reign, if not for that of his Successors; that he ought to suffer

ſuffer Mr. *Abraham* to enjoy the Dignity of Archbiſhop, and not ſcruple receiving his Coronation from him, ſince the Eſſence of Religion conſiſted in Faith and good Works, and not in meer Ceremonies; that he ought not to be Crown'd till he adjuſted the difference between him and the States, becauſe the City of *Upſal*, the place of his Coronation, was intirely at the devotion of his Enemies, who might make uſe of that opportunity to force him to grant any thing; but after his Acceſſion to the Crown, if he pleas'd, he might take up Arms, and put the Government of the Caſtle of *Stockholm* into the hands of ſome truſty Friend, for a ſafe retreat in time of Extremity; and in the mean time he ought to have Spies every where to found the intention of the Swedes. But K. *Sigiſmund* unhappily deſpis'd all theſe Counſels, and would only follow his own Humour, inſomuch that the States of *Sweden* Commiſſion'd *Sivard Ribbing* and *Axel Kurk* to go to D. *Charles* at *Grypſholm*, praying him to uſe his Intereſt with the King, in perſwading him to grant their juſt Requeſts, and come to *Upſal* without any miſtruſt, to aſſiſt at the Convention of States, and promote the Work of Peace. The Duke could not well refuſe the States Requeſt, tho', at the ſame time, he foreſaw there was nothing to be done by gentle Methods; and therefore reſolv'd to be accompanied with a competent number of ſtout Soldiers; bnt firſt wrote to the King, adviſing him to do what he had often recommended to him before his return to *Sweden*, namely, To confirm the Privileges of the States before his Coronation, and maintain the Liberty of Religion, for otherwiſe he muſt expect the fatal conſequences of his refuſal. K. *Sigiſmund* anſwer'd the Duke's Letter with reitterated Compliments, praying him to remember how often the Senate and chief Nobility had Plotted againſt the Royal Family; and therefore in Juſtice he ought rather to defend the cauſe of his Brother, than joyn with Rebels: Adding, that he had given the Archbiſhoprick of *Upſal* to Mr. *Pierre* inſtead of Mr. *Abraham*. Duke *Charles* having given the King no agreeable Reply to his Anſwer; and the King being inform'd that the Duke was drawing Troops together, following the advice

advice of *Nicholas Flemming* and *Charles Guſtaefson*, His Majeſty reſolv'd to take a greater number of Troops to *Upſal* with him than uſually attended his Perſon; but *Guſtavus Banier*, Mareſhal of the Kingdom, took off the King from that Deſign, by repreſenting to him that *Upſal* was not provided to entertain ſuch a numerous Retinue: Whereupon His Majeſty went to *Upſal*, accompanied only with his Life-guards; and D. *Charles* arriv'd next day at the ſame place with a very ſmall Retinue, tho' under hand, he had order'd ſome Troops to Quarter in the Neighbourhood.

A League between D. Charles and the States.

After K. *John*'s Funeral, the States of *Sweden* grew hotter in claiming their Pretentions, and Preſumptouſly demanded, That all who did not own the *Ausbourg Confeſſion*, ſhould be excluded from places of Truſt. The Nobles likewiſe preſented ſome Articles to the King, relating to their private Intereſt; which the King promis'd to ſatisfie, if they would comply wirh what he deſir'd, or at leaſt. if they would but promiſe ſometime hereafter, the Roman Catholicks ſhould enjoy an equal Liberty with the *Lutherans*, if the preſent juncture would not permit them an abſolute toleration of the Roman Religion. But none of theſe alleviating Exceptions would go down with the States; and K. *Sigiſmund* ſtedfaſtly adhearing to his firſt Reſolutions, the Miniſters as furiouſly oppos'd him in their Sermons; and not long after it was mov'd by ſome Members of the *Convention*, that the Crown ſhould be offer'd to D. *Charles*, or to Prince *John*, if the Duke would not accept of it. But the Duke and the council would not hear the motion; and to ſtifle it the Duke, engag'd to perſuade the King to give the States ſatisfaction. Accordingly he had an interview with K. *Sigiſmund* in the Caſtle; where, after a long Conference, they had certainly paſs'd from Words to Blows, if ſome Lords, who were preſent, had not induſtriouſly prevented it, and prevail'd with K. *Sigiſmund* not to part with his Brother *Charles* till he was perfectly reconcil'd: But, notwithſtanding this ſeeming Accomodation, the two Brothers were not long Friends; for the Duke obſerving that K. *Sigiſmund* ſtifly adhered to his firſt Reſolves, he enter'd into

into a Treaty with the States for the Preſervation and Security of the Proteſtant Religion; and then made a review of his Troops ſome miles from *Upſal*. The Council and Swediſh Nobility dreading the conſequences of a War, complain'd to the Poliſh Lords that were then in *Sweden*, of His Majeſty's ſtiff and unconciliable Temper; deſiring them to perſuade him to grant their juſt Demands, proteſting withal, that if he refus'd, whatever inconvenience ſhould happen to the King, or his Troops, ought not to be charg'd upon them. This Remonſtrance made ſuch an impreſſion upon the *Poles*, and the Pope's *Nuncio*, who had a great aſcendant over K. *Sigiſmund*, that they all joyn'd in adviſing the King to humour the Swedes, but at the ſame time, agreeable to their own Maxims, told him, *That he was not oblig'd to perform a Promiſe extorted by neceſſity, in oppoſition to his Judgment and Conſcience*. Then K. *Sigiſmund* agreed to all the States Demands, with this exception, That he would not be Crown'd by the Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, but by the Biſhop of *Stavegnes*; and that he ſhould have the free Exerciſe of his own Religion in the Chapel of the Caſtle in which he liv'd, which agreed exactly with the terms of the *Calmar* Treaty. However he would not confirm this Promiſe under his hand till the very day of his Coronation.

K. Sigiſmund Crown'd.

The next day after his Coronation, a deſign was ſet on foot to Murder D. *Charles* at an *Italian* Comedy; but the Duke being inform'd of the Plot, took care to be abſent. When all the Ceremonies of the Coronation were over, the States publickly adminiſtred to the *King* the Oath of Fidelity; and then were order'd to repair to *Stockholm*, to concert a form of Government to be obſerv'd after the *King*'s departure for *Poland*. At laſt D. *Charles* took leave of *K. Sigiſmund*, who finding he could not compaſs his ends otherwiſe than by open force, ſent *James Weyer* to *Poland* to make preparations for bringing an Army into *Sweden* the next Summer. When the Affairs of Religion, or even thoſe of the States, were treated off, he conſulted much more with *Maſalpina* and the *Poles*, than with his natural Subjects. Being deny'd a Church at *Stockholm* for the Roman Catholicks,

A Conſpiracy againſt D. Charles.

licks he bought a great Stone Houſe for that uſe. He embelliſh'd the Chapel of the Caſtle with new Ornaments; he founded another at *Protings-holm*, and took the Monaſtery of *Wadſtena* into his ſpecial protection. He with a ſolemn Pomp celebrated all the Ceremonies obſerv'd by the Papiſts in *Eaſter* and *Whitſon* Weeks; and among ſeveral other things, took ſome Beggars of the Streets, whoſe Feet *Maſalpina* waſh'd in the Caſtle Chapel; but after that no body would give them Alms.

A Convention for adjuſting the form of Government in the King's Abſence.

Soon after *Whitſuntide*, the Convention of States met at *Stockholm*, in which the Treaty with the *Muſcovites* being taken into Conſideration, they reſolv'd at that time to prolong the Truce, becauſe they had not time to conclude a final Peace: But the moſt difficult Point was the form of Government to be eſtabliſh'd in the King's Abſence, which they could not adjuſt by reaſon of a miſunderſtanding between his Majeſty and the States; and eſpecially becauſe the *Poles* adviſ'd the *King* to leave the *Swedes* in the ſame confuſion and diſorder as he found them, in order to facilitate the reducing of 'em, and obliging them to comply with his Deſire. Theſe Poliſh Councellours likewiſe diſuaded the *King* from the Peace between *Sweden* and *Muſcovy*, that the Swedes being diverted by foreign Enemies, might not be capable to attempt any thing in oppoſition to His Majeſty. *K. Sigiſmund* liſten'd to all their Advices, notwithſtanding that the Senate importun'd him to eſtabliſh a Form of Government, and pay the Arreares of his Father's Army for fear they ſhould diſperſe themſelves for want of Pay. On the other hand the Poles preſs'd His Majeſty to haſten his return to *Poland*, after which he might come back to *Sweden* at the Head of a Powerful Army, and reduce the Rebels. During the Seſſions of this Convention at *Stockholm*, ſome Troops arriv'd from *Poland* and march'd to *Stockholm*; but not being numerous enough to attempt any thing, the Members of the Convention were not over-aw'd by their approach, but ad-her'd firmly to the *Upſal* Treaty. In the mean time the Poles grew more inſolent, and began to commit horrid Outrages, and barbarous Murders both by Night and Day, inſomuch, that the very Churches themſelves could not

eſcape

ſcape their Violence. Upon this the Senate were forc'd to call in the *Dalecarlians*, with whom the Poles had ſeveral Skirmiſhes. When the Clergy complained to the Senate of the inſolences committed upon 'em, all the Anſwer or comfort they could receive, was, *That they ought to give over their ſatyrical Reflections in their Pulpits, and to be upon their Guard, till the departure of K.* Sigiſmund. When the *King* was ready to begin his Voyage, he ſent *Erick Steenbock* to his Brother *Charles*, to treat with him about the adminiſtration of the Government. The Duke accepted the Offer upon ſome conditions, which he propos'd to *Erick*. Afterwards His Majeſty gave the Government of the Caſtle of *Stockholm* to *Erick Brahe*, notwithſtanding the Senat oppos'd it very warmly becauſe he was a Romaniſt.

K. Sigiſmund *ſets out for* Poland.

At laſt the *King* ſet out for *Dantzick* with a Fleet of 24 Sail. Upon which the Senat finding themſelves without a Head, writ Letters to D *Charles* ſetting forth, "That ſince *K. Sigiſmund* had left the "Affairs of the *Kingdom* in ſuch ſtrange confuſion, "they earneſtly deſir'd him to to take upon him the "Adminiſtration of Affairs, and promis'd to aſſiſt "him faithfully in every thing that concern'd the in-"tereſt of the *King* and *Kingdom*: They likewiſe re-"preſented, that the *Kingdom* was over-charg'd with "Debts, that the Peace with the *Muſcovites* was un-"certain; and that *K. Sigiſmnnd* had not declar'd "what form of Government ſhould be obſerv'd in his "Abſence. For in Effect, *Erick Steenbock* having carry'd the Dukes Anſwer and Propoſals to the *King*, who was then Aboard the Fleet, brought back word, that the *King* did not like the Model he had laid down, but propos'd another, the tenor of which is as follows; "That in his Majeſty's Abſence, the "*Kingdom* of *Sweden* ſhould be govern'd by Perſons "nominated for that purpoſe; that the Adminiſtra-"tion ſhould be put in the hands of D. *Charles* in con-"junction with the Council; That during his a-"bode in *Poland*, there ſhould be no Convention of "of the States, nor no Laws or Edicts made; That "the Intereſt of His Majeſty and the States ſhould be "be always in their view; That the Crown ſhould

"be

"be ſecur'd for him and his Heirs, and in failure of "them to D. *John* his Brother; and, in fine, That "the Subjects ſhould obey D. *Charles* and the Coun- "cil, only ſo long as they acted agreeable to the "Conditions Preſcrib'd by his Majeſty. Theſe Arti- cles being put into writing, D. *Charles* was order'd to Sign them, but he rejected the whole, as being neither proper nor beneficial to the *Kingdom*, Pro- teſting if he could not obtain ſuch a Commiſſion as he had propos'd to His Majeſty, and that under the Royal Seal, the States of the *Kingdom* were free to call a general Convention, and deliberate by whom, and in what manner they ſhould be go- vern'd in the *King*'s Abſence; and as for his part, he would continue a faithful Servant to His Majeſty, whom, at the ſame time, he importun'd to obſerve the *Upſal* Treaty, and to find expedients for the op- poſing the *Muſcovites* on all occaſions.

The Senat rejects K. Sigiſmund *Model of Govern- ment; and* D. Charles *accepts of the Admi- ſtratisn.*

However, the *King* inſiſting on his firſt Reſolve; and being imbark'd for *Dantzick*, the Council pray'd D. *Charles* to charge himſelf with the Adminiſtration of Affairs. At firſt D. *Charles* ſeem'd very indiffe- rent, partly becauſe *K. Sigiſmund* had tied him up to ſuch narrow terms, and partly becauſe he had given the Council equal Authority with him; To which we may add, That in moſt of the Provinces of *Sweden*, the *King* had plac'd Governors, who u- ſurp'd the Soveraign Power. But when he began to conſider that his Country ſtood abſolutely in need of his Aid, in the Proſperity of which he was intereſs'd, as being a Prince of the Blood, entitl'd to the Suc- ceſſion of the Crown; and that the beſt form of Government conſiſted in executing thoſe things which the *King*, by his Oath and Devoir, was oblig'd to obſerve. Upon theſe Conſiderations, I ſay, he alter'd his Reſolution and came to *Stockholm*, where, af- ter long Conſultation between the Duke and the Council, they came to this Reſolution, "That the "Model of Government preſcrib'd by. *K Sigiſmund* "ought to be rejected, being directly oppoſite to his "Oath, by which he engag'd to follow the advice of "D. *Charles* and the Council; That all the Articles "of the Treaty concluded with him, ſhould be pun- "ctually obſerv'd, and in purſuance of that Treaty

"that

"that the exerciſe of the Roman Religion ſhould "be entirely aboliſh'd, that all thoſe who profeſs'd "or favour'd it ſhould be turnd out of their Places; "That the *Kingdom* of *Sweden* ſhould be under one "general Governor; and that all Governors of par- "ticular Provinces ſhould be broke. This Reſolu- tion they left to the Conſideration of the Conven- tion of States, which was to meet at the firſt op- portunity. This done, the Citizens of *Stockholm* declar'd to *Erick Brahe* their Governor; that they would not acknowledge his Authority or Character, in regard he was a Romaniſt by Profeſſion; and ſoon after D. *Charles* broke him outright. At the ſame time the exer- ciſe of the Roman Religion was prohibited in the Caſtle and City of *Stockholm*, and at *Drogningſholm*.

A Predicti- on and Re- joycing up- on the Birth of Guſtavus Adolphus.

But on the other hand D. *Charles* was very Civil and Complaiſant to the Proteſtant Clergy, and the Ci- tizens of *Stockholm*, who made great rejoycing upon the Birth of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, to whom *Tycho Brahe* the famous Aſtronomer, had allotted a Crown agreeable to the Predictions he made upon his Na- tivity; And as ſome alledg'd, it was this Chimera that incited the Duke to poſſeſs himſelf of the Crown of *Sweden*. After the Baptiſm of that young Prince, D. *Charles* regal'd the Council and principal Nobi- lity at a Feaſt, which gave *K. Sigiſmund* a jealou- ſie that he deſign'd to ſtrike in with the Council to his Prejudice. The *King*'s miſtruſt was farther in- flam'd by D. *Charles*'s granting the moſt conſidera- ble Fiefs to the Counſellours of the *Kingdom*, and great Penſions to the Biſhops and the Profeſſors in Univerſities.

A Peace between Sweden *and* Muſ- covy.

The ſame Year a Peace was concluded at *Narva*, between the Swedes and Muſcovites. The Principal Articles of this Treaty imported, "That the Province "of *Eſthonia* ſhould rcontinue under the Crown of "*Sweden*, upon condition that *Hexmol* ſhould be put "into the Hands of the D. of *Muſcovy* after the ad- "juſting of the Limits between the two Territories. About the time that Prince *Uladiſlaus* was born in *Poland*, D. *Magnus* the Son of *Guſtavus*, D. of *Eaſt Gothland* died at *Oerebro*, where he was kept un- der confinement, as being a Lunatick. In this time D. *Charles* call'd a Convention of the States at

Suderkoping,

Suderkoping, which occasion'd many Troubles and Commotions in the Kingdom of *Sweden*. The Confusion and Disorder of that *K*ingdom, flow'd from this source. When *K. Sigismund* departed from *Sweden*, he left the Affairs of the *K*ingdom in great confusion, without any settled Form of Government; and for that reason, D. *Charles* would not accept of the Administration, but remitted it to the Convention of States, to determine, by whom, and in what manner, the *K*ingdom should be Govern'd in his Absence. The *K*ing likewise being gone from *Sweden*, without putting the Terms of his Oath in Execution; and on the contrary, allowing the Roman Catholicks the free use of their Religion, and making almost as many Governors in *Sweden*, as there were Provinces; D. *Charles* and the Council would not obey his Orders, for since they were invested with an absolute Authority, they ought to prefer the good of the *K*ingdom. The other Allegations were of less importance.

A Convention held at Suderkoping *contrary to the Kings Orders.*

D. *Charles*, in conjunction with the Council, sent Letters to the *K*ing, representing the necessity of a Convention, and tho His Majesty return'd no Answer, the Members of the Convention repair'd to *Suderkoping* from all quarters of the *K*ingdom, in the Month of *September*. *K. Sigismund* having notice of this, prohibited them to meet, declaring that whatever Resolutions they made, he would not confirm them: However, since such a Convention was necessary for the good of the *K*ingdom, and conformable to the Laws, and ancient Customs of the Country, as well as to the *K*ing's Coronation Oath, they continu'd to sit, and came to a Resolution, "That no o-"ther Doctrine than that of the *Ausburg* Confession, "should be allow'd of, in *Sweden*; That even the Na-"tives of a different Religion, should be uncapable of "any Office in the *K*ingdom; That the Popish Priests "should depart the Country in six weeks: That the "Romish Worship should be intirely abolish'd, not "only at *Stockholm*, but at *Protingsholm* and *Wadstena*; "That the Nuns of the last place, should be expell'd; "That for the future, if any *Swedes* embrac'd any o-"ther Religion than the Protestant, or Educated their "Children in any other Profession, whether in *Sweden* "or else-where, they should be uncapable of any

"Hereditary Succeſſion, their Eſtates ſhould be poſ-
"ſeſs'd by their neareſt Relations, and themſelves, be
"baniſh'd *Sweden*, for ever. But thoſe who were of
"the Roman Religion before the Coronation of *K.*
"*Sigiſmund*, were allow'd to ſtay in *Sweden*, tho' not to
"profeſs that Religion, nor to have any publick Em-
"ployment". It was likewiſe reſolv'd, "That D.
"*Charles* ſhould be Governor of *Sweden*, and be in-
"veſted with the management of Affairs, in con-
"junction with the Council, during the *King*'s Ab-
"ſence; That no Suit or Proceſs ſhould be enter'd
"in *Poland* before *K. Sigiſmund*; That the Right
"which every one had of appealing to the *King* when
"they receiv'd injuries, could not be put in Execu-
"tion till His Majeſty return'd to *Sweden*; That His
"Majeſty's Orders, ſent from *Poland* to *Sweden*, could
"could not be Publiſh'd, nor put in Execution, till
"they were read, and approv'd by D. *Charles* and
"the Council; That when any Places fell vacant
"in the Provinces, three Perſons ſhould be nam'd
"by D. *Charles* and the Council, out of which num-
"ber, the *King* was to chuſe one; That the *King*
"could not turn any one out of his Poſt, without firſt
"convicting him of ſome Crime. In fine, to prevent
"all ſuſpicion of D. *Charles* and the Council's act-
"ing injuriouſly againſt the *King*, they promis'd to
"continue faithful to His Majeſty, hoping, he would
"keep his Word, and make good all the Aſſuran-
"ces he had given them. This done, they oblig'd
themſelves to juſtify the foregoing Reſolution, and
put it in Execution, declaring, that whoſoever re-
fus'd to ſign it, ſhould be deem'd Traitors to their
Country, diſturbers of the publick Peace, and be
Puniſh'd with the utmoſt Severity. But after all,
there were a great many principal Members, who
were not preſent at the Convention, for fear of
offending the King. 'Tis true, they ſign'd this Re-
ſolution, but afterwards they renounc'd it. To
give the World knowledge of what paſt at *Suderko-*
ping, D. *Charles* caus'd to be printed all the Articles
of this Reſolution, both in Latin, Swediſh and Ger-
man. After the Convention was riſen, the Nuns
were expell'd the Monaſtery of *Wadſtena*, moſt of
whom, went into another Convent at *Dantzick*, and
all

all the Roman Catholicks in the City retired, ſome of 'em to *Finland*, whither D. *Charles*'s Enemies and the Sticklers againſt the *Reſolution*, likewiſe retreated, becauſe *Nicholas Flemming*, the Governor of that place, was no Friend to *D. Charles*: And it was for that ſame Reaſon, that K. *Sigiſmund*, as a recompence of his Fidelity, made him *Mareſchal de Camp*, and ſent into *Finland* all the Troops that had ſerv'd againſt the *Muſcovites*, which quarter'd upon the Country People, and oppreſs'd them extreamly, without meeting with any oppoſition from *Flemming*. This occaſion'd ſeveral complaints to D. *Charles*, who was then making a Progreſs round the Kingdom, in order to ſee all the Articles of the *Suderkoping* Reſolution vigorouſly executed. At the ſame time the Archbiſhop travell'd up and down the Country, to eſtabliſh the Ceremonies of the Church, purſuant to the Decrees of the Council of *Upſal*, and to extirpate the Superſtition of the Romiſh Church.

King *Sigiſmund* was extreamly diſſatisfy'd with theſe proceedings, eſpecially with turning the Nuns out of *Wadſtena*, whom *George Farrensbach* tranſported to *Dantzick* about the Spring. To regain the Affection of the *Swedes*, he writ very civil Letters to the *Uplanders*, ordering them to pay no Impoſts, or Contributions, without Letters to that effect, under his own hand; and not obey the New Sovetaigns of Fiefs, but to defend the honour of their King, and abide by their Oath of Allegiance, as he would, to all his Promiſes: To which he added, that he hop'd, in a ſhort time, to ſee them in their own Province. About that time a large ſum of Money fell to him, by the Death of Princeſs *Anne*, his Mother's Siſter, which encourag'd him to proceed, in oppoſing D. *Charles*. For that effect, he ſent an Embaſſy before him, to repreſent to the Duke, that he ought to be mindful of his Duty, and in an amicable way, to ſtifle all the troubles that then threatned *Sweden*. The Commiſſioners, for the Embaſſy, were *Staniſlaus Pzialinsk*, *Staniſlaus Czychow*, *Nicholas Sapieha*, *Erick Brahe*, *Arfwed Steenbok*, and *Liudorn*. They arriv'd at *Stockholm* with a magnificent Retinue, but could not obtain Audience till all the Senators met in one Body.

An Embaſſy from K. Sigiſmund to Sweden.

On the the other hand, D. *Charles* was mightily, displeas'd with *Nicholas Flemming*, who had no regard to his Orders, and was intirely united to the King's Interest; and upon that score, resolv'd to be reveng'd upon him by open force; but the Senate diswaded him from that Enterprize, for fear it should give rise to a Civil War; the consequences of which would be very fatal; and advis'd him to endeavour first to pacify every thing by Letters. D. *Charles* was disoblig'd by the Senate's advice, and suspected that the Senators were of the same mind, with the *Finlanders*. This gave occasion to a misunderstanding between the Duke and the Senate: But the Senate, to satisfy that Prince, writ a very bold and threatning Letter to *Nicholas Flemming*, who sent them an Answer yet more bold, threatning to see them punish'd for their Treatment of the King.

A misunderstanding between D. Charles *and the Senate.*

When the Polish Ambassadours had Audience, they upbraided the Swedes with the *Suderkoping* Resolution, desiring it might be revers'd. Next day the Swedish Ambassadours made the same Proposal. But D. *Charles* gave them a very brisk Answer; and in Conjunction with the Senate, deliver'd them a Memorial, in which they made out the Justice, and Reasonableness of all they had done, and its conformity to the Laws of the Kingdom. In the mean time, the Senators excus'd themselves to the Ambassadours, throwing all the blame upon the Duke, who, according to their Allegation, manag'd every thing according to his own Humor, without any regard to the Opinion of the Senate, and crush'd every one that oppos'd his Designs. By this means they thought to retrieve the Favour of the King. On the other hand, D. *Charles* charg'd the Senators with assuming too large a Power, with misapplying the Revenues of the Kingdom, and fomenting a Division between him and the King, in order to ruine them both, and to make themselves Masters of the Kingdom; adding withall, that since all his Troubles and Pains were only rewarded with ingratitude, he resolv'd to lay down the administration of Affairs. However, he call'd a Convention of the Senate and States of the Kingdom at *Arboga*, in the Month of *February*; and finding, that none of the Members diswaded

diſſwaded him from reſigning the Government, was extreamly enrag'd, inſomuch, that next day, he retir'd to *Grypſholm:* But, to prevent the inconveniencies that might attend leaving the Helm of Affairs without a Pilot, and expoſing the Veſſel to the mercy of the Winds and Waves, he re-aſſum'd the Government, and deputed *Oluf Swetcherſon* to aſſiſt at the Conference between the *Swedes* and *Muſcovites*, touching the Ceſſion of *Kexholm*. *Oluf Swercherſon* was a politick, cunning Man, who trimm'd on both ſides; for, while he ſeem'd to be true to the Duke, he reveal'd to the King, his Brother, his remoteſt Deſigns. In the mean time, the Senate did not meddle with the Affairs of the Government, waiting to ſee the Event of Things, and praying the Ambaſſadors of *Poland* to return with all expedition to K *Sigiſmund*, and importune him, to think upon ſome Expedient, in ſo dangerous a Conjuncture, to prevent the danger that threatned them. At the ſame time, ſeveral *Swediſh* Lords deſerted D. *Charles*, and joyn'd in with the Senate, and the Ambaſſadors: After that they re-aſſum'd the Places that the Duke had diſpoſſeſſed them off a little before, and even Archbiſhop *Abraham* ſided with them, promiſing to be faithful to K. *Sigiſmund*, in order to gain his Favour: Thereupon the King writ him a very obliging Letter; after which, the Ambaſſadors return'd to *Poland* with great ſatisfaction.

The occaſion of the commotions in Finland.

While things were thus tranſacted, one *Bengt Paulſon* kindled a new Fire at *Oſterborn*; the occaſion this: The Country People were oppreſs'd by the Cavalry, and could find no relief. Notwithſtanding, that *Nicholas Flemming*, to ſtifle the Sedition, recall'd the Cavalry; yet the Peaſants fell upon thoſe that remain'd; and not only ſo, but Pillag'd and ſet Fire to the Houſes of all who ſided with their Enemies; then march'd to *Carelia* to expel the *Cavalry* that lay there, in the Service of the King: They likewiſe ravag'd the Lands of *Nicholas Flemming*, and ſome other Gentlemen. At laſt they reſolv'd to attack *Abo*, whither their Enemies retreated; but *Flemming* ſent Troops to repulſe them, which they did accordingly. Soon after K. *Sigiſmund* ſent one *Melchior Abrahamſon* in the quality of Intendant, who being arriv'd at

Osterborn, apprehended the Authors of the Sedition, and puniſh'd them with Death: But the Peaſants having put themſelves into a poſture of Defence, kill'd ſome of his Men, and having taken himſelf Priſoner, ſent him to *Stockholm*, where he was Beheaded. After the Ambaſſador's return to *Poland*, K. *Sigiſmund* writ to the States of *Sweden*, That ſince D. *Charles* had expreſs'd ſo much diſſatisfaction to his Ambaſſadors, and reſign'd the Adminiſtration of Affairs, rejecting with Contempt the Form of Government, which he had preſcrib'd; upon that Conſideration, he empower'd the Counſellors of the Kingdom to Govern it according to the Laws of the Country, and conformably to the Model he had given them; wholly excluding the Duke from the Management of Affairs; and commanding all his Subjects, to Obey and Aſſiſt 'em, in caſe D. *Charles*, or any other Enemy, ſhould attack them. At the ſame time, he expreſly prohibited any Man whatſoever, to appear at the Convention of States, that D. *Charles* had call'd at *Arboga*. Notwithſtanding all this, D. *Charles* poſted up Placarts, declaring thoſe Traitors to the King and Kingdom, and conſequently, worthy of Puniſhment, who ſhould not be preſent at the Convention, at the appointed time. However, by the perſwaſion of the Senate, the Members of greateſt Figure abſented themſelves; and of all the Senators, there was none but Count *Axel Leuwenhooſt*, and a ſmall number of Gentlemen that met at *Arboga*. In the mean time, the Senators enter'd into a Negotiation with ſuch Members as did not appear at the Convention, but refuſed rather to obey the King's Orders than the Duke's, and writ to their Collegues at *Arboga*, the occaſion of their abſence, pretending by that means, to make their Convention illegitimate. D. *Charles* rejected their Letter, and once more, importun'd the Senate to repair to *Arboga*; but all his Sollicitations prov'd ineffectual. The Convention came to the following Reſolutions; That the Decrees of the Council of *Upſal*, relating to Religion, as well as the *Sulerkoping* Treaty, ſhould be confirm'd; that D. *Charles* was ſole Governor without an Equal or Superior, whom they importun'd to reaſſume the Adminiſtration of Affairs in the King's abſence,

abſence, promiſing him all manner of Obedience and Submiſſion; that Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to K. *Sigiſmund* to concert Expedients for pacifying the Commotions in *Finland*; that thoſe who abſented themſelves from the Convention ſhould have ſix Weeks time to declare, whether they would joyn iſſue with the Reſolutions agreed on at *Arboga* and *Suderkoping*: and whoever rejected them, ſhould be puniſh'd at the diſcretion of D. *Charles*, and branded as a Diſturber of the Publick Peace. In fine, they enter'd into a mutual League, That if any of 'em ſuffer'd by acts of Hoſtility, for appearing and ſitting in that Convention, they ſhould all jointly protect the Perſon thus attacked, and hazard both their Lives and Fortunes, with a *Salvo* to the Duty and Obedience they ow'd to the Supream Authority. In the mean time the Troubles continu'd in *Finland*, for the Peaſants kill'd a great many Cavaliers in the King's Service, and on the other hand *Nicholas Flemming* put to Death near 11000 Boors in the Confines of *Oſterborn* and *Tamaſt*.

The Senators leave Sweden.

After the breaking up of the Convention at *Arboga*, D. *Charles* ask'd the Senate to approve and ſupport the Reſolutions agreed upon at *Suderkoping* and *Arboga*; and for that end, to ſend an Embaſſy to K. *Sigiſmund*. The Senators conſidering, that on the one hand, His Majeſty had enjoyn'd the contrary; and on the other hand, diſobedience to D. *Charles* would endanger their Perſons, thought it ſafeſt to leave the Country, till K. *Sigiſmund* ſhould return and adjuſt their Quarrels. The firſt that went off, with his Wife and Children, was Chancellor *Erick Sparre*, the reſt ſtay'd in *Sweden* ſome time after him, having ſent Deputies to the King to implore his Aid, and amus'd D. *Charles* with ambiguous Anſwers. As ſoon as D. *Charles* heard of Chancellor *Sparr*'s retreat, he was mightily troubled; and having ſtopt one of his Domeſticks, and ſtrictly examin'd him, he underſtood that his Maſter was actually gone, and the other Senators would quickly follow, in order to bring back the King with a powerful Army. He likewiſe put Interrogatories to one of *Nicholas Flemming*'s Domeſticks, who declar'd, that His Maſter had 2500 Horſe, 10 Men of War in readineſs, beſides the Succours he

expected from *Poland*, and design'd with that Force to Invade *Sweden*, where a great many favour'd him, particularly, the Governor of the *East* and *Westgothland*, and of *Smaland*. Upon this discovery, D. *Charles* went immediately to *Gothland* at the Head of a good Body of Troops, in order to know the inclination of the Inhabitants, and what he was to expect from them. As soon as he arriv'd, he carry'd *Steegeburg* and the Castle of *Wadstena*, the Governor of which, *Erfwed Steenbok*, had fled to *Poland*, before he came up. Then the Duke call'd a Convention of the States, and tender'd them the Oath of Fidelity: After that he march'd to *Elfsbourg*, the Governor of which, namely, *Erick Steenbok*, was likewise fled to *Poland*, by the way of *Denmark*. In the mean time D. *Charles* writ to K. *Sigismund* several Letters relating to the Troubles and Commotions in the Kingdom; in which, he importun'd His Majesty to think of wholsome Remedies: But the King gave him no Answer; tho' by the Express sent him by the Senate, he sent Letters to *Sweden*, complaining heavily of D. *Charles*, for threatning the Senators that absented from the Convention at *Arboga*, and protesting that he receiv'd them into his Protection, forasmuch as in that point, they had faithfully observ'd his Orders; and in case these Letters did not produce the desired Effect, ordering the States to take up Arms, to check the Boldness and Arrogance of the Duke, and defend the honour of their King; of which if they fail'd, they might expect to be punish'd as Rebels. But these Menaces made no impression upon D. *Charles*, insomuch that all the other Senators that remain'd in *Sweden*, were oblig'd to depart the Kingdom, except *Axel Leuwhenhaupt*, *Hogenschild*, and *Nicholas Bielke*. D. *Charles* charg'd the Refugees with several Crimes, particularly with Counselling K. *Sigismund* to make War against him and his Country, to demand Succours from the K. of *Denmark* and the Hanse Towns, to prohibit the importing of Forreign Corn into *Sweden*, in the time of a great Dearth; and with spreading a Report, all over *Europe*, that he aspir'd at the Crown of *Sweden*. After their departure, D. *Charles* laid Siege to *Calmar*; the Governor of which, *Charles Steenbock*, after a short Defence, surrender'd the Castle,

ſtle, and, by D. *Charles*'s order, was kept a long time in Priſon. D. *Charles* put a Garriſon into this Fort, intruſting it to *Guſtavus*, Duke of *Saxon-Lawenbourg*, *Joram Claaſſon*, and *Oluf Hard*; ordering them to keep the Place, for K. *Sigiſmund*, with all Fidelity; but, at the ſame time, not to ſuffer any to enter, that lay under the leaſt ſuſpicion of being diſaffected to the intereſts of the State; no, not the King himſelf, unleſs he gave a Written Obligation to obſerve all the Articles of the *Upſal*-Treaty, to injure Nobody, and harbour no prejudice againſt the Duke or his Country.

The Duke endeavours to reduce Finland.

The Duke having thus made himſelf Maſter of all *Sweden*, deſign'd to conſtrain the *Finlanders* and *Eſthonians* to receive the *Suderkoping* Treaty; and to compaſs that end, call'd a Convention at *Stockholm* in *July*, which he ſo effectually influenc'd, by his Intrigues, that they reſolv'd to Summon the Fugitive Senators to the Kingdom, to puniſh thoſe who rejected the *Suderkoping* Treaty, and to procure it a Reception among the *Finlanders* by force of Arms. In this Aſſembly, Archbiſhop *Abraham* was the only Man of the whole Convention that vigorouſly oppos'd D. *Charles*, for which the Duke upbraided him with having acted the part of a Hangman, rather than a Biſhop, at a Viſit he made him the preceeding year. K. *Sigiſmund* revers'd the Citation of the Senators by a publick Writ. After the Riſing up of the Convention, D. *Charles* march'd to *Finland*, where he took the Caſtle of *Abo* without much reſiſtance. After that, he importun'd the Inhabitants of *Revel* and *Eſthen* to receive him as Governor of *Sweden*, and to approve of the *Suderkoping* Reſolution; but at that time they would not give ear to any ſuch Propoſals. The Duke carry'd from *Finland* to *Stockholm* ſome Men of War that he found there, and a great many Priſ'ners, proteſting at the ſame time, that all he had done, was only to promote the true Religion, and the Intereſt of the King and the State. Next year, the Inhabitants of South *Finland* retook *Abo*, by orders from the King; and on the other hand, D. *Charles*, to make himſelf ſure of the *Muſcovites*, adjuſted the Difference relating to the Frontiers. *Samuel Laski* came from *Poland* to *Sweden* in the quality

An Embassy from K. Sigismund to the States.

lity of an Ambassador from K. *Sigismund*, whom D. *Charles* order'd to have his Audience at *Upsal*. This Ambassador complain'd heavily to the Duke, of his having Banish'd the Senate, Attack'd *Finland* by open Force, and Imprison'd the King's Servants: He desir'd him, in the Name of the King, to forbear such irregular Measures, and send the Fleet to *Dantzick*, to conduct His Majesty to *Sweden*. D. *Charles*'s Answer was, That the Senators had left the Country of their own accord, without any apparent necessity; that he had Imprison'd none without the knowledge and consent of the States, nor could he release any that were Pris'ners, without their approbation; that he humbly begg'd His Majesty would be pleas'd to punish such seditious Persons agreeably to the Oath he had taken, and according to the Laws of the Kingdom; for, he had done nothing in *Finland*, but what was resolv'd upon at a Convention of the States; and, in fine, was ready to do Justice to all the World. As for other Things, with which he was charg'd, he laid the blame of all upon the Members of the Convention. But, on the other hand, some of the most noted Members privately excus'd themselves to the Ambassador, alledging it was the Duke's fault, that Satisfaction was not given to His Majesty. In fine, D. *Charles* writ to K. *Sigismund*, That he had acted faithfully in his Post, and that *Erick Sparre* was the only Author of the misunderstanding between them. The States likewise, on their Answer to the King, declar'd the Duke innocent, alledging, That he had only Executed the *Arboga* and *Suderkoping* Resolutions, which were grounded on His Majesty's Coronation Oath, and which they would maintain to the utmost of their Power. At the same time they desir'd *Gustavus Banier*, and *Thuron Bielke*, to go to K. *Sigismund*, in their Names, and endeavour to put an end to all these Disorders: But both of 'em refus'd so odious a Commission, and with all diligence retir'd into *Poland*.

K. Sigismund resolves upon a Voyage to Sweden.

Thus *Samuel Laski*, the King's Ambassador, return'd to *Poland* without effecting any thing. Whereupon K. *Sigismund*, apprehending His Presence was necessary for adjusting these Matters, resolv'd upon a Voyage to *Sweden*, which the States of *Poland* consented

ſented to, with this *Proviſo*, That he ſhould not ſtay above Seventeen Months. Accordingly, he rais'd an Army of 6000 Men; and ſent *Steen Banier*, *Lindorm Bonde*, and *Oluf Snercherſon* to *Finland*, with Orders to Levy Troops in that Province, and Tranſport them into *Sweden* next Summer, in order to joyn His Army. At the ſame time he endeavour'd, by Letters and Promiſes, to engage the *Viſigoths* and *Smalanders* in his Intereſt, hoping by ſuch Aſſiſtance, to be in a Condition to oppoſe the Attempts of D. *Charles*. 'Tis alledg'd, that the *Poles* were the more ready to furniſh the King with Money for this Expedition, that he had promis'd to annex *Eſthonia* to the Kingdom of *Poland*. To ſecure the K. of *Denmark* in this Juncture, K. *Sigiſmund* conſented, that the Difference he had with him about the three Crowns, ſhould be laid aſide till the end of their Lives. As for the *Hanſe* Towns, they promis'd to diſcontinue their Commerce with *Sweden*, till the differences between him and D. *Charles* were adjuſted. But the Town of *Lubeck* carry'd matters yet higher; for they ſeiz'd, and confiſcated all the *Swediſh* Effects that were mark'd with the three Crowns. This done, K. *Sigiſmund* publiſh'd a Memorial, in which he made a long Narrative of D. *Charles*'s Attempts, and endeavour'd to prove his Conduct was unjuſt and criminal: And next Paſports and Manifeſto's were got ready to be diſtributed in *Sweden*, upon the King's Arrival. The news of the King's Voyage being ſpread over *Sweden*, the Governors of *Calmar* ſent to the Duke to know how they ſhould behave themſelves upon the King's Arrival. The Duke let 'em know, That if K. *Sigiſmund* gave 'em any ſolid hopes of a Peace, with a Written Obligation, that he would Treat with Him and the States, according to the tenour of his own Oath, and the Laws of the Kingdom, they were ready to give him Entrance; but if he refus'd to give 'em ſuch Aſſurances, and deſign'd to make uſe of Force, then they were to put themſelves in a Poſture of Reſiſtance. Ambaſſador *Laski* was now return'd to *Sweden*, and importun'd D. *Charles* to give him the Fleet to fetch the King: All the Anſwer the Duke gave him, was, That he muſt firſt be aſſur'd, that His Majeſty would not employ it againſt Him or the States

States of the Kingdom. So that K. *Sigismund* finding there was no prospect of having the *Swedish* Fleet, Hir'd above 100 Vessels at *Dantzick*, to Transport him to *Sweden*. Whereupon D. *Charles* call'd a Convention of the States of *Gothland*, at *Wadstena*, to whom, he made known His Majesty's Intentions. The Convention unanimously resolv'd to meet him at *Calmar*, with an Army, and know what they were to expect. Then Troops were upon the march all over the Kingdom, and D. *Charles*, in conjunction with the States, wrote Letters from *Wadstena* to His Majesty, acquainting him, that if he would dismiss his Troops, and give them assurance, he would not punish any *Swede*, otherwise, than according to the ordinary forms of Justice, he might freely return to *Sweden*, where he would find his Subjects Loyal and Obedient, and ready to give him a Reception suitable to his Dignity and their Devoirs. But *Laski* gave the King a quite different Account of Things, insomuch that His Majesty wrote to all his Troops in the Province, that they behoov'd to quit the Duke's Interest, and obey the Orders of their lawful Soveraign, or else expect to be punish'd for High Treason. The Cavalry of *Upland*, together with the *Visigoths* and *Smalanders*, being scar'd by the King's Menaces, deserted D. *Charles:* And the *Finlanders* and *Esthonians* came with a Squadron of Ships to *Gronebourg*, about six miles from *Stockholm*, to joyn the Fleet of *Sweden*. But, on the other side, several Thousands of the Country-Militia, under the Command of two Professors of *Upland*, came down by Land, and oblig'd the *Finlanders* to return Home, many of whom being taken by the way, near the Isle of *Aland*, were cut to pieces. The Fleet that was true to D. *Charles*'s Interest, could not make *Calmar* by reason of contrary Winds; by which means His Majesty had the opportunity of arriving at *Calmar*, without any opposition; tho' the King's Party wish'd rather that he had Landed at *Stockholm*, that, being in a manner the Center of the Kingdom. His Majesty had sent *Laski* before him with some Ships to Summon *Calmar* to Surrender. Upon which, *Foram Claasson* and *Oluf Hard*, who Commanded there, suffer'd the King's Troops to enter, upon a slight Security; but were soon

ſoon after Arreſted, by way of Repriſal, for ſeveral of His Majeſty's Officers that D. *Charles* had formerly Impriſon'd. The *Viſigoths* and *Smalanders* came in great numbers to *Calmar*, to meet K. *Sigiſmund*; and ſpoke of D. *Charles*, as being a pernicious Man, that by his Artifices had ſeduc'd them to ſuccour him at *Wadſtena* againſt His Majeſty. Some time before, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Marquis of *Anſpach*, the Duke of *Mekelburg*, and the *Hanſe* Towns, had ſent Ambaſſadors to *Sweden*, to endeavour an Accommodation between the two Brethren. But when they ſaw no appearance of an Agreement, they return'd Home.

The King's Arrival at Calmar *follow'd by Acts of Hoſtility.*

K. *Sigiſmund*'s Arrival at *Calmar* was immediately follow'd by Acts of Hoſtility; for he preſently gave Orders to take the Duke's Servants Pris'ners where-ever they were found, and Baniſh'd Count *Axel Leuwenhooft*, the only Senator that had continued in *Sweden*. On the other hand, D. *Charles* gave his Enemies good words, and wrote the King a Letter, Praying him, not to give ear to the pernicious Counſels of the Senators, who had abſented themſelves, but diſmiſs his Forreign Troops, and Convocate the States of the Kingdom, that in ſuch a Convention he might give an Account of his Adminiſtration during His Majeſty's Abſence; deſiring, in the mean time, His Majeſty would ſuffer him, and his other Subjects to live in Peace and Tranquillity. He gave the neceſſary Orders at *Stockholm*, and expreſly forbid Mr. *Scepperus* Preaching Seditious Sermons againſt the King. Upon which *Scepperus* preſently alter'd his Style, and ſpoke very warmly on His Majeſty's behalf, in order to gain his favour. After that, this Preacher trimm'd and turn'd from ſide to ſide; ſometimes for the King, and ſometimes for the Duke, according to the variety of their Fortune: Which deteſtable Example was follow'd by ſeveral other Miniſters, who had formerly too much contributed towards inflaming the Differences. Soon after, D. *Charles* put the Government of *Stockholm* into the Hands of *Charles Carelſon* his Natural Son, and retir'd to *Nykoping*; where having a great deal of reaſon to be upon his guard, an Apartment in the Caſtle of *Mariemburg* in *Pruſſia* was already prepar'd for him; and ſeeing the King

King would not declare, Whether he came as a Friend, or an Enemy, he drew out some *Swedish* Troops, and carry'd 'em with him to *Nykoping*, being advis'd, that His Majesty design'd to be at *Steegebourg*.

The King arrives at Steegebourgh, *and D.* Charles *marches up to him.*

K. *Sigismund*, upon his arrival at *Steegebourgh*, sent *Samuel Laski* with orders to break all the Officers that the Duke had put in, and fill their Posts with others, to hasten the approach of the *Finlanders*, and endeavour to bring over the Fleet; He likewise caus'd Placarts to be posted up all over the Kingdom, in which he made heavy Complaints of the Injury the Duke had done him, in his absence; and exhorted his Subjects to abandon his Party. The Archbishop, and the other Clergy were well satisfied with the publication of the *Placarts*. They first came to *Steegebourgh* by Water, and order'd some Companies of *German* Foot, and Cavalry of the *Visi-goths* and *Smalanders*, to march thither by Land. And D. *Charles* could easily have ruin'd K. *Sigismund* before his Arrival, because he had then, but very few Troops with him: But he chose rather to try the success of his Pen, and wrote to the King to this effect: "That, since His Majesty would not declare what "design he had, in enlarging his Army by degrees, "he could not lay down his Arms, till he had suf- "ficient security for himself, and those who sided "with him; That if His Majesty would dismiss his "Troops, and call a Convention of the States, in "which all Affairs might be fairly stated in presence "of the Ambassadors of the *German* Princes: Upon these terms, he was ready to shew him all Obedience and Submission; but otherwise, he was resolv'd to defend himself by force of Arms, without being discourag'd by his *Polish*, *Scottish*, and *German* Troops. To this he expected a positive and distinct Answer; but K. *Sigismund* sent him none; for he only waited the arrival of the *Finlanders* and the Fleet; having endeavour'd (tho in vain) to corrupt *Joachim Sheel*, a *Pomeranian* Gentleman that commanded the Fleet, from the Duke's Service. Upon which D. *Charles* march'd within a mile and half of *Steegebourgh*, and encamp'd his Army in a great Plain, call'd *Mara*, where, having put himself in this posture, he again sollicited the King to dismiss his Troops, and give him sufficient security;

upon

upon which Terms, he was ready to enter into his Service with all his Troops, and pay him homage. This done, the King made Anſwer, "That "he demanded, D. *Charles* ſhould put the Kingdom "and all its Dependances into his hands; lay down "the Title of Government during his preſence in *Swe-* "*den*, diſcard the Troops in his Service, releaſe all "the Priſoners, and retire peaceably, and without "noiſe, to his own Dutchy: And that, upon ſatisfy- "ing theſe Conditions, His Majeſty would diſmiſs his "forreign Troops: Adding, that it was in his power "only, to call a Convention, and was old enough to "know what was proper for him to do. D. *Charles* finding he could obtain no other Anſwer, march'd up to *Steegebourg* with what Troops he had; having ſent a Trumpeter before him, to proteſt he had no other aim in this enterpriſe than to obtain an Anſwer, nor had no intention to commence a War. The King's Troops were preſently drawn out: And *John Weiler* march'd with a Party through the back ways to attack D. *Charles* in the Rear, while K. *Sigiſmund* and *George Favensbach* charg'd him in the Front; which they did with ſo much vigour, that the Duke's Soldiers began to give way, and ask quarter. Upon which, the King conſidering they were *Swedes*, and his own Subjects, ſounded a Retreat; being ſtrongly importun'd to that effect, by *Edward Fortunatus*, Marquis of *Baden*, *John*, Count of *Frizland*, and *Joram Poſze*, who made an accomodation between the two Parties, upon theſe Terms, "That "D. *Charles* ſhould retire with his Troops, and next "day all differences ſhould be adjuſted. But after all, the Negotiation came to nothing; for the Duke inſiſted upon having a more particular Declaration from the King; and the King would not condeſcend to alter the former; inſomuch that the Ambaſſadours of the *German* Princes finding all their Diligence and Care ineffectual, return'd home. After that, D. *Charles* propos'd to the *King*, to take Natives of the Country, for Mediatours between them, but ſtill in vain; for D. *Charles* ſtill wanted ſome ſubſtantial Security from the *King*, and deſir'd a clauſe might inſerted to this effect, "That the States "ſhould ſide with him, who, upon a ſcrutiny, ſhould

"be

"be found to have obſerv'd the Articles of the Treaty, "in oppoſition to thoſe who have departed from them. But His Majeſty, would not hear of any ſuch thing; for he could not endure that the Duke and the States, (who were really his Subjects) ſhould preſcribe Laws to him.

Upon the arrival of the Fleet, the King flies from Steegebourg.

D. *Charles* perceiving the *King* only waited the arrival of the *Finlanders*, began to ſtand upon his Guard in good earneſt. In the mean time a Ship that was coming to joyn his Fleet, fell in with another, bound for *Poland*, laden with rich Effects; which it rifled, and put all the Ships Crew to the Sword. At laſt D. *Charles*'s Fleet arriv'd before *Steegebourg*; upon which, the *King* ſent him the aſſurance he had formerly demanded, ſign'd with his hand. But ſtill D. *Charles* was not ſatisfied; for he demanded, that the *King* ſhould preſently diſmiſs his forreign Troops, that he ſhould carry with him to *Stockholm* no greater Retinue, than his Predeceſſours had done before him; that in the ſpace of ſix Months, he ſhould call a Convention of the States; That the Senators ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of their Lands, till they appear'd at the Convention, to clear themſelves of the Charges given in againſt them; That all things ſhould continue on the ſame foot as they then were, till the Convention met; That no Perſon, within, nor without the *Kingdom*, ſhould be diſquieted; That to avoid all Suſpicion, The *King* ſhould tranſact no Affair of importance without giving notice to the Duke; That he ſhould diſpoſe of no Fiefs till the Convention met; That the *Finlanders* ſhould be order'd home; That the *Lubeck* tranſport Ships ſhould be put under an Embargo; That the States of the *Kingdom* ſhould be empower'd to oppoſe that party which would not obſerve the Articles of the Treaty. Upon His Majeſty's cloſing with theſe Terms, the Duke was ready to diſcard his Troops, and return to his Dutchy, where he would peaceably wait the meeting of the States. From theſe Propoſals, the *King* conjectur'd, that D. *Charles* intended a War; and for that reaſon march'd out of *Steegebourg* privately in the Night-time, as being a defenſleſs place, leaving behind him all his Baggage, both

both in the Caſtle and the Ships. After this Retreat, he came to *Suderkoping*. D. *Charles* having notice of his Retreat, deſign'd to purſue him; but finding he could not come up to him, march'd ſtraight to *Steegebourg*, where he carry'd the Caſtle without much reſiſtance, made himſelf Maſter of the King's Ships, and having taken an Inventory of all that belong'd to the *King*, put it into a ſafe place, leaving the other Baggage for Plunder to his Soldiers. Having put a Garriſon into the Caſtle, he purſu'd the King with all diligence; and having ſent ſome Troops before him to intercept his Paſſage to *Calmar*, went and encamp'd half a mile from *Lindkoping*, where the King was. The Duke pray'd His Majeſty, in the Name of God, not to flee from an Uncle that was ſo faithful to his Intereſts, nor follow the pernicious Counſels of his Favourites, exhorting him, at the ſame time, not to depart the Kingdom till all Differences were adjuſted; and calling God and Men to witneſs his Innocence, if the fatal Conſequences of ſuch proceedings ſhould reach his Perſon. The *King* made anſwer, that the Duke's Conduct was very injurious; and if he was not contented with the ſecurity His Majeſty had offer'd him, he might take what courſe he pleas'd. The Duke took this for a very rough Anſwer; however, he ſent His Majeſty another Propoſal of accomodation, by appointing a Conference of twelve Wiſe and Prudent Commiſſioners of either ſide; but this alſo came to nothing. At laſt the *King* march'd out of the City with what Men he had, and drew up his Army on the other ſide the River. The Duke not being far enough advanc'd to engage him, *Weier* detach'd a party in the Night-time, which cut off his advanc'd Guards, and took ſome Priſoners. After the *King*'s Troops had ſtood to their Arms Night and Day, without the appearance of the Enemy, or any ſuſpicion of a March; His Majeſty commanded them to return to the City about break of Day, leaving only ſome Companies of Foot with the Cannon, upon the place where he thought to have Engaged. The Biſhop of *Lindkoping* diſcover'd to D. *Charles* the condition of the *King*'s Army by the ſound of a Bell.

D. Charles routs the King's Army.

As ſoon as Day broke, the Duke march'd out with his Troops, and by the help of a Miſt, came up to the *King*'s Guards, and cut them in pieces. This gave the Alarm to the City; and His Majeſties Troops march'd to aſſiſt the reſt. But the Bridge being already broke down, many of them were drown'd in the River, and others of them were cut in pieces. *K. Sigiſmund* continued on this ſide the River, from whence he had the Mortification to behold the bloody Slaughter of his Men, which oblig'd him to ſend an Herald to D. *Charles* to deſire Peace, which was accordingly granted, upon condition, that the five Senators, who had occaſioned all the difference, ſhould be deliver'd up: Theſe were *Guſtavus*, and *Steen Banier*, *Erick Sparre*, *Thuron Bielke*, and *Joram Poſze*. Upon their delivery, the Duke ſounded a Retreat. In this Engagement the *King* loſt 2000 Men, and the Duke only 40; But the Duke's ſparing the *King*, and his Army, when he might have intirely ruin'd them, procur'd him unſpeakable Glory, and Reputation.

A Treaty between K Sigiſmund *and D.* Charles.

After this defeat, the Duke inſiſted upon an Accommodation with His Majeſty; and at laſt, by the Mediation of ſome Arbitrators on both ſides, a Treaty was drawn up, and ſign'd by the *King* and the Duke. By which Treaty, the Duke was oblig'd to renew his Oath of Allegiance to His Majeſty: And, on the other hand, His Majeſty promis'd to forget all that had paſt, to govern the State, for the future, conformably to his Coronation-Oath, and the Laws of the *Kingdom*, and to call a Convention of the States in four Months; in which Commiſſioners from the Emperor, and the *German* Electors ſhould aſſiſt, in order to adjuſt all Differences, either between His Majeſty and the Duke, or among the Subjects themſelves. Nay, farther, the Senators were oblig'd to appear before the Convention, and the Duke was to offer them no injury while he kept them Priſoners; all the Troops were to be diſmiſs'd on both ſides, except the *King*'s Life-guards; the Foreign Troops were to embark at *Stockholm*, and *Calmar*, in order to return home; all the Governors of Caſtles, and other Officers put in by the Duke, were to keep their places

places till the Convocation; tho', in the mean time, they were oblig'd to do homage to His Majesty; the Duke was oblig'd to come to *Stockholm* as soon as the *King* arriv'd there, and to put into his hands all the Castles, Shipping, and Artillery of the *King*dom, and even the Government of the State, with this Proviso, that His Majesty should not employ any of these Advantages to the prejudice of the State, or the Duke: All the Officers on both sides had free liberty to Travel up and down the *King*dom, or Dutchy, in pursuance of their Master's Orders: The *King* engag'd to send Patents round the *King*dom, ordering all persons to lay down their Arms, and to declare the Duke innocent of all the Calumnies cast upon him. The last Article of this Treaty, was, *That the States of the Kingdom might lawfully oppose either of the two parties, that acted contrary to the Treaty.*

Next day, after a very friendly Conference between the Duke and the *King*, the Duke deliver'd to His Majesty, all that he had taken at *Steegebourg* and *Linkoping*, namely, Ships, pieces of Artillery, Standards, and Houshold-Furniture, besides ten Ships to carry the *King* to *Stockholm*, and transport the foreign Troops out of *Sweden*. After that, the Duke went to *Oerebro*, and sent the Captive Senators to *Nykoping*. The *Finlanders* being advanc'd as far as *Stockholm*, in order to make an irruption into the Duke's Territories, were order'd by His Majesty to return home. This done, His Majesty set out from *Linkoping* to *Stockholm* with about 500 Men. The Duke intreated him to go by Land, because the weather was very rough, and offer'd to accompany him through his own Dutchy; but the *King* would not take his advice, having a design to go straight to *Poland*, instead of *Stockholm*, and return next Year to *Sweden* with a greater number of Forces, to be reveng'd on his Enemies. As soon as he embark'd at *Steegebourg*, he order'd the Pilots to steer to *Calmar*, where he safely arriv'd after being fatigu'd by a violent Storm. From thence he wrote to D. *Charles*, that he was forc'd in thither by contrary Winds, and design'd to Travel to *Stockholm* over Land. He made use of this

The King goes privately for Poland.

Stratagem, to keep the Duke from thwarting his design: For, as ſoon as the Wind ſtood fair, he ſet Sail from *Calmar*, and croſs'd over to *Dantzick*, carrying D. *Charles*'s Servants with him as Priſoners. D. *Charles* was extreamly troubled at ſo ſudden a departure, becauſe K. *Sigiſmund* had left the Kingdom in great Confuſion. He alledg'd, that the King ought, at leaſt, to account with the States for ſuch a precipitate departure, which fill'd 'em with the fears of it's fatal Conſequences. When the King arriv'd at *Dantzick*, he ſent 400 Men to re-inforce the Garriſon of *Calmar*, ordering that place to be kept with all caution, till his return to *Sweden*. He likewiſe ſpread a Report all over Europe, that D. *Charles*, his Uncle, was guilty of high-Treaſon and Rebellion againſt him. He pretended, that he was not oblig'd to ſtand to the *Linkoping* Treaty which was extorted from him, but was reſolv'd to reſent the Affront the Rebells had given him, and reduce the *Swedes* to their Duty by dint of Arms. He ſent *Lindor Bonde* to *Eſthonia*, and *Finland*, to ſollicit the Inhabitants not to engage in D. *Charles*'s Intereſts, and to aſſure 'em, that the King would not deſert 'em in time of neceſſity. After the King's departure, thoſe who ſided with him, left *Sweden* in ſhoals; moſt of 'em retir'd to *Pruſſia* and *Poland*, where the King gave 'em an eaſy Subſiſtance. As ſoon as D. *Charles* arriv'd at *Stockholm*, he arreſted *Nicholas Bielke*, together with the Archbiſhop, and *Ereck Sepper*, the Town-Miniſter, and chang'd the Magiſtrates of the City. He made a narrow enquiry after the King's Partiſans, and declar'd their Eſtates confiſcable. He apply'd but little of theſe Eſtates to his own uſe, giving moſt of 'em to the Officers, who, at the ſame time, inform'd againſt a great many innocent Perſons, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of their Eſtates. The Allegation, with which he colour'd his conduct, was, that the King had not obſerv'd the Treaty of *Linkoping*, which empower'd the States to declare againſt that party that departed from the Treaty. Then he appointed a day for a Convocation of the States at *Jenkoping*, to concert what meaſures were moſt proper in the preſent diſorder and confuſion of the State.

D. Charles confiſcates the Eſtates of the Kings party.

K. *Sigiſmund*

K. *Sigiſmund*, at his return to *Poland*, wrote Letters to *Sweden*, excuſing his departure, by pretending he could no longer brook the Affronts he receiv'd, and that *Poland* afforded him a more convenient opportunity, of ſolliciting the Neighbouring Princes and their Ambaſſadors, to bring the Affairs of *Sweden* to an Accommodation; beſides, that his Preſence in the Convocation was not ſo very neceſſary, ſince they might adjuſt their Affairs without him, and put off the final Concluſion, till he return'd to *Sweden*. In the mean time, he deſir'd, they would not Maltreat any of the Captive-Senators; and acquainted 'em, That he had nominated Commiſſioners, to manage Conferences with the Ambaſſadors of the *Emperor*, the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Count of *Anſpach*, allowing D. *Charles*, to nominate Commiſſioners, to manage his Pretenſions in the ſaid Conference. To all which, he added, That when he was at *Calmar*, he receiv'd Advice of ſome Commotions in *Poland*, which could not be appeaſed, without his Preſence; and for that reaſon, commanded his Subjects of *Sweden*, not to ſpeak ill of his Voyage, nor to Maltreat his Garriſons and Servants. To this Letter, D. *Charles* gave the following Anſwer; *That he was well inform'd of his Deſigns; and that he beſeech'd him, to adjuſt all Differences by the means of Juſtice, rather than by open Force; and to recall his Foreign Garriſons out of* Sweden. On the other hand, the States of the Kingdom, Aſſembl'd at *Jenkoping*, repreſented to His Majeſty by Letter, 'That they were ſenſible he had not ſtood 'to the *Lindkoping*-Treaty, and had encourag'd the 'Sedition and tumultuous Actions of the *Finlanders*; 'they intreated him to perform his Promiſes, to pa- 'cify the Troubles of *Finland*, to put all things in the 'Condition they were in formerly, to Puniſh thoſe 'who were Criminal, purſuant to the Laws of Ju- 'ſtice, to embrace the Proteſtant Religion, and to 'return to his Kingdom, where he might Rule in 'Peace and Tranquillity; or, if he would not liſten 'to ſuch Propoſals, to ſend Prince *Uladiſlaus* into 'Sweden, to be bred up to the Reform'd Religion, 'under the Guardianſhip of D. *Charles*: In fine, if 'he would condeſcend to neither of theſe Propoſals,

K. Sigiſmund's Apology for leaving Sweden in Confuſion.

The States Anſwer to the King, and their Reſolutions.

They proteſted, that K. Sigiſmund, *and his Poſterity, ſhould for ever forfeit their Right to the Crown of* Sweden, *and that they would prefer another to the Throne, who ſhould form his Government according to the Laws of the Kingdom.* The ſame Convention, likewiſe reſolv'd, That if the Garriſon of *Calmar* would not march out peaceably, they would diſlodge 'em by Force; and if the *Finlanders* would not yield to mild and reaſonable Terms, they would Extirpate them by Force of Arms; that if K. *Sigiſmund* did not call a Convention of the States, according to his Promiſe, they would hold one of themſelves; in which, all Differences ſhould be adjuſted; that D. *Charles* ſhould take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, in order to protect the Kingdom, and maintain the Religion of the Country; to Puniſh the Seditious Rebels, and aſſiſt the faithful Subjects, in caſe of neceſſity; in fine, That they were reciprocally oblig'd to ſuccour one another upon occaſion.

D. Charles takes Calmar.

After the Prorogation of the Convention at *Jenkoping*, D. *Charles* began to execute their Reſolves. Firſt of all, he earneſtly deſired the *Swedes* in *Calmar*, to act according to the Reſolutions of the Conventions at *Lindkoping* and *Jenkoping*, and commanded the Forreigners, in their Garriſon, to march out with all their Baggage: But they diſobey'd his Orders. Upon which, he attacked them in good earneſt, beat off the Ships that were bringing them Ammunition and Proviſions from *Dantzick*; after which, he carry'd the City by Storm, and the Garriſon in the Caſtle, was oblig'd to Surrender upon Diſcretion, for want of Proviſions. The principal *Swedes*, that were found within the City, were all Condemn'd to Death, but D. *Charles* gave Quarter to all the Forreigners, ſeveral of whom enter'd themſelves in his Troops, and the reſt had a White Staff put into their Hands, and in that manner were ſent into *Poland*. This Affront ſo provoked K. *Sigiſmund*, that he ſpent Night and Day, in meditating a Revenge.

In the mean time, the States of the Kingdom Aſſembl'd at *Stockholm*, and reſolv'd, To renounce and diſclaim their Oath of Allegiance to K. *Sigiſmund*, becauſe he had tranſgreſs'd the Meaſures of his Grand-

Grandfather's Will, and his own Duty; and having broke the Treaty of *Lindkoping*, gave no signs of Amendment, notwithstanding the many Remonstrances, they had made to him, for that purpose. This done, they tender'd the Crown to P. *Uladislaus*, provided, he would come to *Sweden* in a Year's time, and be instructed in the Protestant Religion; but in case he refus'd to comply with that Proposal, they resolv'd, that he should forfeit his Right to the Crown, as well as his Father, and none of that Descent should ever inherit it. 'Twas likewise resolv'd, That if the *Esthonians* would not listen to reasonable Terms, they should be reduc'd by open Force; and that the Affairs of the Pris'ners should be taken into Consideration, in another Convention; in which, Foreign Princes should assist, as Witnesses, or Auditors, but not as Judges, in pronouncing the Sentence. The same Convention confirm'd D. *Charles* in the Administration of the Government, and resolv'd to constrain the *Lubeckers*, by Dint of Sword, to give Satisfaction to D. *Scoper*, whom they had imprison'd, by K. *Sigismund*'s Order.

The States offer the Crown to Uladislaus, *upon certain conditions.*

Soon after, D. *Charles* Engag'd in an Expedition against the *Finlanders*, to whom K. *Sigismund* had sent Succours, under the Command of *Gasper Tisenheysen*, besides some Troops, under the Command of *George Fahrinsback*, which were design'd for *Revel* and *Wissensteen*, but they were refus'd Entrance. At the same time, K. *Sigismund* sent Six Men of War, under the Command of Admiral *John Gyldenstern*, to take *Elfsburg*; but the Admiral's Ship having run aground, the other five were oblig'd to Steer off, after their being much dammag'd. D. *Charles* advanc'd very successfully in *Finland*: For tho' the Inhabitants of that Province, under the Command of *Axel Kurch*, pretended to Dispute his Descent, yet they were quickly put to Flight, and their Chief Officers retreated to *Weiburg*, besides a great Number that were Condemn'd to Death at *Abo*; at which place D. *Charles* caus'd *Oluf Steenbock* to be Shot to Death, who had formerly wounded K. *Erick* with a Pistol-shot, when he was in Prison, and refus'd him a Surgeon to Dress his Wounds. After that, D. *Charles* receiving Advice, that K. *Sigismund*, in conjunction with

D. Charles *advances briskly in* Finland; *makes an Accommodation with* Lubeck, *and takes* Nerva *and* Weiburg.

the *Lubeckers*, had form'd a pernicious Plot againſt *Sweden*, he made an Accommodation with that City, by the Mediation of the Emperor, that he might not be attack'd by ſeveral Enemies at once: In which view, he offer'd his Service to the Great D. of *Muſcovy*, who was, at that time, at variance with K. *Sigiſmund*. Upon which, the Great Duke ſent a conſiderable Embaſſy, to make an Alliance with D. *Charles* againſt the *Poles*, as being their common Enemies. After that, the Duke made himſelf Maſter of *Weiburg*, whither moſt of the Rebels were fled, and where a great many of them loſt their Lives. Soon after, *Nerva* ſurrender'd to him; but the City of *Revel*, and all *Eſthonia*, proteſted they would continue Faithful to K. *Sigiſmund*, becauſe it was to him only that they had Sworn Allegiance. However, D. *Charles* return'd to *Stockholm*, threatning to return again, and Beſiege *Revel* with a more numerous Army.

The Impriſon'd Senators, Try'd, Condemn'd and Executed.

Next year he call'd a Convocation of the States at *Lindkoping*; after he had perſwaded his Brother-in-law, *John Adolphus*, D. of *Holſatia*, to ſend Deputies, to ſee the Proceſs drawn up againſt thoſe who were Arraigned, that they might report to their Maſter, the true ſtate of that Matter. The moſt important Affair that came before this Convention, was, that of the impriſon'd Senators. D. *Charles* ſingled out a certain number of Judges out of the Body of the States, who were to give Sentence in the cauſe, whom he diſcharg'd of their Oath of Allegiance to him, in the quality of Governor, during the Examination of that Affair. The Priſoners were charg'd with old as well as new Crimes, particularly, that they had occaſion'd the fatal miſunderſtanding between K. *John* and D. *Charles*; that they were ſo far from preventing K. *Sigiſmund*'s being bred up a Romaniſt, that they rather promoted it; that notwithſtanding all the preſent Miſeries of the Kingdom were owing to the Introduction of the Popiſh Maſs, yet they Sign'd it with their own Hands, and ſo open'd a door to the Romiſh Superſtition; that they had falſly Accus'd K *Charles* of a private Correſpondence with *Charles de Mornay*, to the prejudice of K. *John*; that their Counſels had retarded the Deciſion of the Difference with the K. of *Denmark*, upon the account of

his

his Bearing the Three Crowns in his Arms; that they had given the *Poles* encouragement to expect the Ceſſion of *Eſthonia*; that they had perſwaded the *Finlanders* and *Eſthonians* to Rebellion and Inſurrections, as well as the *Viſigoths* and *Smalanders*; that they had endeavour'd to diſpoſe the *Danes* and *Lubeckers* to a Difference with *Sweden*; that in the time of the great Dearth, they had adviſ'd K. *Sigiſmund*, to diſſwade the *Livonians* and *Lubeckers* from tranſporting Corn to *Sweden*, by which means many Thouſands were Starv'd to Death; that they had ſpoke ill of D. *Charles*, without any ground or reaſon; that they had neither obſerv'd the Articles of the *Suderkoping*-Treaty, nor the Decrees of the Council of *Upſal*; that they had acted contrary to their own Hand-writing, in adviſing K. *Sigiſmund* to lead an Army againſt D. *Charles*, and his own Country, tho', at the ſame time, they knew it to be directly contrary both to their own and His Majeſty's Oath, and that the Proteſtant Religion had been utterly ſunk, if he had gain'd the Victory; in fine, that they were Guilty of all the Blood that was ſhed upon that Head, in the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and Province of *Finland*. Upon this, *Erick Abrahamſon*, *Leuwenhooft*, *Nicholas Bielke*, *Chriſtiern Horn*, and *Joram Poſze*, begg'd for Pardon, which was granted them, upon the Sollicitation of the States of the Kingdom and the *Holſatian* Ambaſſadors; but the other Accomplices, who would not acknowledge their Crime, were Convicted by their own Hand-writing, excepting *Hogenſchild*, who plainly prov'd, that he had no Hand in the laſt Troubles of *Sweden*; for 'twas theſe they inſiſted moſt upon. The Clergy likewiſe, upon D. *Charles*'s Sollicitation, gave in their ſenſe of the Matter; the purport of which was, That, queſtionleſs, K. *Sigiſmund* had Eſtabliſh'd Popery in *Sweden*, if he had had the upper Hand; from whence they inferred, That all thoſe who adviſ'd the King to that Expedition into *Sweden*, were guilty of a very ill Thing. After all, *Guſtavus* and *Steen Banier*, *Erick Sparre*, and *Thuron Bielke*, were Condemn'd to dye; becauſe they had not only torn in pieces the Letters and Seals deliver'd to the Duke, but had likewiſe tarniſh'd his Reputation without any occaſion, tranſ-

greſs'd

greſs'd the Articles of the *Suderkoping*-Treaty, and, contrary to their own and His Majeſty's Oath, perſwaded him to make War upon his Country. The Laws of *Sweden*, by which they were Condemn'd, contain'd an Exception in ſuch Caſes; namely, When the Perſons are following their lawful Sovereigns, but that did not avail them, under pretence, that by vertue of their Oath, they were oblig'd to advance His Majeſty to what they thought Uſeful, and Advantageous to the State, and to take him off from ſuch Deſigns, as were inconſiſtent with his Oath, and prejudicial to his Country. After the Sentence was Read, all the Apologies and Allegations of the Criminals, and all the Sollicitations made on their behalf, avail'd them nothing, tho' they continu'd to the very Scaffold, in loud Proteſtations of their Innocence. *Erick Sparre*, before he was Executed, read a long Paper aloud; and after he had read it, tore it in pieces.

K. Sigiſmund and his Son excludedfrom the Crown.

In this Convention, it was reſolv'd, for the reaſons above-mention'd, That neither K. *Sigiſmund*, nor his Son *Uladiſlaus*, ſhould ever wear the Crown of *Sweden*; becauſe the time preſcrib'd them, was expir'd, and the Father had return'd no Anſwer, whether he would ſend his Son to *Sweden* upon the terms of the Propoſal. Beſides, tho' D. *Charles* had given him five Months more to reſolve in, yet there was no appearance, that he would ſuffer his Son to come from *Poland*. On the other hand, they could not put the Adminiſtration into the Hands of Prince *John*, K. *Sigiſmund*'s Brother, tho' by K. *Guſtavus*'s his Will, the neareſt Relation was intitl'd to the Crown; becauſe they were apprehenſive of his being ſeduc'd by his Brother, and acting in concert with him againſt D. *Charles*, and the Intereſts of the Kingdom. Beſides, that Prince was too young, and uncapable of ſteering the Helm of Government in ſo troubleſome a time. And it was for theſe reaſons, that they only allotted him the Dutchy of *Eaſt-Gothland*, and inveſted D. *Charles* with an Abſolute Authority, ſuch as the preſent Juncture of Affairs required. As for the Succeſſion, they ſettled it upon his Son *Guſtavus Adolphus*, or his Deſcendants in the Male-Line; and, in caſe he ſhould have none, upon D. *John*, provided

The Succeſſion ſettled upon D. Charles and his Son

provided he entertain'd no Friendſhip nor, Correſpondence with K. *Sigiſmund*, or his Children, and made no Alliance with them, that might be any way prejudicial to the State. For a further Limitation, they added, That if D. *John* came to be K. of *Sweden*, it ſhould not be in his Power to give away any part of the Kingdom, or to Eſtabliſh the *Roman* Religion in *Sweden*: For they were reſolv'd to have no *Popiſh* Soveraign, for the future.

This done, D. *Charles* Writ to the *Poles*, deſiring they would declare themſelves before the end of *May*, that the *Swedes* might know what to expect; but the *Poles* gave a very ambiguous Anſwer. Then he acquainted K. *Sigiſmund* with the Reſolutions of the Convocation, intreating him once more to ſend his Son *Uladiſlaus* into *Sweden*; but receiv'd no Anſwer. On the other hand, the *Muſcovites* readily embrac'd the Alliance offer'd 'em by D. *Charles*; tho', at the ſame time, they envy'd him the Poſſeſſion of *Eſthonia* and *Finland*, as well as the *Poles*: And 'twas for that reaſon, that the Great Duke ſent for *Guſtavus*, the Son of *Erick*, who reſided then at *Thoorn* in *Pruſſia*; and gave him a very favourable reception. After the *Eſthonians*, and particularly, the City of *Revel*, had ſurrender'd, upon D. *Charles*'s Sollicitation, he rais'd a gallant Army, with which he march'd to *Revel*, and was there receiv'd with Acclamations of Joy. After that, he eaſily reduc'd the reſt of *Eſthonia*, in regard, all the Commanders on the King's ſide, had relinquiſh'd their Poſts for fear. Then D. *Charles* enter'd *Livonia*, and took *Dorpt*, *Pernaw*, *Volmar*, *Yxel*, *Wenden*, *Amſel*, *Kakkenhuyſen*, *Oberpalen*, *Salis*, *Falin*, and *Lais*. At laſt, he laid Siege to *Riga*; upon which, K. *Sigiſmund* march'd to Relieve it, at the Head of a Numerous Army, and oblig'd D. *Charles* to retire to *Revel*, from whence he went to *Sweden* next Winter. The *Poles* retook ſome Places in *Livonia*, the Chief of which was, *Kakkenhuyſen*, where *Charles Carelſon*, *Gildenhelm*, and *James de la Gardie*, were taken Priſoners. *Charles* was forced to lie in Priſon thirteen years; *De la Gardie* was invited to Serve under the *Poles*, and tho' he refus'd their Service, was ſoon ſet at Liberty. That Year, the Commiſſioners of *Sweden* met thoſe of *Denmark*

upon

D. Charles Writes once more to K. Sigiſmund enlarges his Conqueſts in Eſthonia, and Liefland, but breaks up the Siege of Riga.

upon the Frontiers, in order to adjuſt the difference occaſion'd by the K. of *Denmark* his bearing the three Crowns in his Arms; but the *Danes* appealing to K. *Sigiſmund*, the Negotiation broke up, without any Effect; and the *Swediſh* Commiſſioners put off the Deciſion for two years.

Guſtavus Erickſon *diſgrac'd by the D. of* Muſcovy.

The good Fortune of *Guſtavus Erickſon* began to turn in *Muſcovy*: For, when *Boris*, the Great Duke, deſir'd he ſhould be Baptized after the *Muſcovite*-way, and demand *Finland* and *Livonia* from the *Swedes* and *Poles*, as being his Hereditary Right, *Guſtavus* abſolutely refus'd, proteſting he would rather loſe his Life, than comply with ſuch Propoſals; tho' at the ſame time, *Boris* offer'd to give him his Daughter in Marriage, and help him to Conquer theſe two Provinces, if he would ſatisfie his Demands. His Refuſal drew upon him the Duke's Hatred, and when he deſir'd Audience of leave, in order to be gone, he was not only ſtripp'd of all he had, but thrown into Priſon, where he dy'd ſome years after, in the Year 1607. Next year, the *Poles* retook *Wiſſenſtein* in *Livonia*, and K. *Sigiſmund* confirm'd the Treaty he had made with the *Danes*, relating to the three Crowns. D. *Charles* call'd an Aſſembly of the States of *Sweden* once more; in which, among other things, they reſolv'd to give *Uladiſlaus* time, till the firſt of *Auguſt*, to come into *Sweden*; and if he came not within that time, declar'd they would provide another Succeſſor to the Crown; and in the mean while, confirm'd D. *Charles* in the Adminiſtration of the Government. They likewiſe reſolv'd, to reform the ancient Liturgy, print the Laws of the Kingdom, and fill up the Vacancies of the Senate. Next year, the Commiſſioners from *Sweden* and *Denmark* had an Interview upon the Frontiers; at which they had great Conteſts, about *Lapland*, *Sonneberg*, and the three Crowns. The Commiſſioners agreed to ſettle the matter upon the foot of the Treaty of *Stetin*; but ſtill it was put off from time to time, till it broke out into an open War, in the Year 1601. During the Seſſions of the above mention'd Convocation, D. *Charles* ſtaid at *Jenkoping*, in order to have early notice of the Succeſs of their Negotiation; and at the ſame time, gave the States of *Gothland* (whom he

he had then Convocated) to know, that *Sigiſmund* had loſt all his Pretenſions to the Crown. Among the Members of the Convocation, was *Joram Poſze*, who came out of Priſon but a little before: But upon advice, that K. *Sigiſmund*'s Valet had left his Maſter and fled to *Sweden*, he was apprehenſive he might diſcover that he was ſtill engag'd in K. *Sigiſmund*'s Intereſt, and upon that fear, went privately to *Poland*, where he liv'd till the end of his Life. 'Tis alledg'd, that 'twas he who adviſ'd the King to preſer *Demetrius* to the Crown of *Muſcovy*; that by his Succours he might be in a capacity, not only to recover *Finland* and *Eſthonia*, but even *Sweden* it ſelf: But whatever was in that matter, 'tis certain the *Poles* gave *Demetrius* an Honourable and Magnificent Reception, and promis'd to prefer him to the Throne; and in recompence of that generous offer, *Demetrius* aſſur'd 'em, he would aſſiſt them againſt *Sweden*. This *Demetrius* they gave out to be Son of *John Baſilowitz*, whereas the *Swedes* knew him to be a Cheat and an Impoſtor. At laſt he march'd from *Poland* to *Muſcovy*, at the Head of a ſtrong Army.

Demetrius *prefer'd by the* Poles *to the Empire of* Muſcovy.

D. *Charles* being inform'd of what was plotted againſt *Sweden*, made as if he had been afraid; and to that effect, Convocated the States of the Kingdom at *Nykoping*; and having opened to them all the Intrigues of his Enemies, ask'd leave to reſign the Government; adding, That they might either make up Matters with K. *Sigiſmund*, or prefer D. *John*, his Brother, to the Throne. The States would not hear of K. *Sigiſmund*; but join'd with D. *Charles*, in offering the Crown to D. *John*, upon certain Limitations: But that Prince, perceiving the preſent Juncture of Affairs requir'd a Man of mature Experience, refus'd their offer; and intreated D. *Charles* to accept of the Adminiſtration; proteſting, that, for his part, he would be very well contented with his Favour, and the Dutchy of *Eaſt-Gothland*, and would live under him with all Fidelity and Submiſſion. This Anſwer of D. *John*'s pleas'd the States mightily; for they would rather have made D. *Charles* King, in conſideration of the many Services he had done his Country, which proclaim'd him worthy of a Crown: Beſides that, he was the only Son of *Guſtavus*

ſtavus then alive; and the preſent Critical Juncture, requir'd a Man equally Intitl'd to Experience and Valour, and Fortunate in all his Attempts; whereas, if D. *John* had Mounted the Throne, 'twas to be fear'd, he might have been influenc'd by the Suggeſtions of K. *Sigiſmund*, and ſo their latter State would have been worſe than the former. At laſt, having maturely weigh'd all theſe Reaſons, they reſolv'd unanimouſly, That D. *Charles* ſhould accept the Crown; That, after his Death, his Son *Guſtavus Adolphus* ſhould ſucceed, and after him, *Charles Philip*; but with the ſame Limitations that were ſtipulated in the Contract upon the Succeſſion. In caſe, all theſe dy'd without Male-Iſſue, the Crown was adjudg'd to D. *John*, and his Deſcendants. All that oppos'd this Reſolution, were to be deem'd Traitors to the State; and the Children of thoſe who were Condemn'd at *Lindkoping*, were declar'd uncapable of any Place or Charge, unleſs they render'd themſelves worthy of it, by ſome diſtinguiſhing Merit. And further, They reſolv'd to Summon all thoſe that went out of *Sweden* with K. *Sigiſmund*; to puniſh ſuch as they could catch, and to oblige thoſe who were Travelling or Studying in Foreign Univerſities, to return Home, and ſwear Allegiance to the new King, under the pain of being ſeverely puniſh'd. They agreed, that Troops ſhould be rais'd, for the Security of the Kingdom, and that D. *John* ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of *East-Gothland*. They came to another Reſolution, That if the Male-Line fail'd, they would chooſe a King Deſcended from one of *Guſtavus*'s Daughters, among the Princes of *Germany*. They oblig'd the King of *Sweden* to Marry a Proteſtant-Queen, and Excluded the Hereditary Prince from the Crown, if he ſhould be poſſeſſed of a Foreign Kingdom; nay, they ty'd up the K. of *Sweden* from accepting of any other Crown, unleſs he reſolv'd to make *Sweden* the place of his conſtant Reſidence.

Of King Charles's *bad ſucceſs and narrow eſcape in* Lierland.

D. *Charles* being thus declar'd King, by the Convention that met at *Norkoping*, he made an Expedition into *Livonia*, and endeavour'd to re-take *Wiſſenſtein*, but was ſo far from ſucceeding in his Attempt, that he loſt before the Place above 3000 Men, 21 Standards, and 6 pieces of Cannon. On the other

ther hand, a Discovery was made of a Design of K. *Sigismund*'s upon *Finland*, and the Person who concerted it, was brought Prisoner to *Stockholm*. K. *Charles* intending to make Reprisals for the Loss he had sustain'd, call'd the States of the Kingdom together, at *Stockholm*. In that Convocation, some Persons in the *Polish* Interest, were Condemn'd, and Supplies granted to K. *Charles*, to carry on the War in *Livonia*. Upon which, His Majesty laid Siege to *Riga*, with a choice Army; but as soon as he had Invested it, receiv'd Advice, That the Enemy was within a few Miles of him; thereupon he decamp'd, and march'd all night, in order to fall upon the Enemy. The Soldiers and Horses were extreamly Fatigu'd, their Cloaths and Arms were all wet with the Rain that fell, during their march: However, without any Rest or Refreshment, they Attack'd the Enemy near *Kirkholm*, with a great deal of Precipitation; but were so warmly receiv'd by the *Polish* Army, under the Command of *Lodkouitz*, together with the *Courland* Cavalry, Commanded by their Duke, that the greatest part of the *Swedish* Army was either Cut off, or taken Prisoners, and the remainder, with much a-do, escap'd to their Ships. In a word, This was such a general Defeat, that K. *Charles* himself had certainly fallen into the Hands of the Enemy, if one *Wreede* had not given him his Horse, upon which he made his Escape, tho' the poor unfortunate Man was kill'd upon the spot by the *Poles*. K. *Charles* arriving at *Revel*, with a Heart full of Grief and Vexation, went from thence to *Sweden*: But K. *Sigismund* could not pursue this Glorious Victory, by reason of the perpetual Commotions in *Poland*. About that time, the *Muscovites* having Massacred the Spurious *Demetrius*, rais'd *Suski* to the Throne; who, being engag'd in a War with *Poland*, ask'd Assistance from K. *Charles*, offering to give him the City of *Kexholm*, and to pay the Auxiliary-Troops. K. *Charles* sent him *James de la Gardie*, with some Thousands of Men. This *James de la Gardie*, was but just come out of Prison; for tho' *Erick Joranson* had charg'd him with several Crimes before K. *Sigismund*, yet he was found Innocent.

K. Charles assists the Muscovites.

K. *Charles*

The Coronation of K. Charles and his Wife.

K. *Charles* finding himself in a peaceable Possession of all *Sweden*, and K. *Sigismund* sufficiently diverted by the Commotions in *Poland*, call'd a Convention of the States at *Upsal*, where he and his Wife were Crown'd; and some days after, the reasons for excluding K. *Sigismund* and his Posterity from the Crown, were Read again in the Convention. At the same time, the States resolv'd to change the Ceremonies of the Church, and reduce 'em nearer to the Practice of the Reformed Churches; but the Clergy oppos'd the Alteration vigorously, and upon that Head call'd a Council at *Upsal*, in which the Professors distinguish'd themselves by a peculiar warmth. And thereupon K. *Charles* stripp'd the University of the Privileges he had formerly granted 'em, to which *Erick Joranson* contributed very much, by Wheedling the Rector of the University, and getting out of his Hands, the Original-Patent for their Privileges, upon a feign'd pretence, That K. *Charles* would, after his Coronation, not only confirm, but enlarge their Privileges. Thus were the Professors of the University of *Upsal*, at once depriv'd, both of their ancient and late Privileges. However, the Affairs of Religion continu'd on the same Foot, as before; and the *Theses*, that *John Forbes*, a Scotchman, publish'd next year, produc'd no effect. Now, though K. *Charles* had offer'd Peace once or twice to the K. of *Poland*, yet the Troubles of *Poland* presenting him with a fair opportunity, he sent an Army, under the Command of *Joachim Frederic*, Count of *Mansfeld*, to Invade *Livonia*, who presently carry'd *Wissenstein* with great good Fortune; and then having left part of his Army before *Derpt*, march'd with the rest of his Troops to *Volmar*; but could do nothing before that Place; nay farther, the Garrison of *Derpt* Sallied out, and repuls'd that part of his Army that Besieg'd 'em, when they were in a careless Posture: But on the other side, the Troops that K. *Charles* sent to *Muscovy*, under the Command of *James de la Gardie*, and *Everard Horn*, not only Defeated the *Poles* and *Demetrius*'s Party several times, but carry'd several of their Forts. Next Year, Count *Mansfield* took *Felin*; and after that, without any apparent necessity, and without the knowledge of the King, agreed with General

The University of Upsal loses its Privileges.

K. Charles Invades Livonia.

ral *Codkenitz* upon a Suſpenſion of Arms, which he afterwards counter-acted by Orders from *K. Charles*, and made himſelf Maſter of *Dunamunder* and *Kakkenhuyſen*.

At laſt the *Poles*, in conſideration of the Letters *K. Charles* had ſent 'em the preceding Year, offer'd to enter into a Negotiation of Peace, or, at leaſt, to make a Truce with *Sweden*; and agreed to a mutual exchange of Priſoners. Accordingly, *K. Charles* ſent Plenipotentiaries, to Treat with them at *Revel*; but the *Poles* refus'd to Treat with them, under pretence, that the *Swedes* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Dunamunder* and *Kakkenhauſen*, before the expiration of the Truce; and at the ſame time, wrote to the States, That they knew no other *K.* of *Sweden*, but *K. Sigiſmund*; and that the *Swedes* themſelves were the only cauſe of the War. The Plenipotentiaries reply'd, That *K. Charles* was not at all oblig'd to ſtand to a Truce, that *Mansfeld* had concerted without his knowledge, or conſent. But General *Codkenitz*, without liſtning to their Reaſons, told 'em roundly, That he was more inclin'd to War than Peace, unleſs the *Swedes* would Surrender the Caſtles they had taken. Upon which, the *Swediſh* Commiſſioners proteſted againſt the *Poliſh* Obſtinacy, and ſo return'd to *Sweden*. The *Swediſh* Fleet lay in the Mouth of the *Duna*, to intercept the Commerce of *Riga*; but the Inhabitants of that City, by the the help of an equal, and continual Wind, ſent out Fire-Ships, which ſet Fire to ſome *Swediſh* Ships, and Burnt them, and the whole Ship's Crew. The ſame year, the Commiſſioners of *Sweden* and *Denmark* had an interview at *Wiſmar*, but to no purpoſe; for the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, namely, *Nicholas Cheſnopharas*, *Erick Foranſon*, and *Erick Oluffon*, having ſtaid too long at *Calmar*, to enjoy themſelves and their Friends, the *Danes* Arriving at the time appointed, and finding the *Swedes* not come, drew up a Paper, which was Sign'd by the Magiſtrate of the City, to teſtifie their Appearance, and then return'd Home; tho' at the ſame time, the *Swedes* pretended they had been retarded by contrary Winds. Among many other things, this piece of Negligence was an inlet to that Bloody War, that ſince broke out, between *Denmark* and

The Swediſh Fleet ſet on Fire before Riga

Sweden; besides that, it gave a disadvantageous turn to *K. Charles*'s Affairs ever after: For, as soon as *K. Sigismund* had pacified the intestine Troubles of his Kingdom, he bent all his Thoughts upon *Muscovy*, hoping either to raise one of his Favourites to that Throne, or Ascend it himself, in order to be in a Capacity to reduce *Sweden*. *K. Charles*, either to cross his Designs, or in hopes of some extraordinary Recompence for his Service, assisted *Suski* with fresh Succours, and that, more zealously than before. But, after all, the *Muscovites* finding that the Game lay between the *Swedes* and the *Poles*, and being more afraid of the last, than the first, seiz'd *Suski*, deliver'd him to the *Poles*, and offer'd their Crown to Prince *Uladislaus*, who was willing to accept it with a *Proviso*, Of not being oblig'd to Live in *Muscovy*. Upon this view, the *Poles* possess'd themselves of the City of *Muscow*: But the *Muscovites* quickly became weary of their new Guests, and Rebelled against them. Upon which, the *Poles* set Fire to the City, and Ravag'd it in a hideous manner. The same time they had equal Success in *Livonia*, where they took the City of *Pernaw*, by the Treachery of one *Daniel Wachen*, who afterwards receiv'd a just Retribution for his Perfidiousness, in *Stockholm*. The *Danes* likewise, began at that time to commit Acts of Hostility against *Sweden*. *K. Charles*, Alarm'd by all these Circumstances, call'd a Convention of the States, to be held next Summer: In which, he mov'd, that a Law might be made, declaring, That the Son of a Gentleman, who studied not the Good, and Service of his Country, should Forfeit his Title of a Gentleman, and the Right of Succession to his Ancestors: But the Convention did not approve the Motion. When the Nobility refus'd to grant *K. Charles* so much as he demanded, for carrying on the War in *Russia* and *Livonia*, as well as in *Denmark*, from both which places he was threatned; he harangu'd them with a great deal of Chagrine and Transport. Upon which, he was taken with a sort of an Apoplexy, that not only disturb'd the exercise of his Reason, but the motion of his Body: and prov'd fatal to the State, in the Wars that ensu'd. For, in earnest, 'tis known to all the World, that the Kingdom of *Sweden*

The Success of the Poles in Muscovy.

K. Charles disoblig'd by the Convention, & taken with an Apoplexy

den had been Ruin'd, if the incomparable Valour of *Guſtavus Adolphus* had not retriev'd it; eſpecially, conſidering, that the Fire which had been ſo long ſmother'd under the Aſhes in *Denmark*, broke out next year into a furious Flame.

The occaſion of the Difference between Denmark *and* Sweden.

From the Year 1603, they importun'd *K. Chriſtian* IV. agreeably to the Articles of the Treaty of *Stetin*, to make an end of the Differences between him and *Sweden*, upon the ſcore of the three Crowns, as well as of *Lapland*, and the Caſtle of *Soneburg*, in the Iſle of *Oeſel*. They likewiſe repreſented to him, that he laid too great Impoſts upon the Ships that came into the *Daniſh* Ports. But they could never bring it to a Concluſion; for, *Sweden* being then Exhauſted by long Wars, and at the ſame time, diverted in *Muſcovy* and *Liefland*, he look'd upon that as a favourable opportunity, to annex *Sweden*, once more, to the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*. To prevent this imminent Danger, Prince *Guſtavus Adolphus*, with the conſent of the Senate, Wrote Letters to *Chriſtian*, inviting him to an amicable deciſion of the Difference between the two Crowns. The *K.* of *Denmark*, in his Anſwer, complain'd, That D. *Charles* had aſſum'd the Title of King of *Lapland*, which, as he alledg'd, was rather a dependance of *Norway*, than of *Sweden*; that he had Built the City and Caſtle of *Gotheburg*, which was highly prejudicial to the *Norwegians*, by reaſon of the great Privileges granted to it; and that his Ships diſturb'd the Commerce, and Navigation of the *Baltick* Sea. To Anſwer all theſe Grievances, *K. Charles* ſent *Cheſnotophorus*, his Chancellor, to *Denmark*: But *K. Chriſtian* would not give him Audience, alledging, his Maſter ſhould have ſent him an Ambaſſador of Birth and Quality, and not the Son of a *Neritian* Prieſt: Nay farther, he return'd no Anſwer to two Expreſſes from *K. Charles*, and gave Convoys to the Weſt-Country Ships, that were bound for *Riga*, and the other Ports of the Enemies of *Sweden*. *K. Charles*, to prevent the leaſt occaſion of a War, re-called Admiral *Joram Gildenſtern*, with the Fleet under his Command, leaving only *James Baat*, with eight Ships, to Cruize on the *Baltick* Sea. Admiral *Baat* repreſented to the *Danes*, that they tranſgreſs'd the Arti-

cles of the Treaty of *Stetin*, in ſuccouring the Enemies of *Sweden*; but they were ſo far from ſatisfying him upon that point, that they diſpers'd all over *Sweden*, a great number of Printed Libels, in order to give a tolerable colour to their Pretenſions, and render *K. Charles* odious to his Subjects. *K. Charles* ſent an Ambaſſador to *K. James* of *England*, deſigning to make what Friends he could, and procure ſufficient Succours againſt his Enemies. His Ambaſſador propos'd to *K. James* an Alliance, and the Marriage of Prince *Guſtavus Adolphus*, to his Daughter *Elizabeth*; which he had certainly obtain'd, if ſhe had not been Promis'd before, to the *Elector Palatine*. However, *K. James* aſſur'd him of his Friendſhip; and, to procure an Accommodation between the two Northern Crowns, ſent *James Spencer* to *Sweden*, and another Ambaſſador to *Denmark*; by whoſe Mediation, a Peace was concluded two years after, between the two Kings. *K. Charles* would gladly have accommodated the Matter in a Friendly way; and, for that end, according to the Treaty of *Stetin*, propos'd to ſend Six Commiſſioners to the Frontiers, to Treat with as many *Daniſh* Commiſſioners. But *K. Chriſtian* rejected the Propoſal, alledging, That the *Swedes* always inſiſted on the Treaty of *Stetin*, only to gain time, without giving him any Satisfaction to his Pretenſions.

K. Charles unfortunate in Muſcovy.

K. Charles's Affairs in *Muſcovy*, began now to have a new Face; for, tho' *James de la Gardie* Defeated the *Poles* in ſeveral Engagements, and Maul'd their Confederates; tho' he reliev'd *Muſcow* from a long Siege, and had reaſon to hope the intire Expulſion of the *Poles*, together with the Falſe *Demetrius*; yet when they came to a general Battle, near *Cluſium*, the *Muſcovites* not ſeconding him as they ought, nor having placed good Sentinels, the *Poles* ſurpriz'd them, and put 'em to Flight; inſomuch, that the *Swedes* being left alone, after a tough Engagement of four Hours, were oblig'd to retire to the Body of their Army, where the Foreign Soldiers, murmuring for want of Pay, went over to the Enemy. This treacherous Deſertion of the Foreign Troops, mov'd *James de la Gardie* to adviſe *K. Charles*, to give the Country Peoples Farms to his Cavalry inſtead of Pay; in order

to

to ſecure them in his Service, and prevent their Deſertion for the future. After ſuch bad ſucceſs, *Gardie* retir'd with ſome Hundreds of *Swedes* and *Finlanders*; and tho' he could not ſupport the Affairs of the *Muſcovites*, which ſeem'd to be deſperate, yet he endeavour'd to undammage the *K.* of *Sweden*, and poſſeſs himſelf of the Places that had been promis'd him. In the firſt place, he importun'd the *Muſcovites* to deliver him *Kexholm*, without any Reſiſtance; they were ſo far from ſatisfying his Demand, that they Robb'd the Couriers that were ſent to *Sweden* with a Copy of the Treaty he had concluded with them, and refus'd him entrance at *Naugarde*. Upon which, he laid Siege to *Kexholm*, and order'd General *La Ville* to take Poſſeſſion of *Laduga*. For that purpoſe, *K. Charles* ſent him Succours from *Sweden*, for the *Danes* had not yet declar'd open War againſt the *Swede*. Next Year, General *Gardie* having taken *Kexholm*, return'd to *Muſcovy*, and encamped before *Naugarde*. He ſollicited the *Muſcovites*, to prefer *Charles Philip*, the Second Son of *K. Charles*, to their Ducal Crown, in the room of Prince *Uladiſlaus*, the Son of *K. Sigiſmund*; tho', at the ſame time, he had no Orders from his Maſter to that Effect; only ſome noted Men in the Country had encourag'd him to hope it. To puſh this Matter home, after he had obſerv'd the Reſolution and Inconſtancy of the *Muſcovites*, he Attack'd *Naugarde*, and Storm'd it. The Garriſon having retir'd to the Caſtle, Capitulated, to put themſelves under *K. Charles*'s Protection, and to raiſe one of his Sons to the Empire of *Muſcovy*, provided, he allowed them the free Exerciſe of the Greek Religion, and Protected 'em againſt their Enemies. This done, *Gardie* put a Garriſon in the Caſtle, and Adminiſtred the Oath of Allegiance to all the *Muſcovites* upon the place. He likewiſe added to the Conqueſts of *Sweden*, the Cities of *Noteburg*, *Ivanagorod*, *Jama*, and *Coporio*.

A Project ſet on foot, for preferring one of KCharles's *Sons to the Empire of* Muſcovy.

At the ſame time, the *Danes* multiply'd their Acts of Hoſtility upon *Sweden*, tho *K. Charles* ſollicited them often to a friendly deciſion of the Difference between 'em: particularly, becauſe *Chriſtian* IV. and He, were the only Kings of the Evangelical Religion, for whom

The Dane *Affronts the K. of* England's *Ambaſſador, and declares War againſt* Sweden.

the Papists were laying Snares on all hands. But the *Danes* had taken Umbrage at *K. Charles*'s Correspondence with *K. James*; and abus'd *James Spencer*, his Ambassador, when he pass'd through *Denmark*, in his return to *England*: For, they not only Robb'd him upon the Frontiers, but Kill'd one of his Servants, and Wounded four more; insomuch, that the Ambassador himself escap'd with much difficulty to save his Life. *K. Charles*, having notice of so black an Action, and so direct an Infringement of the Law of Nations, Writ very sharp Letters to the *Dane*, upon that Head; and, at the same time, call'd a Convention of the States at *Oerebro*, to concert preparatory Measures against *Denmark*. The Convention declar'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, That they were ready to assist His Majesty, to the utmost of their Power, in case the *Danes* would not listen to a reasonable Accommodation. On the other side, the K. of *Denmark*, having perswaded the *Hanse* Towns to discontinue their Trade with *Sweden*, during the whole course of the War; sent a Herauld to *Sweden*, to Declare War by Sea, and Land. The reasons alledged in the *Manifesto*, were; 'That *K. Charles* assum'd 'the Title of *Lord*, or *Sovereign* of *Lapland*; That he 'Built Forts upon his North-Frontiers, and granted 'them Privileges, to the prejudice of *Norway*; and, 'That he disturb'd the Commerce and Navigation of 'the *Baltick-Sea*. After this Declaration, he brought two Armies into the Field; one of which Attack'd *Elfsbourg*, and the other laid Siege to *Calmar*. Upon which, *K. Charles* sent an Herauld to *Denmark*, who declar'd War against *K. Christian*; and gave in a Memorial, refuting the Reasons he alledg'd for the War. For, in earnest, *K. Charles* had a Rightful Title to *Lapland*; for from *Tirisfiord*, to the Neighbourhood of *Malanger*, the *Laplanders* paid equal Tribute to the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*; and from *Malanger* to *Waranger*, they always paid *Sweden* a double Tribute. As for the City of *Gothebourg*, it was Built upon the Territories of *Sweden*, and the Privileges confer'd upon it, had no relation, either to *Denmark*, or *Norway*, but only to *Sweden*. Neither had *K. Charles* disturb'd the Commerce of the *Baltick*, unless it was with reference to those, who carry'd Provision and Ammunition

nition to his Enemies. On the contrary, the K. of *Sweden* had just reason to Declare War against *Denmark*; since, contrary to all Justice, *K. Christian* bore in his Arms, the Three Crowns, made Pretensions to the Castle of *Sonnebourg*, in the Isle of *Oesel*, and rais'd Taxes from the *Laplanders*, who were under the Dominion of *Sweden*. He entertain'd those, who fled out of *Sweden* for High-Treason; gave Convoys to the Ships, that furnish'd the Enemies of *Sweden* with Provisions; wrote Letters in as Mandatory a Style, as if the *Swedes* had been his own Subjects; abus'd his Ambassador, when he pass'd through his Country, and sollicited the *Hanse* Towns, to discontinue their Trade with *Sweden*.

The Danes *take* Calmar, *but are defeated by the* Swedes.

This done, *K. Charles* sent Prince *Gustavus Adolphus*, with part of the Army, to *Calmar*, and follow'd himself with the rest of his Troops, in order to Relieve that place. Its Garrison consisted of 1675 Men, besides the Burghers; and was furnish'd with 104 Brass Guns, not to mention the Iron Guns in the Castle; so that during the Siege, they consum'd 73 P els of Powder. The *Danes* made two Assaults upon the City, and were repuls'd; but at the third Assault, they enter'd the City, with the loss of 1500 Men; and were just begun to Cannonade the Castle, when *K. Charles* arriv'd with all his Troops, and drew up his Army in Battle-Array, in the sight of his Enemies: But they fortify'd their Camp, and continu'd within their Trenches, because *K. Christian* was not there. Next day, the *Danes* march'd out of their Trenches, and gave them Battle, and lost 700 Men, together with *Lucas Krabbe*, their General, and a great many were taken Prisoners: and after that, the *Danish* Army durst not appear in the Field: tho' both Parties continu'd to Skirmish and Insult one another. Prince *Gustavus Adolphus*, at the Head of 500 Horse, surpriz'd *Avescher* and *Bleking*, call'd afterwards, *Christianople*, where the *Danes* had lodg'd their Magazines, and where the *Swedish* Troops got a very rich Spoil, committing all to the Flames that they could not carry off, as well as at last the City it self. Afterward, the *Swedes* who lay before *Calmar*, Attack'd it from without, while the Castle Garrison made an Attack from within; and getting

The Sweds *Burn* Christianople.

upon the Ramparts, diſlodg'd the *Danes* of one of the Baſtions of the Cittadel, and ſet Fire to the City. In this time, while the Soldiers were Plundering the Houſes, *George*, Duke of *Lunenburg*, came up with the *Daniſh* Army, and diſlodg'd the *Swedes*, who loſt 1000 Men in that Enterprize, The *Danes* likewiſe made an Aſſault upon the Baſtion of *Grimſcheer*, and were repuls'd with much Loſs. K. *Charles* having an opportunity to enter the Caſtle, encourag'd his Subjects to Signalize themſelves by their Valour, put in another Governor, namely, *Chriſtopher Soma*, who was naturally a very Talkative Man, but behav'd himſelf very ill in that Poſt; for when he ſaw the *Swediſh* Army retire to *Risby*, becauſe they were incommoded by the Cannon of the City and Caſtle, he invited *Steen Malteſon*, the *Daniſh* General, into the Caſtle, and ſoon after, deliver'd up the Place to the Enemies, without any urgent Cauſe or Neceſſity; for he had abundance of Proviſions, and Ammunition; and the Garriſon was reſolv'd to make a vigorous Defence. Among other Preſents, the *Danes* rewarded his Treachery, with the Gift of the Territory of *Kolſthorp*, Scituate between *Lubeck* and *Segeberg*. This perfidious Man, to colour his Treachery, had the Impudence to alledge, That it was long of K. *Charles*, that the Caſtle was Surrender'd, Becauſe he did not ſend him the Succours he had promis'd; and that he had not above a Barrel and an half of Powder, when he Surrender'd; adding, that he was ready to juſtifie himſelf before diſintereſs'd Judges, provided it was out of his own Country; for he would not return to *Sweden*, while Chancellor *Cheſnocophorus*, and Secretary *Erick Olufson*, ſate at the Helm of Affairs; and pretended, he could not brook the ſnappiſh Anſwers that K. *Charles* gave him, upon the inſtigation of theſe two Miniſters. Afterwards, the *Danes* Attack'd the Iſle of *Oeland* and *Borkholm*, which *John Ulfsperre*, the Governor, after a vigorous Defence, was oblig'd to Surrender, when he ſaw himſelf deſerted by his Soldiers. K. *Chriſtian*, having tender'd the Oath of Allegiance to all the Inhabitants of the Iſland, return'd with his Army to *Calmar*; where K. *Charles*, who lay incamp'd before the City, ſent him a Challenge; to which, the K. of *Denmark* ſent a very

The Caſtle of Calmar *betray'd to the* Danes.

K. Charles *ſends a Challenge to* Chriſtian IV.

a very uncivil Anſwer; upon which, there paſs'd between the two Kings ſuch Satyrical Scoulding Letters, as were altogether unworthy their Character, and Majeſty: And their Troops had ſeveral ſharp Skirmiſhes for ſome days. At laſt, K. *Chriſtian* return'd to *Denmark*, and the *Swedes* purſu'd him in vain; but afterwards attack'd the reſt of the Army before *Calmar*, and put 'em in ſuch diſorder, that the *Danes* were oblig'd to decamp; and many of 'em, being intercepted by the *Swedes*, in their way to *Bleking*, were oblig'd to Winter in the *Iſle of Oeland*; but even there they were not ſafe; for Prince *Guſtavus Adolphus*, had under-hand ſollicited the Inhabitants to Maſſacre their Gueſts; and next Year, having croſs'd over quietly with 2000 Men, made himſelf Maſter of the Iſland; and, by the help of the Succours he had from the Country, carry'd the Caſtle of *Borcholm*: And thus it was, That *that* Young Brave Prince purchas'd ſo much Glory in his firſt Attempt.

The Danes *Routed before* Calmar.

Guſtavus *takes* Oeland *and the Caſtle of* Borcholm.

K. *Charles* having put his Troops into Winter Quarters, call'd a Convention of the States in *November*; and was taken ſo very ill of a Diſeaſe, that grew upon him from day to day, on his Journey, that when he arriv'd at *Nikoping*, he loſt both his Strength, and his Speech, and Dy'd four days after, in the 61th Year of his Age.

K. Charles *Dies.*

Guſtavus Adolphus was not of full Age when his Father dy'd: For which reaſon, his Father, by his Will, left him the following Guardians; Queen *Chriſtin* his Wife, and D. *John*, together with *Magnus Brahe*, *Nils Bielke*, *Sewerd Riblin*, *Joram* Gildenſtern, *Havis Ulfsparre*, and *Axel Oxenſtiern*, all Senators. For tho' the *Muſcovites* had ſent an Ambaſſador to *Sweden*, purſuant to the Treaty made with *James de la Gardie*, to deſire the protection of that Kingdom, and offer the Crown of *Muſcovy* to P. *Charles Philip*; yet the *Swedes* laid but little ſtreſs upon the Promiſes of ſuch a light, wavering Nation. On the other ſide, 'tis true, the Governor of *Revel* had made a Truce in *Lieſland*, with the *Poles*, for ſeveral years; but that was not to be depended upon, becauſe the Treaty was not ratify'd by the two Kings. And as for the *Swediſh* Concerns with *Denmark*, the

Of K. Guſtavus Adolphus.

Danes

Danes had gain'd a conſiderable Advantage over them, by the taking of *Calmar*; inſomuch, that the Fort of *Riſzby*, on the Confines of *Smaland* and *Eaſt-Gothland*, was the *Swediſh* Frontier-Garriſon; in which, *Nils Sternſchild* made a vigorous and brave Defence. About the ſame time, the *Danes* Attack'd *Elfsburg*, but were repuls'd by *Oluf Strale*, the Governor of the Place. On the other hand, the *Swedes* render'd themſelves Maſters of *Jempteland*, and made the Inhabitants Swear Allegiance to the Crown of *Sweden*. The ſame year, a Convention was held at *Nikoping*, for ſettling the Home-Affairs; in which, to Cultivate a good Underſtanding at Home, D. *John* not only reſign'd his Guardianſhip, but made an abſolute Ceſſion of all his Rights and Pretenſions to the Crown of *Sweden*; in recompence of which, the States added to his Dutchy ſome Lands in *Weſt-Gothland*. The Queen likewiſe reſign'd her Guardianſhip, becauſe *Guſtavus* her Son, tho' but 18 Years of Age, gave full proof of the neceſſary Qualities for Governing the State. Thus *Guſtavus* enter'd upon the Adminiſtration of Affairs; and the neceſſary Meaſures for the preſent Juncture, were concerted by the ſame Convention. *Nils Bielke* and *Nils Hilliehock* were ſent to *Finland*, to Adminiſter the Oath of Allegiance to the Inhabitants, in His Majeſty's Name: But the moſt troubleſome and tedious Buſineſs was, the War with *Denmark*; for the *Danes* could never have a more favourable opportunity to commence a War; the *Swedes* being then engag'd in the Wars with *Muſcovy* and *Poland*; beſides, the Conqueſt of *Calmar* was very advantageous to them. However, *Guſtavus* did all he could, to put himſelf into a capacity to reſiſt his Enemies. He ſent *Munchoven* to the *Netherlands*, with Orders, not only to raiſe ſome Thouſands of Foot Soldiers and Seamen, but to give Commiſſions to particular Ships to War upon the *Danes*. He had Six Men of War ready to go for *Holland* to fetch the new-rais'd Men, but the *Daniſh* Fleet Block'd 'em up in *Elfsburg*-Haven. The *Danes* intended to Attack *Elfsburg* and *Gulberg* in *Weſt-Gothland*; and *Nykoping*, in the Province of *Smaland*, that being Maſters of theſe three Places, they might have an open paſſage through all *Sweden*. To Countermine

The Danes *repuls'd before* Elfsbourg, *and loſe* Jempteland.

D. John *and the Q. reſign their Guardianſhip.*

termine this Project of the *Danes*, K. *Guſtavus* made an Irruption into *Schonen*, where he committed great Ravages; tho' in his Retreat, the *Danes* cut off 300 of his Men. At the ſame time, D. *John* enter'd the Country of *Holland*, and Defeated a conſiderable Party, Commanded by the King of *Denmark*, and *George*, D. of *Lunenburg*, kill'd 300 Men, and took ſeveral Priſoners of Note. In the interim, the *Danes* made an Aſſault upon Fort *Gulberg*, but were beat off, with loſs of above 200 Men; and had the like ill Succeſs at *Elfsburg*. To give the Beſieged time to breath, *Jaſpar Krunſz* went and took *Niloſſe*, and after he had cut off ſome Hundreds of Soldiers, ſet Fire to the Place. He did the like in the Lordſhip of *Bahuuſz*, where he Burnt all before him, as far as *Frederickſtadt*.

Guſtavus *Invades* Schonen, *& Defeats the* Danes *in* Holland

Next Summer, the *Danes* carry'd on the War with more Vigour and Succeſs: For, in the firſt place, they diſlodg'd *James Baat* of Fort *Kiſzby*, and having tranſported their Troops to the *Iſle of Oeland*, Defeated the *Swedes* that oppos'd 'em, and Storm'd the Caſtle of *Bercholm*. After which, *Elfsburg* and *Gulberg* Surrender'd; for the firſt of theſe places, was, through *Nils Sternſchild*'s negligence, not furniſh'd with a ſufficient Number of Men; and *Oluf Strale*, their Commander, was remiſs in the performance of his Duty. *Guſtavus* Aſſembl'd all his Forces, to oppoſe the march of the Enemies, who were marching with a powerful Army towards *Weſt-Gothland*; but finding his Army not ſo numerous as the *Daniſh*, he did not think it proper to hazard a Battle, chooſing rather to gall 'em ſome other way. The Enemy having notice of *Guſtavus*'s Deſign, return'd with all diligence to *Elfsburg*; and His Majeſty, who was very vigilant upon all occaſions, kill'd him a great many Men upon his Retreat. On the other ſide, the *Danes* Invaded *Smaland*, and Poſted themſelves near *Wimmerby*, to keep the Country in awe; but as ſoon as they had Advice of *Guſtavus*'s march, they retir'd to *Calmar*. However, being ſenſible that the *Swediſh* Fleet was very ill provided, they gall'd the *Swedes* very much, on the Coaſts of *Smaland* and *East-Gothland*, and not only Burnt *Weſterwick* and *Suderkoping*, but gave Chaſe to twelve *Swediſh* Men of War, after they

The Actions of the Swediſh, *and* Daniſh *Armies.*

they were much dammaged, *Guſtavus Adolphus* routed a conſiderable party under the command of *Brede de Ranzan*, near *Ynnewaldbroo*; and another party near *Ekoſio*. In the mean time K. *Chriſtian* having croſs'd *Weſt-Gothland*, went to lay Siege to *Jenkoping*, but finding he could do nothing there, immediately Decamped, and retir'd with all diligence to *Holland*. If he had had the Courage to have ſtay'd, *Guſtavus* would have given him Battle. Upon the ſide of *Norway*, the Enemies invaded *Dalia*, and forc'd three Bailiffs of that Province to adminiſter the Oath. As for the *Swediſh* Fleet, it was in ſuch a wretched Condition, that it could do nothing. K. *Chriſtian* himſelf went aboard of his Fleet, and ventur'd, to come near *Elſznabben*, where *Guſtavus* had certainly intercepted his retreat, if he had not very quickly gone out at the ſtrait through which he enter'd. All the K. of *Denmark* got by this hazardous attempt was a view of the Danger that attended the coming up to *Stockholm*, and was the greateſt Exploit that K. *Chriſtian* performed during this War, which was not at all anſwerable to the hopes he had conceived.

A Peace concluded between Sweden *and* Denmark.

In the mean time, *James*, King of *England*, was very zealous in procuring an Accommodation between the Crowns, by the interpoſition of his two Ambaſſadors, *James Spencer*, and *Robert Armſtruten*, the former at the Court of *Sweden*, and the other in *Denmark*: And at this time, indeed, the *Swedes* had reaſon to wiſh for a Peace, to recover their exhauſted Strength; but at the ſame time, the *Danes* were ſenſible they could not continue the War much longer, becauſe the Plague and Famine had impair'd the number of their Men both in *Calmar*, and the Iſle of *Oeland*. However, K. *Guſtavus* rais'd 2300 Men in *Scotland*, and the *Netherlands*, and hir'd five Scotch Ships which pillaged the City, and Lordſhip of *Drontheim*, and then made Sail for *Sweden*, by the way of *Fialle*. At laſt, the two Kings agreed to ſend *Plenipotentiaries*, to negotiate a Peace at *Knaredh*. In the beginning of the Negotiation, the *Danes* objected againſt the Authority of *Guſtavus*'s Commiſſion, and deſir'd other Credentials ſign'd by D. *John* and the States of *Sweden*; eſpecially becauſe *Guſtavus* was not quite 18 Years of Age; But the *Swedes*, in like manner,

manner, deſiring Credentials from the States of *Denmark*, they drop'd the Objection. The *Swediſh Plenipotentiaries* were, *Axel Oxenſtiern*, *Nicholas Bielke*, *Guſtavus Steenbock*, *Henry Horn*. The greateſt difficulty to be adjuſted, was, that the *Danes* claim'd, a perpetuity to the City of *Calmar*, the Iſle of *Oeland*, and the Caſtles of *Kiſzby* and *Elfsbourg*, with all their Dependances. At laſt, they centered upon this expedient, *That all theſe places ſhould be reſtor'd to the* Swedes, *upon the payment of a million of Crowns.* 'Tis true, this was a hard Article upon the *Swedes*; but it was impoſſible for *Sweden* to carry on the War any longer; and at the ſame time, they could not be without *Elfsbourg*, which was the only Harbour they had on the North-Sea. There was no Introduction prefix'd to this Treaty, for fear ſomething ſhould be inſerted to the diſadvantage of K. *Charles*'s Memory; nor were there any foreign Princes included in the Treaty as is uſual, becauſe the K. of *Denmark* would not have the *Dutch* mention'd. During the Negotiation, the two Kings reſided not far from the place of interview, for the conveniency of conferring with their reſpective Plenipotentiaries. This Peace was concluded in *January* 19, 1613.

A Negotiation for preferring a Swediſh Prince to the Throne of Muſcovy.

Among many Reaſons that induc'd the *Swedes* to yield any thing to *Denmark*; the principal was, *That they wanted to have their hands free, in order to carry on their intereſts in* Muſcovy, *which, at that time, began to have a good aſpect; for the North part of that Empire were willing to have a Swediſh Prince for their Soveraign, hoping, by that means, to promote their Trade. James de la Gardie* wrote very preſſing Letters to the *Swedes*, to ſtrike the Iron while it was hot, and not loſe time. Beſides, *Everd Horn* ask'd leave to poſſeſs himſelf of *Pleskaw*; but that enterprize was render'd ineffectual, through a very groſs miſtake; for when an Officer was going to poſt a Petard at the Gate, he order'd thoſe about him to retire, meaning, they ſhould ſtep out of the way, till the Petard went off; but they underſtood him, as if he had order'd them to be gone, and relinquiſh the Attack. In the mean time *Guſtavus Adolphus* return'd a very civil Anſwer to the *Naugardians*, promiſing to give them a viſit as ſoon as he had ſettled his Affairs in *Sweden.*

Sweden. For 'tis to be remark'd, that *Guſtavus* was doubtful at firſt, whether he ſhould take the Empire of *Muſcovy* to himſelf, and annex it to *Sweden*, or give it to his Brother. 'Twas for this Reaſon that he continu'd unreſolv'd for a whole Year, and from time to time, put off Prince *Charles*'s Voyage; till at laſt *James de la Gardie*, penetrating into the preſent juncture and Conſtitution of Affairs, perſwaded *Sweden* to act vigorouſly in the Affair, as ſoon as the War with *Denmark* was put to an end: But then it was too late. On the other Hand, the *Muſcovites* obſerving, that *Guſtavus Adolphus*, in his Letters, ſpoke only of his own Voyage, and not of his Brothers, began to ſuſpect, that he had a mind to reduce the Empire of *Muſcovy*, or, at leaſt, a part of it, under the Dominion of *Sweden*. Beſides, they were convinc'd, that theſe two States could not poſſibly be well govern'd by one Soveraign, and for that reaſon intended to have a Soveraign of their own. And farther, they were very much diſoblig'd by *Guſtavus*'s asking of them the remainder of a Debt with too much ſeverity, and ſeeming to charge them with ingratitude, at a time, when they had offer'd their Crown to his Brother, and promis'd to ſupport him; whereas, a ſofter and more moderate uſage might have been expected upon ſuch an occaſion. But, after all, the People of *Naugardie* anſwer'd *Guſtavus*, with all reſpect and ſubmiſſion, beſeeching him to ſend his Brother *Charles* without any delay, ſince His Majeſty was ſo much diverted at home, that he could not come to retrieve the Affairs of *Muſcovy*, which were then in a low and perplex'd Condition. 'Tis certain, Prince *Charles* could never have had a more favourable juncture: For not only the Impoſtor *Demetrius* was kill'd, but the *Poles* were then diſpoſſeſs'd of the Caſtle of *Muſcow*, and the Kingdom of *Poland* was in great diſorder, by reaſon of three different Factions in their Army: But the matter was, that the *Swedes* did not purſue the Buſineſs with the neceſſary vigour, partly by reaſon of a heavy War with *Denmark*, and partly becauſe a tender Mother ſcrupl'd to let her Son go to a turbulent and unruly People, eſpecially conſidering that the *Muſcovites* requir'd, that he ſhould bring but very few ſtrangers with him,

him, as if they had resolv'd before hand, to send him back, if he did not please them. 'Tis likewise to be observ'd, that *James de la Gardie*, was envy'd by a great many, as being of foreign extraction; and the *Swedes*, who deriv'd their extraction from ancient Families in the Country, did not like that he should bring about an affair of such importance; and, for that reason, set a great many intrigues on foot to thwart his Design.

Upon this consideration, he protested to K. *Gustavus*, that in case the Negotation did not succed, he was innocent. In the mean time the *Swedish* Troops were not idle in *Muscovy*: For *Nicolas Slange* took the Town of *Notebourg* by Capitulation, and put a *Swedish* Garrison into it, in the name of Duke *Charles Philip*, as being the intended Grand Duke of *Muscovy*. The same method was us'd with the other places that the *Swedes* subdued, namely, *Coporia*, *Jama*, *Audgo*, and *Ivanogorod*: So that the *Swedes* were not unprovided of places of strength. That same Year, D *John* married Princess *Mary Elizabeth*, the Dauhgter of C. *Charles*, by *Arnan Maria*, his first Wife, and the Daughter of *Lewis* the Elector Palatine. *The Progress of the* Swedes *in* Muscovy.

The Clergy of *Sweden* oppos'd this Marriage in the Assembly of the States, under the pretence, that such a degree of Consanguinity, was contrary to the Divine Laws. But the Queen answered very vigorously, That she was amaz'd, that they should think of opposing that Marriage, since promises had been exchang'd on both sides two Years before, and that in Affairs of that Nature, there was no occasion to ask their Advice. She added, That since they were not subject to the Pope's Decrees and Orders, the power of adjusting Matrimonial Affairs, was lodg'd, not in Ecclesiastick, but in Secular Hands, and that she could not perceive, that the learned Disputes *Pro* and *Con*, upon that Subject, had any other end, than that of exciting new Commotions. *The Clergy opposes* D. John's *Marriage.*

Tho' the War with *Denmark* was at an end, yet *Sweden* felt its fatal Consequences: For the *Danes* had Demolish'd all the Forts that they gave up to the *Swedes*, and pillag'd all the Cities that they march'd out of. Besides, K. *Gustavus* was oblig'd to retain the

the forreign Troops in his Service, by reaſon of the *Polonian* and *Muſcovite* Wars; and upon that head, his Subjects were much incommoded: For, notwithſtanding that he laid no great ſtreſs upon the Promiſes of the *Muſcovites*, and was not fully ſatisfied with their particular Deſign upon D. *Charles Philip*; yet he hop'd, by that means, to have a Barrier to cover his Provinces, and to recover from the *Muſcovites*, the Mony that was due for the Succours he had ſent 'em. 'Tis certain, the Affairs of *Muſcovy* were then juſt upon the turn; for they expected, with the utmoſt impatience, the arrival of D. *Charles Philip*; and their Ambaſſadors made preſſing inſtances at the Court of *Sweden*, upon that Subject. At laſt, when they preceiv'd the troubleſome Conſequences of their Negligence, no body would own that they were in the Fault. In effect, moſt of the *Muſcovites* relented in their Affection for *Sweden*, becauſe they ſuſpected, that K. *Guſtavus* was more intent upon enlarging the Bounds of his Dominions, than procuring the Empire of *Muſcovy* to his Brother, and relieving its diſtreſſed Eſtate. With this view, they held an Aſſembly at *Muſcow*, in order to concert Meaſures for the Election of a new Soveraign. Thereupon, the *Coſſacks*, with moſt of the People, gave their Votes for *Michael Foederowitz Romanof*, a Young Man of a conſiderable Family, but not deſcended of the Family of the Grand Dukes. However, the principal *Muſcovites* oppos'd the Election, partly thro' envy, and partly becauſe they imagin'd that a Native of *Muſcovy*, was not capable to retrieve their Affairs from the confus'd Condition they were then in; and that a forreign ſupport was neceſſary for that end, eſpecially conſidering that the *Poles* were making preparations for a new Expedition into *Muſcovy*. On the other hand, the elected Prince would not accept of the Dignity; and for that reaſon retir'd to a very remote private Place. After they had look'd for him a long time, in vain, they, at laſt, found him, and with their importunities, prevail'd ſo far upon him; that he accepted the Crown. After that, the moſt conſiderable Perſons of that Country Voted for him, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition that *James de la Gardie* could make.

The Sweds negli-gent in the Affairs of Muſcovy.

A new D. of Muſcovy elected.

Thus

Thus it was, that D. *Charles Philip* loſt the Empire of *Muſcovy*, by coming too late.

Upon this great change *James de la Gardie* adviſ'd K. *Guſtavus Adolphus*, to accommodate matters with the *Poles*, and poſſeſs himſelf of the North part of *Muſcovy*, and to make uſe of *Colmogorod*, as a neceſſary inſtrument for bringing his Deſigns to bear. But K. *Guſtavus* was ſo much diverted by the buſineſs of *Elfsbourg*, which he meant to wreſt out of the *Daniſh* Hands; that he had not time to carry on an Affair of ſuch importance with the vigour and diligence that was requiſite. In the mean time, *James de la Gardie* over perſwaded the Inhabitants of *Naugarde*, to take a new Oath to Prince *Charles Philip*; and in regard, the *Swedes*, then in *Muſcovy*, were 1000 Men fewer, than before, He ſent *Dunite Hebron* to *Germany*, to raiſe 1000 Foot Soldiers, to which he joyn'd 200 *French*, and with that Body reinforc'd the Garriſon of *Naugarde*. Soon after, *Guſtavus Adolphus*, ſent him ſtrong Succours from *Sweden*; and Prince *Charles Philip* arriv'd at *Wibourg*, accompany'd by the King's Commiſſioners, namely, *George Boie*, *Henry Horn* of *Kankas*, *James de la Gardie*, and *Arfwedk Willman* Governor of *Wibourg*. Preſently the Deputies of *Naugarde* came to congratulate the young Prince's Arrival, and importun'd him with all imaginable vigour, to repair immediately to *Naugarde*; but the *Swediſh* Commiſſioners would not conſent to it, alledging, that all the other Cities of the Empire of *Muſcovy* ought to ſend Deputies, to ſignifie their being ſatisfied with the Election they had made; and that they ſhould firſt concert the neceſſary meaſures for the regulation of the State. But the *Muſcovites* perſiſted in their former Reſolves, and requir'd, that Prince *Charles* ſhould ſhew himſelf at *Naugarde*, which had formerly been a ſeparated State from reſt of *Muſcovy*, or, at leaſt, repair to *Ivanogrod*, to ſhew that he began to take poſſeſſion of the Empire. But, after all, the *Swedes* would not depart from their preciſe Orders, and Inſtructions given them by K. *Guſtavus*: Tho' the Deputies of the two Nations, had ſeveral Conteſts upon the matter; yet the *Swedes* had ſo much influence over the *Muſcovites*, that they perſwaded them

D. Charles's arrival in Muſcovy.

to renew their Oath of Fidelity to Prince *Charles*, with the ſign of the Croſs. After which, they withdrew, and talk'd no more of accommodating matters; Tho' K. *Guſtavus* had given poſitive Inſtructions to his Deputies, to poſſeſs themſelves immediately of *Naugarde*, and all the Countries retaining to it, in caſe the *Muſcovites* did not voluntarily receive Prince *Charles* for their Soveraign; yet *James de la Gardie* thought it too precipitant an enterprize, eſpecially conſidering that they were not furniſh'd with neceſſary means for putting it in Execution: Beſides, that the *Muſcovites* coming to know their Deſign, would certainly fall upon the *Swedes*, and it would be very improper for the *Swedes* to leave behind them the Towns of *Angdo*, and *Tephen*, which had revolted. They attack'd theſe Towns, but retir'd with great loſs. On the other ſide, *Michael Foederowitz*, being choſen Grand Duke, committed ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility upon the *Swedes* in the Province of *Naugarde*. Thus it was, that the *Swedes* having conceiv'd great hopes of the Friendſhip and Alliance of the *Muſcovites*, engag'd in a Bloody War with them, by vertue of their Negligence in ſlighting the favourable Opportunity that was offer'd them.

A War between the Swedes, and Muſcovites.

Some time after, the *Poles* remarking, that K. *Guſtavus*'s Affairs were in a better Condition, and that he was free of the *Daniſh* War, began to be apprehenſive, that he would attack them in the time of their Commotions. Upon this apprehenſion, they Sollicited *John Sigiſmund*, Duke of *Brandenburg* to mediate an Accommodation with *Sweden*. Accordingly that Prince ſent Lerters to the *Swediſh* Deputies at *Revel*, offering his Mediation, and ſetting forth, that they would oblige him mightily, if they would repreſent the Affair favourably to the States of *Sweden*: For it was with theſe that the Negotation was to be carried on, ſince K. *Sigiſmund*, in his Credentials, would not give *Guſtavus* the Title of King of *Sweden*. But the *Poles* knowing that K. *Guſtavus* would never conſent to a Treaty in the name of the States of *Sweden*, without including himſelf, found out an Expedient, *viz.* "That the Generals of the two Nations "ſhould have an interview to treat of a ſuſpenſion of "Arms; and that their Reſolutions ſhould be ratify'd

The Generals treat of a Juſpenſion of Arms.

fy'd on both ſides. Accordingly the *Poliſh* General, in *Muſcovy*, wrote to *James de la Gardie*: And on the other hand *Farensbach*, the *Poliſh* General in *Livonia*, acquainted *Gabriel Oxenſtiern*, Governor of *Revel*, that he had Orders from the Court of *Poland* to conclude a Truce with him for three Years. Upon which the Deputies on both ſides met at *Silnis*, juſt by *Derpt*, and there prolong'd the Truce till next *Michaelmaſs*, But, after all, there being little to be expected from a Truce that was not confirm'd and ratify'd by either of the Kings; and K. *Sigiſmund* finding a Peace with *Sweden*, or, at leaſt, a firm Truce, abſolutely neceſſary for the good of his States, he once more Solicited the Elector of *Brandenburg* to offer his Mediation to the *Swedes*, to bring his Deſign to bear. He likewiſe Sollicited *James* King of *England*, and the States General of the united Provinces, to interpoſe their Intereſt in that Affair. And the Elector ſent the ſame Letters to *Sweden* to be Communicated to K. *Guſtavus*, and the Senate. But *England* and *Holland* had not ſo much the intereſt of *Poland* in view, as the danger the Proteſtants of *Germany* were in, who would receive a conſiderable Relief in *Sweden*, when it came to an Accommodation with *Poland*, and had its hands free.

The Poles deſire a Peace.

K. *Guſtavus* made as if he inclin'd to comply with their Propoſals and Sollicitations, provided it ſhould not be prejudicial to his Royal Dignity, or to his Lawful Title, for continuing in the poſſeſſion of *Sweden*. In the mean time, the Reſolutions concerted by the Generals, were ratify'd by the two Kings, and held as inviolable, bating that K. *Guſtavus* would not ſuffer *James de la Gardie* to joyn with the *Poles*, by acting in concert with them againſt the *Muſcovites*, for fear of irrtating them. This done, the Deputies prolong'd the Truce for two Years, i.e. to the twentieth of *January*, 1616, and this Reſolve was confirmed, and ratified by the two Kings.

The Truce prolong'd between Sweden *and* Poland

Beſides the Diverſions which *Guſtavus* had abroad, he was much perplex'd at home, till he ſettl'd the States of his Kingdom by good Laws, and wholſome Edicts. At the Aſſembly of the States, call'd at *Oerebro*, he reduc'd into good Order all the Procedtures with reference to the Affairs of Commerce, the Du-

K. Guſtavus's *wiſe regulations.*

ties of Entry and Export, the Equipage of the Army, and a great many other things, which are equally useful and necessary to the Good and Prosperity of a State. So that we may safely affirm, that the *Swedes* were indebted to this King for the best Regulations that their Country can boast of. After the separation of this Assembly, His Majesty recall'd D. *Charles Philip* from *Wieburg*, and went himself to the Frontiers of *Muscovy*, in order to have a nearer view of what past, with reference to his intrigues with the *Poles* and *Muscovites*. And forasmuch as the Inhabitants of *Naugard* would by no means suffer their Country to be annex'd to *Sweden*, but absolutely insisted upon the Calling of D. *Charles Philip* to elude K. *Gustavus*'s pretensions: Upon this Consideration, I say, he made preparations to reduce them by the dint of Armes. *James de la Gardie* writ to them, in His Majesty's Name, a Letter, proposing Terms of Peace, but they would hear of nothing but Powder and Ball; besides, they sent Ambassadors to the Emperor, to *England*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*, who gave out false Reports against the *Swedes*, that were afterwards solidly refuted. All these Motives mov'd K. *Gustavus* to clap up the above-mentioned Truce with the *Poles* as soon as possible. The *Finances* being much exhausted in *Sweden*, K. *Gustavus* disbanded the Foreign Troops, who did not make in all above 3000 Men, tho' they were pay'd upon the foot of 8000, and were very chargeable to the State. He supply'd their room with *Swedish* Garrisons and contented himself with acting only upon the Defensive, till such time as his Affairs should be in a better Posture. In the mean time His Majesty would be very well satisfy'd if K. *James* had interpos'd his Mediation, for deciding the Difference between him and the *Muscovites*; but that King would not willingly act in concert with the *Dutch* upon that Affair, for fear they should take that opportunity to stipulate for themselves, some advantage in the Trade of *Muscovy* beyond the *English*. In the mean time the Arms in *Sweden* made a considerable Progress in *Muscovy*: For *James de la Gardie* attack'd 8000 *Muscovites* that had fortify'd themselves near *Brunitz*, to hinder the Communication with *Naugard*; and having cut off one part of the Army, put the

He goes in Person to the Frontiers of Muscovy.

He disbands his Foreign Troops.

The Progress of his Arms in Sweden.

the reſt to flight. After which, the *Muſcovites* deſerted *Sartura*, and the *Swedes* put a Garriſon into it: Beſides *Evart Horn* Beſeig'd *Audgo*, and the King coming from *Nerva*, to the Siege, carry'd the place. At the ſame time ſome *Muſcovites* that had made an irruption into the Neighbouring Country, were attack'd and put to flight by *Hans Munk*. After that, they were beat near *Ladoga*, as well as in ſeveral other places. Nevertheleſs, the Affairs of *Sweden* abſolutely requring K. *Guſtavus*'s Preſence, he return'd home, and carry'd with him *James de la Gardie*, leaving the management of the War of *Naugard* to *Gaſpar Kruſz*, to whom he gave a full Power, in conjunction with *Evart Horn*, and *Monſz Martinſon*, to make a Peace with the *Muſcovites*.

An Alliance between Sweden and Holland.

That ſame Year K. *Guſtavus* made an Alliance with the States General for fifteen Years, with relation, not only to the Commerce, but to the mutual Succours they were to ſend one another. At the ſame time the Proteſtant States of *Germany* Sollicited His Majeſty to enter into the League they had made for their common Defence; but His Majeſty having a perplex'd train of Affairs upon his Hands already, could not handſomly imbark in a new Buſineſs that might produce tedious Conſequences: Tho', at the ſame time, he gave them ſufficient marks of his Affection to their Party, by promiſing to aſſiſt them upon occaſion to the utmoſt of his Power. In the ſame Year, a Marriage was propos'd between the *Count Palatine*, *John Caſimir*, Prince of *Sweybrug*, and *Katharina* the half Siſter of *Guſtavus Adolphus*. There was one very remarkable particular relating to this Marriage, namely, That *Guſtavus*, before he was Married wiſh'd, "That if he dy'd ſuddenly, "the firſt Son of that Marriage ſhould ſucceed to the "Crown of *Sweden*; which, by the Providence of "God, was verify'd in the Perſon of *Charles Guſtavus*.

The Proteſtants in Germany ſollicite Guſtavus to joyn with them in their League

Next Year, K. *Guſtavus* endeavoured to puſh on his Concerns with the *Muſcovites*, and to determine them, if it was poſſible, by a Negotiation. With this view, he reſolv'd upon another Journey to the Frontiers of *Muſcovy*: But before he undertook that Journey, he ſent *John Skitte* as Ambaſſador to K.

The Sweds *disperse Libells in* Sweden.

Christian, to secure his Friendship. And forasmuch as K. *Sigismund* scatter'd a great many Libells in *Sweden*, to sow Division between K. *Gustavus*, and his Subjects: His Majesty not only prohibited them to hear such seditious Discourses, but likewise sent a Fleet to cruise upon the Coast of *Dantzick*, and under the pretence of building a Fort, march'd some Troops towards *Calmar*, in order to be ready on all occasions, to thwart the ill Designs of the *Poles*, whom he mistrusted very much. Add to all this, that he commanded his Land Militia to be in a readiness to march upon the first Orders. After that, *Gustavus* embark'd at *Stockholm*, and arriv'd at *Nerva*, where he receiv'd Advice, that the *English*, by their Mediation, had got the *Muscovites* to enter into a Negotiation; to make the Negotiation go on the better, he resolv'd to attack the City of *Pleskow*: Upon his arrival before that place, *Evert Horn* was mortally wounded in the Head in a Sally that the *Muscovites* made: And tho' the King endeavour'd vigorously to Storm tho Town, yet he could not carry it. He made one Assault in which he lost but 30 Men, tho' the *Muscovites* lost 700: But the Winter approaching, and the contrary Winds opposing the trasportation of the heavy Cannon, he was oblig'd to raise the Siege; to which the *English* Ambassador contributed not a little by his repeated Sollicitations for that end: For 'tis to be observ'd, that *that* Minister was very partial to the *Muscovites*, by reason of the great advantage he mean'd to draw from the Trade of *Muscovy*; The pretence he went upon, was, That the great Duke would not hear of any Accommodation, till a Truce was concluded upon. At the same time, the *Swedish* Deputies gave the same Advice to K. *Gustavus*, for fear the running of the *Muscovites* to despair, should move them to make a Peace with the *Poles* at any rate; after which they would certainly joyn together in attacking *Sweden*. The *Dutch* Ambassadors assisted at this Negotiation, which was then commenc'd with a great deal of vigour and application. The different Preliminaries were adiusted at *Glebora*; and after many Disputes on both sides, the whole Treaty was concluded at *Stelbera*, *Feb.* 13. 1677, by which the Town of *Kexholm*

The Siege of Pleskow *rais'd.*

England *partial to the* Muscovites.

A Peace between Sweden *and* Muscovy.

holm, and the Province of *Ingermania* were adjudg'd to *Sweden*: So that the *Swediſh* Provinces were, by that means, cover'd with a Bulwark between them and *Muſcovy*; and the *Muſcovites* were entirely ſever'd from the *Baltick* Sea.

The States of Finland and Northland Aſſembl'd.

After the raiſing of the Siege of *Pleskow*, K. *Guſtavus Adolphus* having given the neceſſary Orders on that ſide, went to *Helſingfort*, where he had call'd an Aſſembly of the States of *Finland* and *Northland*: To that Aſſembly, he repreſented the true Cauſes of the War with *Denmark*, and *Muſcovy*; for the Country People imagin'd he had engag'd in it without any neceſſity. This done, he perſwaded them to enter into a firm and ſolid Union, in order to act in concert with him againſt *Poland*, and to promiſe him all poſſible Succours in caſe the Peace were not concluded with the *Muſcovites*. Tho' the *Muſcovites* came at laſt to an Accommodation, as being apprehenſive that *Guſtavus* would make a long Truce with the *Poles*, and ſo they would have more Enemies upon their hands. Yet it was the intereſt of *Sweden* to be always upon their guard againſt the *Poles*, who would not declare their mind openly, nor hear of a Truce between the two Kings, but only of a Ceſſation of Arms between the States of *Lithuania* and *Livonia*, after the expiration of the firſt Truce mentioned above. 'Twas plain enough that the *Poles* had a watchful Eye upon the *Swedes*, and ſought all occaſions of ſurprizing the places which were weaken'd by their long Wars with *Muſcovy*, in order to open a way for themſelves into *Finland*. And in effect, K. *Sigiſmund* declar'd his intention openly, when he declar'd to the *Muſcovites*, that he proteſted againſt the Ceſſion of *Ingermania* to the *Swedes*, in the Treaty of *Stelbora*. He likewiſe caus'd a great many Letters and Libells to be diſpers'd in *Sweden*, in order to decry K. *Guſtavus*, and irritate his Subjects againſt him. 'Twas for this reaſon, that K. *Guſtavus* not only put all his places in *Muſcovy*, and *Livonia*, in a Poſture of Defence: But likewiſe ſent Admiral *Joram Gyldenſton* with a Fleet, and *Nils Sternſthild* with a Body of Troops to *Windaw*, in *Courland*, where they made a deſcent, and took the *Dunamunder* Fort without much reſiſtance, and put a *Swediſh* Garriſon into it.

The Poles have a deſign upon Guſtavus

The taking of this place, put the people of *Riga* in such a Consternation, that if the *Swedes* had attack'd it at that time, it had surrender'd immediately. D. *William*, whom the *Poles* had depos'd some time before, put himself under the protection of *Sweden*, and gave *Fahvenbach* the Government of the Dutchy of *Courland*, the Duke contributed much to the taking of *Dunamunder*, and allow'd the *Swedes* to put a Garrison into *Guldingen*, and afterwards he did them great Services, tho' they did not trust him much. At the same time, *Nils Sternchild* took the Town of *Pernaw*, with the loss of only sixty Men; and after that, took *Salis*: But by the Treachery of *Fahvensback*, *Dunamunder* fell again into the hands of the Enemies.

Dunamunder, Pevnan and Salis taken.

In the mean time, K. *Gustavus* was Crown'd at *Upsal*, to the great satisfaction of all the Sates of the Kingdom: For they observ'd, That from the beginning of his Reign, he had much enlarg'd the Limits of *Sweden*. After that, the *Swedes* enjoy'd the sweets of a Peace for some time; which His Majesty imploy'd partly in making good Laws and Edicts, meaning thereby to encourage his Subjects to augment the Revenues, and partly in making preparations for the War that was like to break out with *Poland*. He gave Orders to *James de la Gardie*, then Governor of *Esthonia*, to give *Codkowits*, the *Polish* General, to know, that his intention was to continue no longer under an uncertainty, after the expiration of the two Years Truce; and that he absolutely demanded a Peace, or a longer Truce; upon the failure of which he was to expect nothing but War from him. Upon the prospect of this War, K. *Gustavus* meaning to make himself sure of the K. of *Denmark*, pay'd him a vast sum of Money that was due for the Redemption of the City of *Elfsbourg*, and had an interview with him upon the Frontiers, at which the two Kings behav'd themselves with a great deal of frankness and sincerity to one another; and when they discourse'd of one another's Rights, were ready to give ear to Reason. Tho' these two Kings did not possess the greatest Kingdoms of the Earth, yet, they thought, they were not oblig'd in Person, to yield to any King in the World: For this purpose, they stipulated mutually

K. Gustavus Crownd at Upsal.

His Declaration to the Polish General.

An Interview between Denmark and Sweden.

tually, as ſtrict, and ſincere a Friendſhip as the jealouſy of State would allow between Neighbouring Princes.

Next Year, K. *Guſtavus Adolphus* Marry'd *Mary Eleonora*, the Daughter of *John Sigiſmund*, Elector of *Brandenburg*: And finding that the *Poles* were not diſpos'd to a Negotiation, and that the Truce was almoſt expir'd, he made preparations to attack *Riga*: For that end he croſs'd the Sea with a Fleet, and an Army of Twenty four Thouſand Men; at a time when the *Poles* were diverted by the *Turks* in *Walachia*; ſo that they could not ſend ſpeedy Succours to that place: For the Auxiliary Troops, commanded by *Chriſtopher Radzivil*, General of the *Lithuanians*, were not ſtrong enough to appear in the Field: However, the Burghers of *Riga*, made a brave and reſoluteDefence for ſix Weeks; after which, being reduc'd to the laſtExtremity, they made an honourable Capitulation: For His Majeſty not only confirm'd all their Immunities and Privileges, but promis'd to enlarge them, if the Town continu'd as true to him, as they had been to the King of *Poland*. He expell'd the Jeſuits out of the Town, who had laid ſeveral Conſpiracies againſt him. This done, he march'd to *Courland*, where he took *Britau*, which he afterwards deliver'd up when he made the two Years Truce with the *Poles*. In the mean time, the *Poles* having appeas'd the Commotions at home, reſolv'd to enterprize ſomething againſt the *Swedes* in *Pruſſia*: But K. *Guſtavus* receiving Advice of their Reſolution, ſail'd with his Fleet before *Dantzick*, where K. *Sigiſmund* was at that time, and ſo fruſtrated his Deſign. Thereupon the Truce was prolong'd for two Years, upon Condition, that in that time, a firm and ſolid Peace ſhould be concerted; or in caſe they came not to an Accomodation, he of the two Parties that refus'd to prolong the Truce, ſhould be oblig'd to declare War before the firſt of *June*, which was the term at which the Truce was to expire.

Guſtavus's Marriage.

He takes Riga.

The Truce prolong'd for two Years.

K. *Sigiſmund* continuing reſolute, would not liſten to any reaſonable Propoſals, tho' he was adviſ'd by ſeveral to come to an Accommodation with K. *Guſtavus*. 'Twas propos'd, that the *Swedes* ſhould give up *Livonia* to *Poland*, and that the *Poles* ſhould quit *Eſthonia*,

An advantageous Propoſal made to K. Sigiſmund.

Esthonia, and the Province of *Finland*, to which K. *Gustavus* had a particular pretension, it being a Principality that fell to his Father; that in case K. *Gustavus* Dy'd without Male-Issue (his Brother *Charles Philip* Dy'd the preceeding Year) one of K. *Sigismund*'s Sons should succeed to the Crown of *Sweden*; that in the mean time, K. *Sigismund* might use the Title of K. of *Sweden*; but K. *Gustavus* should have the real Title, and a peaceable Possession of the Kingdom. Notwithstanding this advantageous Proposal, K. *Sigismund* would not comply; but on the contrary, was much displeas'd with *Christopher Ladzivil*, General of the *Lithuanians*, who wish'd for an end of the War. K. *Gustavus* observing, that K. *Sigismund* sought all occasions of surprizing the *Swedes*, and only mean'd to gain time by short Truces, in order to compass his Ends, insisted upon having a perpetual Peace, or, at least, a longer Truce. In this he was more pressing, that he was inform'd the States of *Poland* would not contribute any longer towards a War with *Sweden*. K. *Sigismund* persisting in his Resolution, contrary to the Remonstrances of the States of *Poland*, and the Truce being almost expir'd, K. *Gustavus* took the Field, in order to make himself Master of what the *Poles* still possess'd in *Livonia*. *Stanislaus Sapieha*, who had the boldness to appear at the Head of 3000 Men, to oppose the *Swedish* Army, was presently routed. Soon after, *Kahenhuyson*, *Derpt*, and several other places of importance in *Livonia*, surrender'd to His Majesty without making any great Opposition; for they expected no Succours from *Poland*. Afterwards *Gustavus* entring *Lithuania*, took *Birsen*, where he found sixty Brass Guns, which he caus'd to be transported to *Riga*. Upon which the *Lithuanians* exchang'd *Landan* for that place. In fine, the *Poles* kept nothing in *Livonia*, but *Dunburg*. Notwithstanding this great Progress, K. *Gustavus* still Sollicited for a Peace: But, at last, finding it in vain, he carry'd on the War vigorously. *Gustavus*, *Horn*, and the Count of *Thurne*, the *Swedish* Generals, after a sharp Engagement, defeated the *Lithuanians*, Commanded by *Sapieha*, near *Walson*, in *Semgallen*. Notwithstanding these Losses, K. *Sigismund* still refus'd to give any thing to

The Lithinanian *Army routed.*

K. *Gu-*

K. *Guſtavus*, hoping to recover *Sweden* by the aid of the Emperor, who was then very fortunate in *Germany*. On the other hand K. *Guſtavus* deſigning another enterprize againſt the *Poles*, appear'd unexpectedly in the *Pillau*, with a Fleet of 80 Ships mann'd by 26000 Men: In that Haven he was receiv'd by the Governor, with a diſcharge of the Cannon without Ball, it being ſo concerted before hand with the Elector. The *Swediſh* Troops being diſembark'd, took *Bunberg*, and *Frawenbourg*, without much trouble; after which they laid Siege to *Elbing*, in which place, *Fabian de Dona* had made a Party for the Emperor. The Common People would have put themſelves in a poſture of Defence, but the Burgher-Maſters, with ſome of the Senators, purſuant to the meaſures, concerted before hand, walk'd out of the Town under the pretence of going to confer with the *Swedes*, and ſo gave them Entrance without making any Capitulation. In this place, K. *Guſtavus* rais'd ſeveral Regiments of *German* Foot. Three Days after, His Majeſty took *Marriemburg* without any Oppoſition, there being no Garriſon in it. This done, the *Swedes* made themſelves Maſters of *Mewe*, *Dirſchaw*, *Stum*, *Chriſtbourg*, and *Great Werder*, as well as *Little Werder*, before the *Poles* had ſcarce heard of their arrival. Upon the News of this Progreſs, the *Poles* drew together ſpeedily, 8000 Horſe, and 3000 Foot, who march'd towards *Pruſſia*, particularly to keep *Dantzick* from ſiding with K. *Guſtavus*, That place, indeed, ſeem'd to waver at firſt, but when the Inhabitants ſaw the *Poliſh* Succours upon their march, they immediately declar'd abſolutely for K. *Sigiſmund*. Soon after the *Poles* march'd to *Marienbourg* thinking to ſurprize that place, but were vigorouſly repuls'd with the loſs of 4000 Men. they were likewiſe beaten before *Mewe*, and oblig'd to breake up the Siege. In the mean time, K. *Guſtavus* march'd to *Mariembourg-Werder*, where, having diſpers'd his Enemies, he march'd to *Ducal Pruſſia* to re-enforce his Army, that Country having declar'd for a neutrality. At the ſame time *Staniſlaus Koniceſpolki* arriv'd before *Dirſhaw*, with an Army from *Podolia*, and laid Siege all the Winter to that place in vain; before which he loſt above 2000 Men.

K. Guſtavus *Conqueſt.*

Dantzick declares for the Poles.

However,

Gustavus's German *Troops routed.*

However, he hinder'd the *Swedes* to send Succours to *Pantzke*, which the *Poles* took. This same *Konierspolski* attack'd upon the Frontiers of *Pomerania*, the Troops that *Gustavus* had rais'd in *Germany*, and routed them entirely. But the next *May* the King arriv'd from *Sweden* with a stronger Force, with a design to master the Town of *Dantzick*: And, indeed, it is very probable he had carry'd it, if he had not receiv'd a Wound in his Belly before *Kesemark* Fort, which the *Dantzickers* had built upon the mouth of their Harbour. After his recovery of the Wound, he took that Fort, and defeated the *Poles* that offer'd to relieve it. On the other hand, the *Poles* forc'd the Town of *Meure* to surrender.

Holland *mediates a Peace.*

Much about that time, there came Ambassadors from *Holland* to *Prussia*, to mediate a Peace, or, at least, a Truce between the two Crowns. By the consent of both parties, a Negotiation was commenc'd in the Army near *Dirshau*. In the mean time, K. *Gustavus* drew out his Army in order of Battle; and the *Poles* appear'd likewise in the Field on the other side of a Morass, through which they were oblig'd to pass. When most of the *Polish* Troops had pass'd the Morass, the *Swedes* fell upon their Rear, and cut off a great number of them, insomuch, that General *Konierspolski* had enough to do to escape with his Life, and left his Horse behind him. Some Days after, K. *Gustavus* endeavouring to force the Enemies Camp, was wounded in the Shoulder with a Musket Shot, and was forc'd to be carry'd back to his Camp: Upon which his Troops likewise retir'd.

Konierspolski defeated. K. Gustavus *Wounded.*

Towards the Antumn, the Negotiation of Peace was renew'd, which was then brought almost to a Conclusion; for K. *Gustavus* consented to give up all that he had taken from the *Poles* in *Prussia*, bating the Town of *Riga*, which he had a mind to keep for Thirty Years, that is, as long as the Truce was to last. And at the same time, the Difference about the Succession of the Crown of *Sweden*, was almost adjusted. The *Polish* Senators incessantly importun'd K. *Sigismund* to comply with the proposal that was offer'd; nay, the matter was carried so far, that the Treaty was to be concluded as next Day; when on a sudden the whole

The House of Austria *breaks the Negotiation.*

whole Negotiation was knock'd on the head by the artificers of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who infus'd into K. *Sigiſmund* the hopes of recovering *Sweden* by the force of Arms: For in effect, the Houſe of *Auſtria* found their account in *Guſtavus*'s being imbroil'd in a War with *Poland*, that ſo he might not have leiſure to embarke in the Commotions of *Germany*. *Gabriel Roi*, and the Baron af *Anchi*, Ambaſſadors from *Spain*, aſſur'd K. *Sigiſmund*, in the name of his Catholick Majeſty, that in two Months a Fleet of twenty four Ships ſhould appear in the *Baltick*, at the Catholick Kings Charges; upon which *Wallenſtlin* was to imbarke with 12000 Men, in order to make a deſcent upon *Sweden*, and make it the ſeat of the War. They added, That the K. of *Spain* would be at all the Charges during the whole Courſe of the War; for which end they were already provided with Bills of Exchange for 2000000 Crowns. In fine, theſe fair Promiſes had ſo much influence upon K. *Sigiſmund*, that he broke up the Negotiation, eſpecially conſidering that the Emperor had ſent him ſome Troops under the Command of *Adolphus*, Duke of *Holſace*.

The K. of Spain's vain Promiſes.

While K. *Guſtavus* made as if he would ſend his Troops into their Winter Quarters; but, at the ſame time, march'd to *Wormdit*, in the Province of *Ermland*, and carry'd that place before the *Poles* could paſs the *Weixel*, in order to relieve it. Count *Thurne* likewiſe play'd the *Poles* an ugly Trick: For having built a Fort in a hurry, and min'd it; as ſoon as the *Poles* attack'd it, he retir'd, and they crowding in, were all blown into the Air. The Rupture of the Treaty of Peace, which was juſt upon the point of being concluded, was ſo much the leſs diſpleaſing to K. *Guſtavus*, that the very Contributions in *Pruſſia*, without any other ſubſidy, were ſufficient to carry on a War. On the other hand, K. *Sigiſmund* was fruſtrated in his expectations of the *Spaniſh* Fleet. 'Tis true, he got nine Ships together at *Dantzick*, and *Gabriel Roi*, the Ambaſſador, came to *Lubeck*, and *Roſtock*, to buy ſuch a Fleet as was promis'd: But the Hanſ-Towns ſmelling that the *Spaniards* waited to have a Settlement in the *Baltick* Sea, would not hire them one Boat. Then K. *Sigiſmund* deſir'd the Ambaſſador to deliver him, at leaſt, the

Wormdit taken.

Count Thurne's Stratagem.

The Contributations of Pruſſia very conſiderable.

the Bills of Exchange for 200000 Crowns, upon which he would send to hire Ships in *Denmark*, in order to transport his Army to *Sweden*; but the Ambassadors told him, he had no Orders for that. However the *Spaniards* still Comforted K. *Sigismund* with the hopes, that the Fleet they had promis'd, would be ready speedily; and that *Lubeck*, *Rostock*, *Stralsond*, and the other *Hans-Towns*, would quickly fall into the hands of the Emperor. At the same time, they advised him to send what Vessels he had to *Wismor*, in the Emperor's Name, to perswade the others to joyn them. When these Ships put to Sea, they fell upon the King of *Sweden*'s Ships, in the Road of *Dantzick*, took Two, sunk One, and gave Chase to the rest into the *Pillau*. But after all, they were all taken, and ruin'd partly by the *Swedes*, and partly by the *Danes*, who would not suffer the *Poles* to appear with a Fleet in the *Baltick*.

The Polish *Fleet destroy'd in the* Baltick.

Next Year the War relented a little in *Prussia*, by reason that the States of *Poland* would grant no Supplies towards it. In the mean time, K. *Gustavus* coming with a Fleet from *Sweden*, attack'd seven *Dantzick* Ships, that lay at Anchor between the Town, and the Mouth of the Harbour, and took three, and sunk one. In the Month of *July* he sent part of his Army to attack the Fort of *Dantzick*; but they were repuls'd with loss: To revenge this affront, he threw himself into the *Warder* of *Dantzick*, cut in pieces 200 of the Enemies, and took fourteen pieces of Cannon. This done, His Majesty sent *Alexander Laszle*, and *Diderick Spervuiter*, with two Companies of Foot, and a Troop of Dragoons to take a view of the Enemies Army. This Detachment being surrounded near *Girelinerwals* by seventeen Troops of *Polish* Cavalry, broke through them twice, cut in pieces above hundred Horse-Men, and carry'd off four Standards. Upon which the whole *Polish* Army advanc'd, and K. *Gustavus* march'd out to meet them. While the advanc'd Troops skirmish'd with one another, K. *Gustavus* sent a Detachment to attack them in the Rear. After that, they came to a bloody Battle, in which the *Poles* were oblig'd to to quit the Field with the loss of 3000 Men, four Field Pieces, and fourteen Standards: But, at

K. Gustavus's *Exploits before* Dantzick.

the

the ſame time, the *Swedes* likewiſe loſt a great many Men. After this Battle, K. *Guſtavus* approach'd a little nearer to *Dantzick*, and ſent Eight Veſſels to maſter the Harbour. The *Dantzickers* fitted out Ten Men of War; which, after a Fight of three Hours, kill'd *Nils Sternchild*, the *Swediſh* Admiral, and took his Veſſel. The Vice-Admiral Blew himſelf up. The *Dantzickers* loſt their Admiral, and 400 Men; and one of their greateſt Ships being run a Shore, was diſabled by the Enemies Guns, and another was blown up by its own Powder, which took Fire. In the mean time, the River of *Weixel* ſwell'd ſo high, that it carried off the Bridge that the *Poles* had laid near *Grandentz*. K. *Guſtavus* reſolving not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity, ſent 1000 Foot Soldiers over the River in Boats, who ſurpriz'd *Neuwenbourg*, a place where the *Poles* had lodg'd moſt of their Ammunition, and Baggage, together with a ſum of Money, amounting, perhaps, to 600000 Livers: But the *Poles* quickly made their repriſals: For they fell in with a party of the *Swedes* that had gone out a Plundering, and having cut ſome in pieces, oblig'd the reſt to ſurrender; after which they put them all to the Sword, notwithſtanding that they had promis'd them their Life. About the ſame time, K. *Guſtavus* poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Strasbourg*, from whence he committed great Ravages as far as the Province of *Maſure*. All this Summer produc'd no other memorable Actions; but in the latter end of *September*, K. *Guſtavus* ſurpriz'd and took *Brodnitz*, before the *Poles* could come to relieve it.

An Engagement between the Daniſh *&* Swediſh *Fleet.*

Strasbourg and Brodnitz *taken.*

The next Year was not ſo peaceable as the one that went before: For *German Wrangle* gave a conſiderable defeat near *Gorzno* to the *Poles* that block'd up *Brodnitz*, inſomuch, that he cut in pieces 3000, took 1000 Priſoners, five pieces of Cannon, and 2000 Waggons, laden with Proviſions. Beſides, he had certainly poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Town of *Thorn*, if *Girard Donhof*, who was accidently in that place, had not animated the frighted Burgeſſes, and perſwaded them to make a Defence. This defeat mov'd the *Poles*, not only to give Supplies for carrying on the War, but to allow K. *Sigiſmund* to bring forreign Troops

The Poles *Defeated near* Gorzno.

Troops into their Country, which is a thing that *that* Nation never grants willingly, as being naturally jealous of their Liberties. Accordingly the Emperor sent him 5000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, under the Command of General *Arnheim*, which joyn'd the Troops Commanded by *Koniecspolski*, near *Grandentz*. On the other side, *K. Gustavus* arriv'd from *Sweden* betimes, and went with an Army of 5000 Horse, and 8000 Foot, to incamp near *Guidziu*. Tho the Enemies were much more numerous than he, yet he was so little afraid of them, that when one represented to him the Danger to which he was a going to expose himself, he made Answer, *That since the* Poles *were so very numerous, his Men would have a surer Mark to shoot at.* In the Neighbourhood of *Stum*, there happen'd an obstinate Fight, in which the *Rhingrave*, contrary to *K. Gustavus*'s Orders, led on the Cavalry, and was beat back with the loss of 200 Men, and five Standards. But when the rest of the Troops came up, the *Poles* made a retreat, hoping to build a Bridge upon the *Nogat*, in order to pass over to *Great Werden*; But the *Swedes* marching up to prevent them, there happen'd a second Engagement, which was so hot, that *K. Gustavus* fell in among the midst of his Enemies, and one of the *Poles* took hold of him by the Belt, whom he threw over his Head; after that, a Trooper took hold of him by the Arm, and was going to take him Prisoner, when *Ericksoop* came, and shooting the Trooper with a Pistol, rescued His Majesty from the danger he was in. In this Engagement the *Swedes* took seventeen Colours, and five Standards, and made a bloody havock of the Troops that *Arnheim* had brought from *Germany*. After this, the *Poles* had another sharp Engagement near the same Bridge, in which they lost a great many Men. Besides that, when they went to attack the Town of *Stum* they were so vigorously repuls'd by the *Swedes*, that they left 4000 Men upon the spot.

The Emperor assists K. Sigismund.

The Swedes *gain two or three Battels.*

K. Gustavus *surrounded by his Enemies and rescu'd.*

After all these Defeats, the *Polish* interest declin'd. Some imputed the occasion of their miscarriage to *Arnheim*, whom they charg'd with discovering their Counsels to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, whose Vassal he was, and from *K. Gustavus* receiv'd inteligence

General Arnheim *charg'd with Treachery.*

of

of their Affairs. For this reason the *Poles* sollicited *Wallenstien* to recall him, pursuant to their Desire, he sent in his place, *Julus Henry* of *Saxe Lavuenbourg*, and *Philip* Count of *Mansfeld*. But after all, even these two Generals did not please the *Poles*, who were so weary of the Imperial Troops, that they us'd all methods to be rid of them: But a greater Evil than all this befell them; for the *Plague* having got into the Army, occasion'd a great Famine, since no body would bring them Provisions for fear of the Contagion.

The Poles want to be rid of the Germans.

The Plague and Famine in the Polish Army.

The Ambassadors of *France*, *England*, *Holland*, and *Brandenburg*, insisted the more vigorously upon the Conclusion of a Truce, that *K. Gustavus* might have his hands at liberty to act against the Emperor. At last they mediated a Truce for six Years, which was to expire in *June* 1635. At the Conclusion of this Truce, it was agreed upon, that *K. Gustavus* should give up to the *Poles Brodnitz*, *Wormdit*, *Stum*, and *Dirshau*; That *Mariembourg* should be sequestrated into the hands of the Elector of *Brandenbourg*; the Revenues of which place were to be kept up for the benefit of *K. Sigismund*, and the Town and Castle to be deliver'd to the *Swedes*, in case of an absolute Peace. *Gustavus* retain'd the Port and Castle of *Memel*, with *Pillau*, *Elbing*, *Brunsberg*, and all his Conquests in *Livonia*. This Treaty was to be ratified by the Republick of *Poland*: Tho' *K. Sigismund* was very unwilling to sign it, yet he was over perswaded by the Remonstrances of his Counsel, who importun'd him to put off the War with *Sweden* to another time, which might be more convenient and favourable for *Poland*. And thus did *Gustavus* put an end to the Wars of *Muscovy* and *Poland*, to his own Glory, and the Advantage of his Kingdom.

A Truce for six Years.

After so many Heroick Exploits, *Gustavus* thought to have enjoy'd a profound Repose: But his Tranquillity was not long liv'd; for the Divine Providence quickly call'd him to *Germany*, where he not only purchas'd great Glory for himself, and his people; but had a great hand in giving a very considerable turn to the Affairs of *Europe*. We shall give you a true and concise Account of this matter.

K. Gustavus's expedition into Germany.

The State of Affairs in Germany.

When the Affairs of *Germany* were in such a disposition, that the *Roman Catholicks*, and the Protestants were like to fall by the Ears; they always endeavour'd to engage *K. Gustavus* in their Quarrel. For that purpose, he was first invited by the Protestant League, namely, the Houses of *Hesse Cassel*, and *Brandenbourg*; and afterwards, by *England*, and *France*. But at that time the War with *Poland* gave him so much Diversion, that he was not at leisure to undertake what he passionately desir'd. When the Confederates were concerting measures for their common safety, *Christian* IV. King of *Denmark*, offer'd to manage their Affairs as head of the League. And in effect *K. Gustavus* heartily wish'd him this Honour, that himself might act with more advantage against the *Poles*. But the King of *Denmark* being rejected by all the Allies, and the Emperor beginning to possess himself of *Lower Saxony*, and the Provinces joyning to the *Baltick-Sea*; *Sweden* began to open her Eyes; for they plainly perceiv'd that the Emperor mean'd to seduce the *Northern* Kingdoms, to the end he might afterwards make use of them as a Bulwark to extend, or support his Government over all *Europe*. 'Twas for this Reason, that the Emperor importun'd *K. Sigismund* not to make any Truce, or Peace with *K. Gustavus*, promising in publick, to re-establish him in his Kingdom of *Sweden*, tho', at the same time, he had stipulated under-hand that K. *Sigismund* should suffer him to Conquer *Sweden*, in recompence for which, he was to make the Crown of *Poland* hereditary to him, and his Posterity. Besides, the Emperor Solliciting the Elector of *Brandenburg* with very pressing instances, to resign to *K. Sigismund* his part of *Prussia*, and promis'd him part of *Mekelbourg*, for an equivalent; nay, further, he sent *Arnheim* to the Duke of *Pomerania*, to acquaint him in his Name, That he behov'd to resign his Soveraignty, and the Government of the Dutchy, and content himself with such Revenues as should be allowed him. This he did, lest that Duke should have thwarted his Design of extending the Limits of the *Roman* Empire. All these Motives made *K. Gustavus* carry on the War with *Poland* so vigorously, in order to oblige

K. Gustavus invited to interess himself in the Quarrel.

The Allies reject the K. of Denmark.

The Emperor's designs.

oblige the *Poles* to an early Peace. And on the other hand, to win the Affection of his Neighbours, and engage them in his Interests; He promis'd them all possible Succours against the oppression of the Emperor.

R. Gustavus's complaints of the Emperor.

This done, he call'd an Assembly of the States of *Sweden*, and represented to them the eminent Danger they were threatned with from the Neighbourhood of the Emperor, who had already made himself Master of the Coast of the *Baltick-Sea*, and part of *Denmark*; besides that, the preceeding Summer, he had given sufficient proof of his Hatred and ill-Will to the *Swedes*, by assisting the *Poles* with a considerable body of Troops, under the Command of *Adolphus*, Duke of *Holsace*. He represented farther, That the Emperor had intercepted his Letters for Transilvania, That he would not allow him to raise Forces in *Germany*, or to buy Ammunition, and other necessaries for the War, tho', at the same time, he granted that privilege to the *Poles*; That he had us'd the *Swedish* Merchants in *Germany* very ill; and in fine, That he had set all Intrigues on foot to retard a Peace between *Sweden* and *Poland*, which was very acceptable to the *Poles*, who were apprehensive that a misunderstanding between the *Emperor* and *K. Sigismund*, might give a fatal blow to their Liberties. Thereupon the States advis'd His Majesty not to wait the Enemies descent upon *Sweden*, but to prevent it by going to meet him with Sword in hand, and putting a stop to the growth of his Dominions upon the Coast of the *Baltick-Sea*. God, by a particular Providence, open'd a way to the Execution of his Design; When General *Albert* of *Wallenstien*, Duke of *Friedland*, attack'd the Town of *Stralsond*, as being a proper Instrument for carrying on his farther Designs: For *Gustavus*, who was then in *Prussia*, offer'd Succours to the City, and of his own accord, sent Powder to the Burgesses exhorting them to a vigorous Defence. The Burgesses observing that the Imperialists would not submit to Reason, receiv'd with joy, the offer His Majesty made them, and enter into an Alliance with him, upon terms, That he should take their Town and Port into his protection, and have the liberty of the

A Treaty between K. Gustavus and the Town of Stralsond.

Commerce of the *Baltick-Sea*, without any infringment upon their ancient Privileges, or upon their Relation to the Empire, and the Dutchy of *Pomerania*. Upon this, *K. Gustavus* sent them some Troops, which repuls'd the Imperialists. But the *King* of *Denmark* having likewise sent Succours to *Stralsond*, and it being unreasonable, that two *Kings* should at one time, have Garrisons in the same City; *K. Gustavus* sent *Axel Oxenstiern*, Chancellor of *Sweden*, to confirm the *Swedes* in their Resolution, and perswade to adhere to *Sweden* alone, and make preparations for a vigorous Defence. The Chancellor arriving at *Copenhagen*, had so much influence upon *K. Christian* by his Sollicitations, that he recall'd his Troops, with which the Burgesses were, at that time, very uneasy. However, *K. Gustavus* attempted nothing in *Germany* all the next Year, but the raising of the Siege of that Town: For *Wallenstien* and *Tilly* were then in the Neighbourhood of that place with two potent Armies, which might easily have over-power'd him, before he could have firm footing on that side of the Sea: But his hopes were, that a more favourable Opportunity would present it self in a short time; and that, in the mean time, he would find some means or other for disengaging himself of the War with *Poland*. Besides, he was very desirous that the misunderstanding between the Emperor and him, should be taken away in an equitable way. Upon which view, he sent Ambassadors to *Lubeck* (where the Emperor was then in Person, carrying on the Treaty of Peace with the *King* of *Denmark*) to propose an Accommodation upon honourable Terms: But the Imperialists were so Proud and Sawcy, that they sent back, in an affrontive manner, the Express that came for *Safe-Conduct* to the Ambassadors; and even threatn'd them, if they offer'd to appear at *Lubeck*. Upon this Affront, and several Injuries receiv'd from the Emperor. *K. Gustavus* wrote Letters to the Electoral College, setting forth the Reason and Equity of his taking *Stralsond* under his Protection, and praying them to dispose matters for a good Accommodation. Farther, he sent an Embassy to *Wallenstien*, in the Name of the Senate: For he would not offer again

The K. of Denmark *calls his Troops from* Stralsond.

The Imperialists unsufferably sawcy to the Swedish *Ambassadors. K.* Gustavus *sends a Letter to the Electors and an Embassy to* Wallenstien.

to

to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, leſt, to gratify the *King* of *Poland*, he ſhould diſallow his Title of *King*, neither would he treat in his own Name with the haughty *Friedland* to avoid the Injuries and affrontive Words that *that* petulant General might belch out againſt him. But when the Ambaſſadors ſent their Orders in Writing to *Wallenſtien*, they receiv'd but a bad Anſwer. At the ſame time, the Elector wrote very coldly to *K. Guſtavus*, and did not give him the Title of *King* in their Superſcription.

The French *Embaſſador ſolicites K.* Guſtavus.

After the Concluſion of the ſix Years Truce between *Sweden* and *Poland*, *Hercules Charnaſſe*, the Ambaſſador of *France*, preſs'd *K. Guſtavus* to engage in the War of *Germany*, offering him the *King*'s Alliance, and Subſidies for that effect; and aſſuring him, that both the Houſes of *Bavaria*, and the Catholick League, had equally importun'd the *King*, his Maſter, to intereſs himſelf in the Affairs of *Germany*, becauſe the power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* was unſupportable to the Roman Catholicks as well as to the Proteſtants. Upon this, a ſerious Conſultation was held, whether the *King* ſhould load himſelf with ſo great and ſo dangerous a Burden. The moſt ſenſible part of the Counſellours who ſaw the Emperor openly attack *K. Guſtavus* in *Pruſſia* under his own Colours, and plainly perceiv'd that there was no appearance of an honourable Accommodation: Theſe Men, I ſay, did not at all doubt, but ſooner, or later, the *King* would be oblig'd to make War with the Emperor: But the difficulty was, to know, whether it was more expedient to ſtay till the Imperialiſts made a deſcent upon *Sweden*, or to go and meet him in *Germany*: Tho' ſome were of the former Opinion, hoping that the proceſs of time, would, one Day, furniſh them with means to avoid that Danger that threaten'd them; yet the other Opinion being ſupported by more ſolid Reaſons, prevail'd over the former: The proof they went upon, was as follows, The Emperor had form'd a deſign to ruine the Proteſtants, and make himſelf abſolute Soveraign of *Germany*: This done, he mean'd to make himſelf Maſter of the Nothern *Kingdoms*, which were neceſſary for eſtabliſhing the univerſal

The reaſons that mov'd the Swedes *to make a deſcent upon* Germany.

Monarchy over *Europe*, that he aſpir'd after. As ſoon as he could bring the War of *Mantua* to a Concluſion, he would employ all his Forces in compaſſing thoſe ends. He had already laid the Foundations, in order to reduce all *Germany* to Slavery. His Hereditary Countries were already under the Yoak; and the Princes of *Germany* were partly diſlodg'd of their proper Territories, and partly brought ſo low that they durſt not ſhew their Heads. Under the pretence of reducing the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates, he had a deſign to ruine all the reſt. The Roman Catholicks had taken the Alarm at the Emperor's power, tho' themſelves once contributed ſo much towards it. All *Germany* was over-run with Soldiers, who ſuck'd the Marrow of the Subjects. At *Vienna*, an Intrigue was ſet on foot to find a certain and ſtanding Fund, to carry on the War, and maintain four diſtinct Armies; to wit, one in *Hungary* againſt the *Turks*, another in *Italy* upon the Frontiers; a third, upon the Rhine, againſt *France*, and *Holland*; and a fourth, upon the *Baltick* Coaſts, againſt the Northern Nations. If the Emperor ſhould once compaſs theſe Deſigns, t'would then be too late to think of a Remedy. 'Tis true, the Emperor might ſeem to offer a reaſonable thing, in entring into a Negotiation, of which the King of *Denmark* ſhould be Mediator; but that was only a vain amuſement, which he made uſe of, till he ſhould bring his Projects to Bear; after which they would be oblig'd to pay very dear for a ſhort-liv'd Peace. To all theſe Reaſons they added, That they could not expect a firm Peace from the Emperor; That they ought not to ſuffer the Proteſtants to be quite ruin'd; That *Sweden* could never be ſafe on the *German* ſide, unleſs things were reduc'd to their firſt State; That they had Forces enough that were capable to gall the Emperor ſufficiently; That they had both *Swediſh* and Foreign Veterane Troops in their Service; That if once they had Footing in *Germany*, they would find, not only a Concourſe of Soldiers, but likewiſe ways to ſubſiſt them; That the Imperial Army would certainly dwindle when they could not keep all *Germany* under Contribution; and as ſoon as the oppreſs'd States of *Germany*

many ſhould have but time to take their Breath, they would not fail to ſhake of the Yoke, and ſide with *K. Guſtavus*, who would be ſupported beſides with *France* and *Holland*: And, in fine, ſuppoſing all theſe Projects to fail, *Sweden* could not be in a worſe Condition than She was in at that time: For if *K. Guſtavus* had been drove out of *Germany*, he had ſtill retain'd the liberty of the *Baltick-Sea* with his Fleet and gallant Army, who would Fight for their Country to the laſt Gaſp. They likewiſe call'd to mind the State that all *Europe* was then in. The Proteſtants of *Germany* were in a miſerable Condition. The Elector *Palatine*, the Marqueſs of *Baden*, and the Duke of *Meklenbourg* were expell'd their Territories. The Houſe of *Lunenbourg*, had no places of Dignity left them; and all the reſt were about to be mortified by the Edicts of Reſtitution of Eccleſiaſtick Eſtates, reſum'd after the Treaty of *Paſſau*. So that all theſe oppreſs'd Princes expected, with patience, a protection to procure their deliverance. Beſides, 'tis to be obſerv'd, that at that time, the Emperors Forces were very much weaken'd; for he had ſent many of his beſt Troops to *Italy* and the *Netherlands*, a great part of which, to be ſure, never thought of ſeeing *Germany* again. Upon the repeated Sollicitation of the Elector *Wallenſtien*, who had a great Intereſt and Authority in the Army, was turn'd off the General's Poſt: And, beſides a great many Regiments were reform'd: Nay, further, the reſt of his Troops were neither Compleat, nor well Diſciplin'd. *Spain* was exhauſted by the Wars of the *Netherlands*. On the contrary, *France*, after the taking of *Rochel*, and the other Proteſtant Cities was in a good Condition, and watch'd only an opportunity of aggrandizing it ſelf upon the ruine of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Tho' *England* would not contribute much to the intereſt of *Sweden*, yet they would not oppoſe them. But *Holland* would be particularly ſerviceable in promoting their Deſigns, by diverting *Spain*, and dexterouſly worming the Gold out of its Veins. The Pope, and the *Italian* Princes would not be diſpleas'd to ſee the Wings of the Houſe of *Auſtria* a little clipp'd, conſidering their uſage of *Mantua*. As for

Poland, there was nothing to be fear'd on that side, since the *Poles* expected to get more by their Wars with *Muscovy*. *Denmark* was brought very low by the War it had sustain'd with the Emperor. *Muscovy* then engag'd in a War with *Poland*, was in no Condition to annoy *Sweden*.

Why K. Gustavus had no regard to the Negotation of Peace.

Gustavus having maturely considered all these Circumstances, made all imaginable preparations for the next Campaign: notwithstanding that a Negotiation was then Commenc'd at *Dantzick*, between the *King* of *Denmark*, and the Emperor; for the last had no other view than to amuse *K. Gustavus* so as to dissuade him from attempting any thing that Summer. Besides, the *Danish* Ambassadors were so interess'd, and of an opposite Faction, that 'twas manifest they mean'd to Negotiate nothing for the advantage of *Sweden*. On the other hand, the Ambassador of *France* oppos'd these Conferences very warmly; as being apprehensive, that, if *K. Gustavus* came to an Accommodation, there would be no Refuge, or Support left for the Protestants: After which, the Burthen would certainly fall upon the *Dutch*; the Oppression of whom, would sink its Neighbouring Nations. But, after all, *K. Gustavus* made as if he consented to the Negotiation, partly to discover the Emperor's Intentions, and partly to try the Sincerity of the *French*, in offering him their Alliance: For the *French* Ambassador was a little suspected. But the Imperial, and *Danish* Ambassadors left *Dantzick* without doing any thing, or so much as conferring with the Deputies of *Sweden*; as soon as they had advice of *Gustavus*'s arrival in *Germany*: Before his arrival *Alexander Lesly* dislodg'd the Imperialists of the Isle of *Rugen*, who were then treating with the *Danes* about it, in order to set *Denmark* and *Sweden* together by the Ears. *K. Gustavus* likewise, before his departure from *Sweden*, wrote to the Electors of the Empire, complaining that they had not given the Title of *King*, nor propos'd any method of satisfaction. He added, That tho' he wish'd they would fall upon proper expedients for an Accomodation, yet they could not take it ill, that he us'd other measures than those of vain Treaties, for his own security; and if any innocent

The Imperialists dislodg'd of the Isle of Rugen.

nocent Persons should suffer, by this Conduct, the blame could not be laid upon him, who was forc'd to take up such Resolutions. At the same time, he publish'd a *Manifesto*, setting forth the Reasons that mov'd him to engage in a War. But he made publick Declaration of a War against the Emperor, because the last had given the first Offence. Before his departure for *Germany*, he took care to settle all his Domestick-Affairs, and took particular precautions against the *Danes*, understanding that the Emperor sollicited them, to Attempt something against *Sweden*. They gave the Management of his Revenues, to *John Casimir*, Prince-Palatine, who was a Man of great Prudence, and very exact in every thing.

Gustavus's Manifesto.

This done, he took leave of the Assembly of the States, and order'd his Troops to be Imbarqu'd. The List of his Army was as follows. The Cavalry of the *Visigoths*, under the Command of *Erick Soop*; the *Smalian* Cavalry, under *Count Peter Brahe*; four Regiments of Infantry, Commanded by *Nils Brahe*, *Joram Johanson*, *Axel Lilly*, and *Axel Duwal*; two Regiments of *German* Infantry, Commanded by *Diderick Falckenberg*, and *Nils Dideriksson*; two Companies, under the Conduct of Colonel *Hall*; two Regiments of Infantry, under the Command of *Mitsheval*, and *Dodo Kniphuysen*, Major-General; and a *Scotch* Regiment, Commanded by *Maccay*: So that, in all, he had 16 Troops of Horse, and 92 Companies of Foot. General *Bannier* Commanded the Foot; and *Linnard Torstenston* was Great Master of the Artillery. This Army, was afterwards much augmented, by the Accession of the New Regiments, rais'd in *Prussia*, and other Countries. While *Gustavus* lay at *Elsnabben*, waiting for a favourable Wind, there arriv'd an Embassy from the D. of *Pomerania*, in order to beg His Majesty would spare the *Duke*'s Country, in his march, it being already much wasted. K. *Gustavus* made Answer, That since the *Imperialists* came to Attack him in that Country, he could not but make his Reprisals there; however, upon his Arrival there, he would settle that Matter with the Duke, his Master. Being happily arriv'd upon the Coasts of the *Isle of Rugen*,

A List of Gustavus's Army.

An Embassy from the D. of Pomeren, to Gustavus.

Rugen, he diſimbark'd his Troops, at *Uſedom*; at which place, as well as at *Wellin*, the *Imperialiſts* had abandon'd the Forts they were poſſeſs'd of. After that, he preſently got together a great number of Barks, in which, his Troops and Artillery Imbark'd; and, by the help of a fair Wind, came before *Stettin*. Immediately, ſome of his Soldiers being ſet a-ſhore, he advanc'd under the Cannon of that Place. Upon which, the Governor, and ſome of the Prince's Connſellors, coming to confer with him, he deſir'd leave of them, to enter the City as a Friend; and when they offer'd to beg his excuſe, he proteſted, he was not come to diſengage them from the *Roman* Empire, but to free 'em from the Oppreſion, and Tyranny of the *Imperialiſts*; adding, That he would be glad to have an interview with the Duke, who, without any further Ceremony, open'd the Gates to him. 'Tis certain, this was a great advantage to K. *Guſtavus*, in preventing the *Imperialiſts*, who were already advanced to the Neighbourhood of *Gartz*, with a deſign, to poſſeſs themſelves of that important Place, within two days. The King, having conferr'd with the Duke, concluded an Alliance with him; by which, he engag'd to protect him, and his whole Country; with this *Proviſo*, That in caſe any fatal Accident ſhould befal him, before the Elector of *Brandenburg* had ratify'd and confirm'd the Alliance, or contributed to the deliverance of *Pomerania*; or, if any other diſturbance happen'd of the Succeſſion; That in theſe caſes, the King of, and Crown of *Sweden*, ſhould have a Right, to poſſeſs the Dutchy, by way of Sequeſtration, or Proviſion, till the differences were adjuſted, and the Charge of the War repay'd, without obliging *Pomerania* to contribute towards it. But afterwards, this Clauſe occaſion'd many Conteſts, with the Elector of *Brandenburg*. The D. of *Pomerania* pretended to excuſe himſelf to the Emperor, with reference to this Treaty; but the *Imperialiſts* took it for a thing already concerted; for which reaſon, they would not give Quarter to the *Pomeranian*-Soldiers; tho', on the other hand, the *Swedes*, to be reveng'd on 'em, treated the *Imperialiſts* in the ſame manner.

Guſtavus *enters* Stettin.

An Alliance beeween him, and the D. of Pomeren.

After

After this, K. *Gustavus*'s Troops possess'd themselves of the Towns of *Stargard*, *Ancklauc*, *Ukermond*, and *Wolgstadt*. This progress of the *Swedish* Arms, put the *Imperialists* into a great Confusion, and Consternation; especially considering, that they had not then a Head, capable to withstand the Current, in such a juncture: Besides, the House of *Bavaria* were pleas'd to see the Ambition and Pride of the Emperor thus humbled. Further, *Christian William*, Administrator of *Magdeburg*, being disgrac'd by the Emperor, upon the suspicion of a private Correspondence with the K. of *Denmark*, quickly gave His *Imperial* Majesty a new Diversion; for he repair'd to the City of *Magdeburg*, (tho' with too much precipitancy, and inconsideration) and having induc'd the People to Mutiny, made himself Master of the Country that depends upon it. This being done, without Order, and in great Confusion, K. *Gustavus* sent *Diderick Falckenburg*, Marshal of the Crown, to assist in carrying on the Intrigue. In the mean time, *Gustavus Horn*, Marshal of the Crown, arriv'd with several Regiments from *Finland*, aad *Livonia*; which were joyn'd by several Regiments, rais'd in *Prussia*, and left in the Camp, before *Stettin*. After His Majesty's departure from *Stettin*, the *Imperialists* came before it; but being vigorously repuls'd, they went and vented their Passion, upon the little sorry Town of *Pasewalck*, where they committed unheard-of Cruelties. K. *Gustavus* having gone with some Troops from *Stettin* to *Stralsond*, and from thence by Land, to *Mekelburg*, in order to dispossess the *Imperialists* of that Country, Defeated 'em near *Greiffenhagen*, and *Gartz*, and put 'em into such a Consternation, that they entirely abandon'd lower *Pomerania*, with the Country of *Wenmarck*, and fled to *Landsberg*, and *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*. In the mean time, K. *Gustavus* was projecting Expedients, for carrying the War into *Silesia*, by the Country of *Marck*, and extending it on one side, to the *Waser* in *Mecklenburg*; and on the other, to the *Elbe*, near *Magdeburg*. Upon which, the Archbishop of *Bremen*, *George* D. of *Lunenburg*, and *William* Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, concluded an Alliance with him. At last, all the Protestants in *Germany* began to raise their Heads,

The progress of Gustavus's *Arms in* Germany.

The Governor of Magdeburg *revolts.*

The Imperial *Army routed.*

Gustavus's *Alliance with* Hesse Cassel.

Heads, and K. *Gustavus* endeavour'd to bring 'em over to his Interest, without minding the Edicts and Declarations publish'd against him, by the Emperor. About the beginning of the next Year, the King enter'd into an Alliance with *France*, which had been long treated of, to little purpose; because K. *Gustavus* would not suffer the K. of *France* to be the Head, as if he were to give Orders to him, which *Charnasse*, the *French* Ambassador, was so bold as to propose. But at last, that Minister, finding K. *Gustavus* had too much Honour, to quit what was his due, thought fit to insist no longer upon that Article. By this Alliance, the *French* oblig'd themselves, to furnish the *Swedes*, every Year, with 400000 Crowns, by way of Subsidy.

Gustavus's Alliance with France.

K. *Gustavus*'s Soldiers, being hardy, and inur'd to Cold, he always kept 'em in Action; insomuch, that he possess'd himself of *Lokenitz*, *Prentzlow*, *New Brandenburg*, *Clempenow*, *Tremptow*, and *Loitz*. The D. of *Sarelli*, Commanded the Garrison of *Demmin*, which consisted of two Regiments; and General *Tilly* made account, that he might holdout against the *Swedish* Army three Weeks, in which time he would come, and force K. *Gustavus* to a Battle, or else to retire. However, *Serelli* surrender'd the Place upon a Siege of three Days. In this place, the *Swedes* found a great quantity of Provisions, and Ammunition, besides thirty Brass Guns; for the *Imperialists* had design'd it for their Magazine. This done, the Town of *Colbergh*, after it had been block'd up five Months, surrender'd through Famine, in the beginning of *March*; so that the *Imperialists* were dislodg'd of all the lower *Pomeren*. On the other side, the Emperor perceiving that his Generals were not able to cope with K. *Gustavus*, gave the Command of his Army to *Tilly*, the *Bavarian* General, an Aged and Experienc'd Man, and one that had all along been a Fortunate General. This great General, having given the necessary Orders in *Francfort*, and *Landsbergh*, march'd with the Body of the Army, to the relief of *Demmin*. Being inform'd upon his march, that the Town had already surrender'd, he resolv'd to repair that loss, by attacking *New Brandenburg*, where *Kniphuisen*, contrary to the King's

His Conquests.

Tilly made General of the Imperial Army.

King's Orders, had tarry'd too long with two Regiments. *Kniphuyſen* defended that ſorry place with a great deal of Courage and Reſolution: But, at laſt, being over power'd, his Men were cut in pieces, and himſelf, with ſome Officers, taken Priſoners: Notwithſtanding this Succeſs, *Tilly* could go no further; for K. *Guſtavus* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the paſſes of *Upper-Pomeren*, and fortify'd his Camp near *Schuweed*, with a watchful Eye upon all the Motions of the Enemy. At laſt *Tilly* finding he could do nothing to the purpoſe, and fearing his Men would quickly be pinch'd for want of Proviſions, march'd towards *Magdeburg*, in order to draw K. *Guſtavus* into an open Country, where he hop'd to fight him with the advantage. But upon his retreat, His Majeſty return'd to *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, where Count *Shaumbourg* lay with a Body of Troops, and carry'd the place by Storm on the third Day, cutting in pieces above 1700 Imperaliſts, and taking 800 Priſoners, among whom were ſeveral Officers of Note; beſides a great many Drown'd in the *Oder*: the reſt eſcap'd by flight to *Great Glogauw*. In the mean time, K. *Guſtavus* ſent ſome Troops to *Landſburg*, which oblig'd the Enemy to march out by Compoſition, tho' they were much more numerous than the Beſiegers.

Francfort upon the Oder taken.

Much about that time, the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* held an Aſſembly at *Leiptſich*, in order to oppoſe the Edict, publiſh'd by the Emperour, touching the Reſtitution of Church-Lands. K. *Guſtavus* ſent Commiſſioners to that Aſſembly, to ſollicit the Members to an Union with him, in order either to act in concert with him againſt the Emperor, or, at leaſt, to put themſelves in a Condition to defend their Liberties, and to ſupply him with Money, Ammunition, and other neceſſaries for carrying on the War. Above all, he made particular Inſtances to the Elector of *Saxony*, who was, as it were, the head of the Proteſtants, ſetting forth, that his only aim was to ſecure the Liberty of the Princes of *Germany*, and the reform'd Religion. But that Elector would not declare his Mind openly: For tho' he commended K. *Guſtavus*'s Deſign, yet he would neither heare of an Union, nor take the Inhabitants of

The Proteſtant Princes Aſſemble at Leiptſich.

Magdeburg

Magdeburg under his Protection. The occasion of his coldness was this; He was apprehensive that K. *Gustavus* pursued only his own private Interest, and would desert them after he had compass'd his own Ends; or else he would do by him as he had done by the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, in *Prussia*, where he ravag'd the Low Countries, and put Garrisons into all the places of strength. Besides, they fore-saw, that if any accident should befall *Gustavus*, there would be none found capable to carry on Designs of such Importance. The Elector's Design was to make a joynt-Alliance among all the Protestants, in order to stand Neuter, and keep up a Ballance between the Emperor, and the K. of *Sweden*: For he imagin'd to himself, that, if he should joyn the K. of *Sweden*, *Gustavus* would take upon himself the whole direction of the War. Besides, he thought 'twas not handsome for him to Unite openly with the declar'd Enemy of the Emperor, who had not then committed any acts of Hostility against him. Nay farther, he would not so tye up his Hands by an Alliance with K. *Gustavus*, as that he could not accommodate Matters with the Emperor, when he thought it convenient. After all, the Protestants of *Germany* made so much of this opportunity, that they resolv'd to fortify their Liberty, by the help of the *Swedish* Arms, and wish'd they might have such success, as to weaken the Emperor. Upon this Resolution, they could have wish'd that K. *Gustavus* would return home, tho', in case of necessity, they mean'd to make use of the Friendship he profer'd them; but they would make no open Declaration against the Emperor, before they saw themselves reduc'd to the last Extremity. On the other hand, the Emperor had resolv'd entirely to ruine the D. of *Saxony*, as soon as he offer'd to stir, hoping, that after his fall, the rest would neither have Strength nor Courage to attempt any thing against him: For the Imperialists us'd to say in a Satyrical Contemptuous Stile, that except the Elector of *Saxony*, all the Protestants were a parcel of Beggars that could scarce keep Ten Regiments among them all. And, indeed, the next Summer, the Emperor, without any trouble constrain'd the Protestant Princes of *Upper-Germany*, to renounce

Gustavus sollicitss the Elector of Saxony.

The Elector's Design.

The Protestant Princes refuse to declare openly against the Emperor.

renounce the League of *Leiptſick*, and advance conſiderable ſumms of Money beſides.

K. *Guſtavus* obſerving the Proteſtants were much upon their Guard, and mean'd to play their Game by Intrigues, reſolv'd to take Counter-Precautions, and not to puſh ſo far as to tack the ſucceſs of his Arms upon the Diſcretion of another. Upon this view, he plac'd his only ſecurity in his own proper Force; and tho' he paſſionately deſir'd the Relief of the City of *Magdeburg*, yet he would not attempt to raiſe the Siege, till he had taken care that his retreat were not cut off behind him. For this end, he deſir'd the Elector of *Brandenbourg* to deliver him *Spandauw* and *Cuſtrin*, to ſecure his paſſage upon the *Havel*, and the *Oder*; and being apprehenſive the Elector would give him a refuſal, he march'd with his Army to the Neighbourhood of *Berlin*, where, what by threats, and what by promiſes, he made the Elector conſent to the receiving of a *Swediſh* Garriſon into *Spandaw*, with a Proviſo that the *Swediſh* Garriſon ſhould leave it as ſoon as K. *Guſtavus* ſhould have reliev'd *Magdebourg*, and put himſelf into a ſafe Poſture. This done, K. *Guſtavus* Sollicited the Elector of *Saxony* to come and joyn him near *Dreſſau*-Bridge, in order to aſſiſt him in the relief of *Magdebourg*. At the ſame time, he deſir'd of him a ſupply of Proviſions, and Gun-powder: But that Prince deny'd him both his Requeſts, pleading the fidelity he ow'd to the Emperor, and his Intention in not bringing a War into his own Country. All theſe Obſtacles occaſion'd a great loſs of time; during which, General *Tilly* took *Magdebourg* by Storm, ſack'd it in a mercileſs manner, and reduc'd it to Aſhes, inſomuch, that of all the Thouſands, by which it was Inhabited, there were ſcarce four hundred ſav'd. But this burning affected the Imperialiſts very much, becauſe it conſum'd their Booty, and render'd the Fruits of their Victory uſeleſs; whereas, if they had preſerv'd that place, it would have ſerv'd them for a convenient place for their Magazines, and as a check upon all the upper and lower *Saxony*. The unaccountable Tyranny, and unheard of Cruelties diſplay'd by the Imperialiſts at *Magdebourg*, drove the Proteſtants of *Germany*

Guſtavus *marches to* Berlin.

Magdeburg *cruely us'd by the Imperialiſts.*

many to Diſpair. Thereupon K. *Guſtavus* iſſued forth a Manifeſto, declaring, that he was innocent of all their Calamity; and that it was only the irreſolution of others, that prevented his ſuccouring of that place. Tho' K. *Guſtavus*, by his compact with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, was oblig'd to give him up *Spandauw*; yet, conſidering that, he durſt not penetrate further towards the *Elbe*, without being ſure of a Paſſage upon the River of *Havel*, and of ſecuring *Cuſtrin* upon the *Oder*, from the hands of the Imperialiſts: Upon that conſideration, he us'd all his Efforts to perſwade that Elector to joyn him, or elſe to give him *Spandaw*, and *Cuſtrin* for his ſecurity: But that Prince inſiſted on a neutrality, and demanded the reſtitution of *Spandaw*; *Guſtavus*, purſuant to his Promiſe, reſtor'd *Spandaw*: But, at the ſame time, he march'd with his whole Army to *Berlin*, and ſummon'd the Inhabitants to open the Gates to him, threatning to treat them as declar'd Enemies, if any of them offer'd to put themſelves in a poſture of Defence. This perſwaded the Elector to allow of a *Swediſh* Garriſon in *Spandaw* during the whole courſe of the War, and to ſtipulate to *Guſtavus*, the freedom of paſſing, and re-paſſing by *Cuſtrin*, when he pleas'd. By this Treaty, the Garriſon of *Spandauw* was to ſwear an Oath to the Elector, and that of *Cuſtrin* to *Guſtavus*, for the performance of the ſtipulated Articles. This harſh treatment from *Guſtavus* to his Brother-in-Law, did not proceed ſo much from any hatred he had to his Perſon, as from the Averſion he had to his Counſellors, of whom he ſcorn'd to buy his good Fortune. And *Pomeren* being, as it were, a place of Arms, from whence the *Swedes* were to make incurſions into the other parts of *Germany*; K. *Guſtavus* therefore was reſolv'd to be aſſur'd by other means, than by Papers and Seals, that the Enemy ſhould not make any irruption into *Pomeren* by the Country of *Marck*. On the other ſide, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, flatter'd himſelf, that if the *Swedes* ſhould not ſucceed, he would excuſe himſelf to the Emperor, upon the Plea of being conſtrain'd by force, to do what he did. But notwithſtanding all the Letters that Prince could write upon that head to the Emperor,

A Treaty between Guſtavus, *and the Elector of* Brandenburg.

peror, his Imperial Majesty was still perswaded, that the Elector was easily forc'd to grant the demands of the *Swedes*.

After this Accommodation, K. *Gustavus* extended his Army along the *Havel*, the better to observe the motions of the Enemy; that done, he went with all expedition to *Pomeren*, where *Aecke Tot* had made himself master of *Gripswald*. *Perusio* the Governor of this Place, made a brave Defence, till he was kill'd in a Sally. K. *Gustavus* finding *Pomeren* quite clear of the Imperialists, sent part of his Troops to the assistance of the Dukes of *Meklenburg*, who then endeavour'd to Re-conquer their Country, and march'd with the rest towards the Country of *Marck*, and encamp'd, near *Werben*, in a very convenient place upon the *Elbe*, for observing the Designs of General *Tilly*: For after the *Leiptsick* Confederacy was broken and routed in upper *Germany*, *Tilly* march'd from *Magdebourg*, upon a design to reduce the Members of that League, and came to *Thuringia*, in order to attack the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, the Prince of the House of *Saxony*, and even the Elector himself. Having committed great Ravages in that Country, he was preparing to invade *Hesse*,; when he receiv'd advice from *Cappenheim*, whom he had left at *Magdeburg*, that K. *Gustavus* was encamp'd on that side the *Elbe*. Upon this, the General chang'd his Course with all possible expedition, meaning to force the King to a Battle, or else oblige him to re-pass the River: But his Majesty surpriz'd the advanc'd Guards of the Imperialists, and cut off three Regiments of Horse; up on which *Tilly* advanc'd with the body of his Army, as far as *Werben*; but finding it unpracticable either to draw the King to a Battle, or to attack him in his Camp, which was very well fortify'd; and at the same time, Provisions and Forage being scarce, he was forc'd to return to his Camp near *Wolmerstadt*. In the mean time, *John Albert*, and *Adolphus Frendrick*, Dukes of *Meklenburg*, being assisted by *Sweden*, expell'd the Imperialists out of all their Territories, excepting *Donnitz*, *Wismar*, and *Rostock*, which places were afterwards block'd up.

Gripswald taken.

Gustavus sends auxiliary Troops to the Dukes of Mekelburg.

He routed the Imperial advanc'd Guards.

The Dukes of Meklenburg *recover their Dutchy.*

The English *Troops entirely lost.*

About the same time, the Marquis of *Hammilton* arriv'd in *Pomeren*, with 6000 Men, *English* and *Scotch*. K. *Gustavus* design'd they should act upon the *Odir*, upon the Confines of *Silesia*; but next Autumn they all Died, partly through the Food and Air which they were unaccustom'd with, and partly through Travel and Fatigue; So that this great Body of Troops did no Exploits; bating that they once attacked the Imperialists near *Guben*, of whom they cut in pieces 200, and took 200 Prisoners. The *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, joyned K. *Gustavus*'s Army near *Werben*, and perfected the Alliance that had been commenced the preceeding Year. This Prince was the first of all the *Germans* that sided with the King of *Sweden*, without any distrust, or much precaution; and after his Death, his Widdow continued true to *Gustavus*, and exactly observed all the Articles of the Alliance. *Tilly* being baulked at *Werden*, went to attack the Duke of *Saxony*, to the end, that after his ruine, he might act with more freedom in opposition to K. *Gustavus*, having then nothing to fear behind him. Besides, he concluded, that the *Swedish* Arms in *Germany*, would dwindle of themselves, when the most considerable Protestants were once reduced to Subjection; or else extirpated. However, he endeavoured at first, to disengage the Elector by good words from the *Leiptsick* League: But, at last, finding that would not do, he marched through *Eisleben* and *Hall*, and took *Leiptsick*. In this piece of Conduct *Tilly* was very much over-seen; for it, in a manner, forced the Elector of *Saxony*, who had always an aversion to forreign Alliance, to enter into the League with *Sweden*, that *Gustavus* had so long sollicited. He might easily have lull'd that Prince asleep by fair Promises, and the common rote of assurances, that he had nothing to fear from the Emperor. Besides, he might easily have got between the Elector's Troops and K. *Gustavus*'s Army, and so have ruined them both But his former good success made him so proud, that he fancied he could reduce both these Enemies with one Blow, as if himself had been invincible. The Duke of *Saxony* finding himself pinched by *Tilly*, when he lay encamped

The Troops of Hesse *joyn* Gustavus.

Tilly over-seen in taking Leiptick.

camped near *Forganaw*, desir'd Succours of *Gustavus*, tho' formerly he had refus'd both his Succours, and his Alliance. In the mean time, the King having foreseen all that happen'd, had decamp'd from before *Werben*, and march'd into old *Brandenburg*, in order to be at hand in such a Conjuncture; Tho' he was very fond of so favourable an opportunity, yet he thought it not decent to run immediately to the assistance of the Elector, who had formerly rejected Alliance, when offer'd. Upon this view he sent *Arnheim* to the Elector of *Saxony*, with an indifferent sort of an Answer, *viz. That his Master was sorry for his misfortune, which he foresaw long before; That his Electoral Highness might have prevented the Storm, had he followed His Majesties advice; and that, after all, His Majesty was willing to assist him, provided he delivered into his hands, the City of* Wirtenberg, *to secure his retreat, sent his Eldest Son into the* Swedish *Army, advanced three Months Pay to his Troops, delivered up the Traitors that were about his Person, and entered into an Alliance with him for their mutual Defence.* The Elector having but little time to consider upon the matter, offer'd, not only *Wirtenburg*, but all the Country, to secure His Majesty's retreat; he promis'd to send his Son to the *Swedish* Army, and even to come there himself, to pay what he demanded for the Army, to punish the Traitors as soon as he could discover them; and, in fine to hazard his Life and Fortune for their common Defence. K. *Gustavus* scorning to be short of the Elector in Generosity, made Answer, *That he had reason to demand such assurances, because his Electoral Highness had so often rejected his Offers; but, in regard, he had now taken up such a generous Resolution, he was willing to depart from all his other pretensions, and only desired the Elector would cordially embrace the interest of the common-Cause; but if he pleased to give a Months pay to the Army, His Majesty assured him, he should quickly reap the Benefit of the Charge.* Upon this the Alliance was concluded, and K. *Gustavus* having pass'd the *Elbe*, march'd to *Wirtenberg* with his Army, consisting of 13000 Foot, and 9000 Horse, and joyn'd the *Saxon* Troops near *Dieben*. In a Council of War, where the Elector of

The D. of Saxony *desires* Gustavus's *aid.*

Gustavus's *Politicks.*

His Generosity.

An Alliance between Sweden *and* Saxony.

of *Brandenburg* assisted, K. *Gustavus* was of Opinion, that they should move with circumspection, and surround the Rear of the Imperial Camp, to oblige them to decamp from the advantageous Camp they were possessed of: For the King of *Sweden* was very sensible, that so Old and Experienced a General as *Tilly*, would not quit an advantageous Post to hazzard a Battle, since he could easily Fatigue and Harass his Enemy without making any motion. He likewise represented, that if the Confederate Army were routed in Battle, they would have a very sorry hand of it, since, on such an occasion, they hazzarded no less than a Crown, and two Electoral Caps. But the Elector of *Saxony* was so impatient, that he would not hear of any delay; nay, he carry'd his impatience so far, that he said, *He would rather go, and attack the Enemy with his own Troops, than suffer his Country to be oppressed by two Armies at once.* After that, they resolved to give Battle to the Imperialists; and the Elector of *Brandenburg* took leave of the Confederate Council. The King of *Sweden* was absolutely of the mind, that they should fall immediately upon the Imperialists before *Altringer*, who was already near *Erfort*, came nearer, and before *Tiffenbach*, who was upon his march from *Silesia*, should come up to attack their Rear. K. *Gustavus* Commanded the right Wing, and the Elector of *Saxony* the left. Among several other things that the King said to his Soldiers, he advis'd them, if their Arms could not pierce the Imperial Cuirassiers, to run their Swords into their Horses. *Tilly* having notice of their March, resolved to continue where he was, upon the consideration that he was advantageously Posted, and that delay was the only servicable means for weakning his Enemies: Besides, if he must needs come to a Battle, he was resolv'd, at least, to stay for *Altringer*, whom he expected with a body of Troops in a few Days. Pursuant to this Resolution, he fortify'd his Camp before *Leiptsick*, and planted Cannon in a place very proper to incommode the Enemy. But, after all, *Pappenheim*, and the other Generals, confiding in their own Strength, and despising the Confederate Army, perswaded *Tilly* to quit his advantageous

The Confederates resolve upon a Battel.

The King's Advice to his Army.

tageous Poſt, by remonſtrating, That the new Levy'd Troops of *Saxony*, and the Fatigu'd *Swediſh* Army, were in no Condition to make Head againſt the *Imperialiſts*, who were inur'd to Victory. *Tilly* held his Council of War, in one of the Suburbs of *Leiptſich*, in a Gravemaker's Houſe, the Walls of which were adorn'd with Painted Coffins; and this was look'd upon as a bad *Omen*. After that, the *Imperial* Army advanc'd near to *Breitenfeld*, where they loſt the advantage of all the Victories they had carry'd for the ſpace of twelve Years, as well as the mighty Reputation of Prudence and wiſe Conduct that they had formerly purchas'd. *Tilly* planted his Cannon on a very advantageous place being the higheſt of the whole Plain, and was favour'd by the Wind: But to his great misfortune he drew up his whole Army in order of Battle, without making any reſerving of Troops, as if he had thought to defeat the Enemy with one ſhock. When he ſaw the *Swedes* and *Saxons* advance in good Order, and with an intrepid Courage, he became ſo pale, that he could ſcarce either ſee, or ſpeak: Beſides, he ſuffer'd the Enemy to march peaceably through a paſs, by *Defilees*, tho' he could eaſily have put them into diſorder, becauſe he would not quit his advantageous Poſt. K. *Guſtavus* drew up his Army ſo, by mixing the Infantry with the Squadrons of Horſe, that he could charge the Imperial Cavalry at a good diſtance, Farther, he turn'd the Battle ſo, that he gain'd the advantage of the Wind, and divided their left wing, which *John Banier* fell upon, and put to flight: Upon this, *Tilly* march'd up to attack the *Saxons*, thinking to diſperſe them with eaſe, becauſe they were new levied Troops; and, in effect, moſt of them were put to flight. This done, the Imperialiſts diſpers'd the news of their Victory, and the Elector of *Saxony* fled with all expedition to *Culenburg*, taking his Country to be entirely loſt. In the mean time, *Arnheim* went to ask Advice, and Succours of K. *Guſtavus*. His Majeſty, with an undaunted Courage, turning the left Wing of his Army upon the Enemy, routed the Imperial Cavalry, which purſuing the *Saxons* too eagrly, and being too intent upon the Booty,

had put themſelves into diſorder. The Infantry, indeed, Fought with a great deal of Valour and Reſolution, till *Guſtavus Horn* came up with ſome Squadrons from the *Swediſh* Right Wing, and planted ſome Cannon againſt the Enemy. After that, K. *Guſtavus* ſeiz'd upon the Enemy's Cannon, routed the remainder of their Left Wing, that continu'd ſtill to make oppoſition, and ſo obtain'd a compleat Victory. The *Swedes* purſu'd the flying Stragglers till night; at which time, the Bells were Rung in all the adjacent Villages; and from that Signal, the *Peaſants* cut off all the *Imperialiſts* they met with. Some of 'em eſcap'd to *Leiptſich*; but moſt of thoſe who got off, retir'd to *Merſeburg*, *Hall*, and other remoter places, without looking behind 'em; nay, General *Tilly* himſelf was taken by a Captain of the Regiment of *Rhingrave*, namely, *Lange Fritz*: who finding he would not ask Quarter, gave him a blow in the Ear with his Piſtol, and would certainly have Kill'd him, if *Rodolph Maximilian*, Duke of *Saxe Lauwenburg*, had not come up, and ſhot the Captain with a Piſtol. After that, *Tilly* eſcap'd to *Hall*, and from thence march'd to *Halberſtadt*, with about 600 Men, and upon the Road was join'd by *Pappenheim*, at the Head of 14 Squadrons of Horſe; the whole Army ſcarce amounting to 1400 Men. 'Tis ſaid, 7600 *Imperialiſts* were Kill'd in the Field, beſides thoſe whowere cut in pieces intheir Flight. The *Saxons* loſt in this Engagement 3000 Men, and the *Swedes* 2000, moſt of 'em Horſe. K. *Guſtavus* took above 100 Standards and Colours; and 5000 of the Eenemy came over, and joyn'd his Troops.

Guſtavus's Glorious Victory at the Battle of Leipſich.

Tilly ſav'd

This Victory broke the Meaſures of the Emperor, and the Catholick-League, as well as the Intrigue of the *Poles*, who intended to break the Truce, and Invade *Pruſſia*, as ſoon as they had ſeen *Guſtavus* worſted. On the other hand, the Proteſtants of *Germany* pluck'd up a good Heart, and ſought all means to ſhake off the *Imperial* Yoke. The Victorious King left the Elector of *Saxony* to retake *Leipſich*, and march'd to *Merſeburg*, where he cut in pieces above 1000 *Imperialiſts*, and took 500 Priſoners. After that, he had a Conference with the Elector, in order to concert Meaſures for carrying on the

Leipſich taken.

the War. They did not think it proper to purſue *Tilly*, who had retir'd to *Weſer*, through the Country of *Brunſwick*, for fear of transferring the Burden of the War upon the Proteſtant Princes of lower *Saxony*, and expoſing thoſe of upper *Germany* to the Mercy of their Enemies; for they choſe rather to carry their Arms into the Provinces of the Emperor, and the Catholick-League: This they were able to do two ways, either upon the Right, by paſſing through *Thuringerwald* to *Franconia*, or upon the Left, by entring into the Hereditary Countries of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The Elector of *Saxony* mov'd, That he ſhould go to *Franconia*, and *Guſtavus* to the Emperor's Hereditary Countries. And, indeed, many are of Opinion, That if *K. Guſtavus* had march'd thither immediately, in the Confuſion and Conſternation they were then in, he had in a little time reduc'd the Emperor to Extremity, and turn'd him out of *Vienna:* Beſides, his Subjects were ſo provoked, by the Change of Religion he had introduced, that they would have ſided with the *Swedes*; eſpecially conſidering, That at that time there was no Army to oppoſe 'em. Farther, had *Guſtavus* followed this Advice, he had kept the Emperor from ſetting a new Army on foot. *Oxenſtern*, the Chancellor of the Kingdom, who was not then with the King, was of the ſame Opinion; becauſe in the afterpart of his Conduct, K. *Guſtavus* harraſs'd the Proteſtants, by making their Country the Seat of the War, and gave Umbrage to *France*.

Why Guſtavus *would not purſue* Tilly.

Notwithſtanding all theſe reaſons, K. *Guſtavus* would needs go to *Franconia*; becauſe General *Tilly* having joyn'd *Altinger*, and *Fugger*, would quickly gather a puiſſant Army upon the *Weſer*, and Attack the Army that march'd to the Right Hand; to which danger, he would not expoſe the Elector of *Saxony*, his Troops being much diſabled at the Battle of *Leipſigh*, where General *Arnheim* did not much ſignalize himſelf. Farther, He was not only apprehenſive, That while he made an Irruption into the Emperor's Territories, *Tilly* would fall upon the Elector of *Saxony*; but likewiſe, That the Elector engaging the Proteſtants in his Intereſts, would draw together ſo powerful an Army, as might in

Why Guſtavus *would not go to the Emperor's Territories*

time prove Formidable to himself. In fine, K. *Gustavus*'s chief Design, was to draw all the Protestants of *Germany* into a League with him; and this he thought to compass, by marching himself to *Franconia*, and sending the Elector of *Saxony* to the Emperor's Territories, where he had a great interest, especially among the *Silesians*, having maintained the Liberty of their Religion in the *Bohemian* Wars. Afterwards, the Chancellor of the Kingdom made loud Complaints of this Resolution of *Gustavus*'s, by which he departed from his former Enterprizes, and engaged in an Affair, that would be very long-winded; for that Minister alledged, That K. *Gustavus* should have marched, without any delay, to Attack the Emperor, in order to constrain him to grant the Protestants the liberty of their Religion; after which, he might have taken *Prussia*, and found expedients to make the Elector of *Brandeburgh*, to give to His Majesty what he possessed in *Prussia*, in consideration of an equivalent; to which he added, That the Elector of *Brandeburgh* would have been glad to have taken *Pomeren* to himself, if it had not fallen into the Hands of the *Swedes*. Duke *Bernard* of *Wermar*, flattered the King with great hopes of mounting the *Imperial* Throne; in which, he and his fellows, who had nothing to lose, expected to find their Account. He represented Matters to the King, as if they might be easily brought to perfection; and even the Elector of *Saxony*, in a merry fitt, Flattered the King, upon the same Head. On the other hand, K. *Gustavus* knew perfectly well, how to caress that Elector, by crying up his Courage, as being the first that pressed him to a Battle; tho at the same time, the Elector was afraid of being twitted with his precipitant Flight.

The King and the Elector flatter one another.

The Protestants of Upper-Germany side with Gustavus.

The Assembly being over, K. *Gustavus* sent before him Persons qualified for the purpose, to *Upper-Germany*, to Sollicite the Protestants to side with him. And, in effect, they all frankly declared in his Favour, excepting the Inhabitants of *Nurimberg*, who were a little Ceremonious upon the Point. After that, he marched with his Army, from *Hall* to *Ertfurt*, where *William*, D. of *Weimar*, entered without many Words. From thence he marched to *Fran-*

conia,

conia, and having taken *Koningſhoven*, and *Swinfurt*, without any trouble, carried the Caſtle of *Wurtzburg*, after ſome oppoſition, and found there a large Booty. *Tilly*, deſigning to Relieve this Place, came too late, but was joined upon the *Weſer*, by *Altringer*, *Fugger*, *Breda*, and the other *Imperial* Generals. Upon the News of K. *Guſtavus* his Irruption into *Franconia*, *Tilly* had deſigned to march with all expedition, through the Country of *Heſſe*, in order to put a ſtop to his Progreſs. His Army conſiſted then of 18000 Foot, and 182 Troops of Horſe; which was afterwards joined near *Miltenburg* by 12000 Men, under the Command of *Charles* Duke of *Holſace*; ſo that the *Imperial* Army was then more numerous than *Guſtavus*'s. Upon the taking of the Caſtle of *Wurtzburg*, he marched towards *Rotenburg* upon the *Tauber*; and upon the Way being ſurprized by the *Swedes*, loſt four Regiments, which were cut in pieces. His deſign in this march, was to cover the Territories of the Emperor, and of the Houſe of *Bavaria*. But K. *Guſtavus*, having entered into an Alliance with *Chriſtian*, Marquis of *Anſpach*, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Countries adjacent to *Wurtzburg*, marched towards the *Rhine*, and ſurprized *Hanaw*. *Franckfort* upon the *Mein*, made a voluntary ſurrender; and His Majeſty left a Garriſon of 600 Men in *Saxſenhauſen*. This done, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Country of *Ringau*; and then turn'd his Arms upon the Palatinate, which was then poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*; at which time, he ſent D. *Bernard* to *Philip de Sylvia*, the Governor, to know what his Intentions were; and the Governor made Anſwer, That he had no other Orders, than to give Succours to the Elector of *Mayeme*, againſt the *Swedes*. Thereupon, K. *Guſtavus* conſulted, Whether he ſhould declare War againſt the *Spaniards*, or content himſelf, with treating them as Enemies, in ſo far as they were engag'd in the War of *Germany*, and continue in Peace with them, in all other Points. The laſt of theſe Motions was approv'd, leſt the Navigation, and Commerce of *Sweden* ſhould be diſturb'd by the *Dunkirk* Capers. Beſides, the *French* were then advanc'd to the Neighbourhood of *Metz*, with a ſtrong Army, which gave the

His progreſs in Franconia

Hanau *taken.*

Frankfort *Surrenders*

Why Guſtavus *would not declare War againſt* Spain.

the K. of *Sweden* not a little occaſion of Jealouſie; and upon that view, he had no mind to engage in a War with *Spain*; eſpecially conſidering, that ſeveral Princes of the Empire were already jealous of the great progreſs of his Arms, and, that he had ſome reaſon to diſtruſt *Denmark* and *Poland:* To all which we may add, That the *Engliſh* Miniſters were in the *Spaniſh* Intereſt; and that it was not proper, or ſeaſonable for him, to enlarge the number of his Enemies.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, K. *Guſtavus* march'd by the Way of *Francfort*, and *Darmſtadt*, towards the Paſs of *Bergh*. After that, having taken *Gernſheim*, he paſs'd the *Rhine* at *Stookſtad*, and Defeated the *Spaniards*, who offer'd to diſpute his Paſſage, beſides 500 more that he cut in pieces at *Copenheim*. In the City of *Mayence*, the *Spaniards* at firſt made ſome Oppoſition; but they quickly Capitulated, and were conducted to *Lutzenburg*. This done, the *Swedes* poſſeſs'd themſelves of ſeveral other places, and advanc'd as far as *Coblentz*, and the *Moſelle*. On the other ſide, *William*, Landgrave of *Heſſe* diſlodg'd the *Spaniards* of *Veteravia*; *Spiers*, *Landau*, *Weiſſenburg*, and *Manheim*, fell into the Hands of the *Swedes*; and *Guſtavus Horn*, whom the King had left in *Franconia*, made himſelf Maſter of *Mergentheim*, *Winſheim*, and *Hailbron*. Much about the ſame time, the Town of *Roſtock*, in which Governor *Virmond* had made a Vigorous Defence, Surrender'd upon Capitulation, and the Governor march'd out with 2500 Foot, and three Companies of Cavalry; but being afterwards ſurpriz'd at *Wanſleben*, by *John Banier*, moſt of his Soldiers Liſted themſelves in the *Swediſh* Service. In the beginning of the next Year, the City of *Wiſmar* was likewiſe forc'd to Surrender; and the Garriſon that march'd out, not having obſerv'd the Terms of the Capitulation, was ſurpriz'd, and defeated by *Aecke Tott*, and 2000 of 'em were forc'd to enter into the *Swediſh* Service; ſo that the *Imperialiſts* were entirely expell'd the Coaſts of the *Baltick-Sea*. On the other hand, the Victory at *Leipſigh* made ſuch an impreſſion upon the States of the Circle of *Lower-Saxony*, that they unanimouſly reſolv'd to ſide with *Sweden*, and ſhake off the *Imperial*

The Spaniards *Defeated.*

Mayence *Surrenders*

The Progreſs of the Arms of Sweden.

rial Yoke. To this purpoſe, they held an Aſſembly at *Hamburg*, where ſome of 'em were for granting K. *Guſtavus* a certain Sum of Money, upon the Condition of his taking them under his Protection. But the K. of *Denmark* ſtifled that motion, alledging, That it was an Indecency, to be Tributary to a Foreigner. Upon which, they reſolv'd to raiſe ſome Troops; and the K. of *Denmark* deſired his Son *Ulric* might Command 'em; but that was oppos'd by *Adolphus*, Archbiſhop of *Bremen*, and *George* D. of *Lunenberg*, who were both Enemies to K. *Chriſtian*: And even the other Members of the Aſſembly, had not forgot how they were uſed, when he Commanded their Army. To which we muſt add, That K. *Guſtavus* had given Orders before-hand, to *Aecke Tott*, and *John Banier*, to fall upon the *Danes*, whenever they made the leaſt Motion. At laſt, this Aſſembly concluded, That 6000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, ſhould be rais'd for their common Defence, to be Commanded by K. *Guſtavus*. At the ſame time, the Archbiſhop of *Bremen*, and the D. of *Lunenburg*, made a ſeparate Alliance with His Majeſty.

Guſtavus *made Commander of the Troops of Lower-*Saxony.

In the mean time, the Emperor was mightily diſturb'd, for the loſs of his old Friend, the Elector of *Saxony*, who had been forc'd, by ſevere Uſage, to ſide with K. *Guſtavus*. He uſed all imaginable Methods, to take the Elector off from *Sweden*, and engage him again in his own Intereſts. He recall'd the *Imperialiſts* that Invaded *Luſatia*; and the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, ſent, in his Maſter's Name, a Deputy to *Dreſden*, to excuſe what was paſt, and offer his Mediation to the Elector, in order to a Determination of the Difference between him and the Emperor; But the Elector rejected the Propoſal, and ſent his Troops to *Bohemia*; where, among other Places, they took the City of *Pragh*. But when the Troops of the Circle of *Lower-Saxony* ſhould have march'd to *Moravia* and *Auſtria*, to diſperſe the *Imperial* New Levies, purſuant to K. *Guſtavus*'s Orders, they ſate ſtill, and did nothing, with a deſign to give the Emperor Time to recover his former Poſture; and to put a ſtop to the extraordinary Progreſs of the Arms of *Sweden*. 'Tis true, the Elector of *Saxony* was very well pleas'd with the Services, and

The Emperor's Projects to gain the D. of Saxony.

Prague *taken.*

and marks of Friendſhip that he receiv'd from *Guſtavus*'s Hands: But, at the ſame time, he was apprehenſive, that one day he might offer to preſcribe Laws to him. Beſides, he thought the Emperor was reduc'd to ſuch a Condition, that he could accommodate Matters with him, upon advantageous Terms, when he pleas'd.

The D. of Saxony's Treachery to Guſtavus

The Battle of *Leipſigh* having filled *Vienna* with fear and confuſion, the *Emperor* ſent *Embaſſy*'s to all Parts, to demand Succours, remonſtrating, That the Catholick Religion would tumble down, if the *Swedes* were not repulſed: But his greateſt difficulty was, where to find a General capable to Cope with ſuch a Heroe, as *Guſtavus Adolphus*; for *Tilly*'s good Fortune had forſaken him. The *Spaniards*, indeed, adviſed the *Emperor* to give the Command of his Army, to the Young King of *Hungary*, becauſe he would bring into the Field, all the Nobility of that Kingdom, which was then in Peace. But the *Germans* were againſt that Motion, becauſe the *Spaniards* had too much Intereſt with that Prince; beſides, they thought it was a dangerous thing, to ſet up a young Prince, in oppoſition to ſo Great and *Experienced* a General, as the *K.* of *Sweden*. At laſt, they agreed unanimouſly upon *Wallenſtein*, an old General, who had a great Intereſt among the Soldiers, and was ſo Rich, that he was able to raiſe an Army upon his own proper Charges. But the difficulty was, how to perſwade this Ambitious Man to reſume a Poſt that he had been outed of ſome time before. After all, his Friends, by their repeated *Entreaties* and Promiſes, influenced him ſo far, that he reſolved to raiſe ſome Troops next *March*, ſaying, That *His Imperial Majeſty might either give the Command of 'em to whom he pleas'd, or make a Peace with his Enemies.* Thereupon he gave out Commiſſions to his Officers, and in ſix Months time, drew an Army of 40000 Men out of the *Emperor*'s Hereditary Countries. All this, *Guſtavus* might have prevented, after the Battle of *Leipſigh*. The beginning of the next Year, the *French* Treated (tho' in vain) with the *K.* of *Sweden*, about the Neutrality of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, and the *League*: But neither Party were very zealous, in

Wallenſtein made General.

He raiſes upon his own Charges, 40000 Men.

carrying

carrying on the Negotiation. However, the Elector of *Triers* accepted of the Neutrality, and deliver'd to the *French*, *Hermanſtein* for a cautionary Town. About the ſame time, *Frederick*, *K.* of *Bohemia*, reviſited *K. Guſtavus*, to deſire he would reſtore him to his Kingdom. But *K. Guſtavus* wiſhed rather he had brought him a good Body of Troops, or could have done ſomething to the purpoſe himſelf.

The Elector of Triers *accepts of a Neutrality.*

This Winter, the *Swedes* were not aſleep; they ſtill made new Preparations for War. On one ſide, the *Spaniards* were very much annoy'd upon the *Moſelle*, by the *Rhingrave*, *Otto Lewis*: On the other ſide, the *Swedes* took *Crentzenach*, *Brauſfels*, *Bohenhauſen*, and *Kirckberg*. In *Lower-Saxony*, the *Imperialiſts* Abdicated *Magdeburg*; upon which, the *Swedes* put a Garriſon into it; and *William*, D. of *Wetmar*, poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Gozlar*, *Northeim*, *Gottingen*, and *Duderſtad*. Beſides, the Landgrave made a great Progreſs in *Weſtfalia*. On the other hand, *Guſtavus Horn* was repuls'd with loſs, before *Bamberg*, but he quickly made his Repriſals, by cutting in pieces two Regiments of *Imperialiſts*, near the ſame place. *K. Guſtavus* having entruſted the management of his Affairs upon the *Rhine* to others; march'd to *Franconia*, to meet *Tilly*, who always ſhifted from Place to Place, and at laſt retir'd to *Bavaria*, thinking to prevent *Guſtavus*'s entrance by the means of the *Danube* and the *Leck*: The King purſuing him, cut off ſome Troops of his Rear-Guard. But when *Tilly* march'd to *Ingolſtadt*, *Guſtavus* march'd to *Donavert*, which, after ſome oppoſition, the *Imperialiſts* were oblig'd to quit with the loſs of 500 Men. Soon after, the *Swedes* made themſelves Maſters of all the Places on both ſides the *Danube*, as far as *Ulm*. *K. Guſtavus* advanc'd to the *Leck*, on the other ſide of which *Tilly* was Poſted in a Wood, in order to diſpute his Paſſage; and having planted 72 Great Guns, did great Execution upon the Enemy; inſomuch that *Tilly* himſelf was wounded with a Canon-Bullet in the knee, and ſome days after, dyed of his Wound at *Ingolſtadt*. After that, the *Imperialiſts* quitted their Poſt in the Night-time, and fled, part of 'em to *Ingolſtadt*,

The Swediſh *Conqueſts.*

General Tilly *kill'd. His Army put to flight*

golstadt, and part to *Neuburg*; and the *Swedes* pursuing them, kill'd above 1000.

This done, *K. Gustavus* enter'd *Bavaria*, and put a Garrison into *Rain*, which the *Bavarians* had deserted, and into *Neuburg* upon the *Danube*. The City of *Ausburg* Surrender'd with little opposition, and the Inhabitants took an Oath of Fidelity to the *King* and Crown of *Sweden*. This proceeding Alarm'd all *Germany*, which began to be apprehensive of its dangerous Consequences. Afterwards, the *Swedes* march'd to *Ingolstadt*, to break down a Bridge upon the *Danube* at that place, that so they might expel the *Bavarians* out of their own Country, and possess themselves of *Ratisbon*. But they could not compass their Design; for on one side of the River, the Bridge was cover'd with two strong Forts, one of which, indeed, the *Swedes* took, but were repuls'd before the other, with loss; upon which occasion, *K. Gustavus*'s Horse was shot under him with a Cannon-Bullet, but his Person was not touch'd; tho' *Christopher*, Marquis of *Baden*, who was at His Majesty's side, had his Head carry'd off with a Cannon Bullet. In fine, the *Bavarians* prevented the *King*'s coming to *Ratisbon*, and fortify'd it with a strong Garrison. At *Ingolstadt*, *K. Gustavus* was saluted by Ambassadors from *Denmark*, who assured him of their Masters good Intentions, and offered his Mediation between His Majesty and the Emperor. His Majesty reply'd, That in order to attain a just and lasting Peace, it was in the first place necessary, that the Protestants should act in Concert, and joyn their Forces together; for that otherwise, the Peace would no sooner be concluded, but the *Imperialists* would resume their old Game, and Ruine the Confederates one after another; for which reason, he desired em in the first place, to sollicite the *King* their Master, to bring the Protestants to an Union, in order to have some firmer and more effectual Security, than Paper and Seals, for the preservation of the Peace. After this, *K. Gustavus* returned to *Bavaria*, where he gave the Inhabitants the same usage, that their Prince had given to some others, for so many Years. The Cities of *Mozsburg*, *Freizengen*, and *Landshut*, were obliged to pay a Ran-

Augsburg Surrenders

The Marquis of Baden Kill'd.

Gustavus's Answer to the Danish Embassy.

His Irruption into Bavaria.

som

ſom for their ſafety; and the Inhabitants of *Munick* went to meet the King, and preſented him their Keys. His Majeſty took out of the Magazine of *Munick* 140 pieces of Cannon, and Tranſported 'em to *Augsburg*, one of which was rammed with 30000 Ducats: But he did not ſuffer the noble Palace to be touch'd. However, the *Peaſants* being ſo rude, as to cut off all the *Swediſh* Soldiers they met with, when they had the advantage of Number; their Temerity was puniſhed, by the Burning of their Houſes. The *Swedes* cut in pieces almoſt a whole Party of 1000 *Bavarians*, that meant to ſurprize 'em. But this was ſmall amends for what the *Bavarian* Troops did, in taking the Town of *Weiſſenburg* in *Nortgau*, and abuſing the Burgeſſes and Garriſon, contrary to the Articles of Surrender; tho the *Swedes* made their Repriſals, in Maſtering ſeveral Places in *Upper-Suabia*, and diſperſed the *Peaſants* that oppos'd 'em.

In the mean time, *Wallenſtein* being at the Head of a great Army, the D. of *Bavaria* begg'd his Aſſiſtance in the Extremity he was reduc'd to: But that Prince having ſollicited earneſtly for the Depoſing of *Wallenſtein*, two Years before, the General out of Revenge, turn'd his Arms towards *Bohemia*, in order to expel the *Saxons*, who for that Winter and Spring, had done but very little Service to the Common Cauſe; which was chiefly owing to General *Arnheim*, who befriended *Wallenſtein*, and was not heartily Affected to K. *Guſtavus*, becauſe he had formerly charg'd him with Cowardice. General *Arnheim*, finding that he could not openly take the Elector of *Saxony* off from his Alliance with the *Swedes*, by reaſon of the Services K. *Guſtavus* had done to that Prince, reſolv'd to compaſs that end by Intrigues; and effectually gain'd his Wiſhes, by putting a ſtop to the progreſs of the *Saxons* in *Bohemia*, and ſuffering *Wallenſtein* to carry an eaſie Victory. This he did, That either by Fear, or by the ſofter meaſures of Peace, he might ſoften the Elector, who loved Pleaſure and Diverſion, more than the expoſing of himſelf to the danger, fatigue, and inconvenience of a War. Farther, His Electoral Highneſs had ſome Counſellors, who being in the Emperor's

Wallenſtein refuſes to aſſiſt the D. of Bavaria.

The Saxons make a little progreſs in Bohemia

peror's Intereſt, Whiſper'd him in the Ear, and endeavour'd to perſwade him, That *K. Guſtavus* Aſpir'd at the *Imperial* Crown; and that it was to be fear'd, That the Elector would not be in ſo good Condition, after ſuch a Change, as he had been under the Reign of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; eſpecially conſidering, That the Dukes of *Saxe Weimar* had got a great aſcendant in *K. Guſtavus*'s Affection, and would not fail, in after times, to make their Pretenſions to the Electoral Dignity; That *Frederick*, the *Elector-Palatine*, whom the *K.* of *Sweden* meant to reinſtate in his Territories, would certainly endeavour to avenge the Dammages he had receiv'd from the *Saxons*; That the inſtance of the City of *Augsburg* was ſufficient proof, that *K. Guſtavus* had a mind to annex all *Germany* to the Crown of *Sweden*; and that it was a ſhame for the Elector, who had formerly Headed the Proteſtants, to be tyed up to the Orders of another. This Scheme was favour'd by the *K.* of *Denmark*; who wanted to make a third Party, to keep an even Ballance oppoſite to *K. Guſtavus*, and for that end, courted an Alliance with *England*, *Holland*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Circles of *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*. In fine, theſe Reaſons made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Elector of *Saxony*, that *K. Guſtavus* was obliged to ſend Count *Solms*, to intreat him to act more vigorouſly, and to propoſe him more reaſonable Terms. But after all, the Elector would not declare himſelf openly. He ſuffered General *Arnheim* to entertain a ſecret Coreſpondence with *Wallenſtein* in *Bohemia*, who unſeaſonably infus'd into him a deſire of a haſty and precipitant Peace; which was further inflam'd, when to the great diſhonour of the *Saxons*, *Wallenſtein* expell'd 'em out of *Bohemia*, and oblig'd 'em to retire to their own Country.

The Saxons expell'd Bohemia.

Pappenheim had made great Ravages in *Lower-Saxony*, after K. *Guſtavus* recall'd D. *William* of *Weimar*, and *John Bannier*, to joyn him in *Upper-Germany*. Beſides, that General had Defeated ſeveral of *Guſtavus*'s Troops near *Hoxter*, and taken the Town of *Eimbeck*; after which, he made an Irruption into the Country of *Bremen*, which the Archbiſhop

Pappenheim's progreſs in Lower-Saxony.

biſhop, aſſiſted by the *Swedes*, had Conquer'd as far as the City of *Stade*. But the *Imperialiſts* meaning to aſſemble all their Troops into a Body, would gladly have given the Country of *Bremen* to the K. of *Denmark*, in order to create a Difference between that King and K. *Guſtavus*. And 'tis certain, the *Danes* were very ready to poach at ſo good a Bait; tho' at the ſame time they were deſirous to avoid a War. Upon this view, the King of *Denmark*, to try *Guſtavus*'s Patience, ſent ſome Troops from *Geluckſtadt*, to *Fribourg*, under the pretence of ſubſiſting them there upon his own Charges. But the *Danes* not withdrawing their Troops upon the K. of *Sweden*'s Remonſtrances, the Archbiſhop's Troops, by *Guſtavus*'s Orders, expell'd 'em by open force; and at the ſame time, had Orders to make an Irruption into *Holſatia*, in caſe the *Danes* made any new attempt. The K. of *Denmark* obſerving how things went, would have made his excuſe to the K. of *Sweden*, upon the plea, that his Men went to *Fribourg* without his Order: So that this whole proceeding was of no Conſequence. In the mean time, General *Pappenheim* defeated the Archbiſhop's Cavalry, near *Werden*, and ſurpriz'd the *Swedes* before *Stade*; for *Aecke Fotte* had neither ſecur'd the Paſſes, nor ſent out Spies to obſerve the Enemy. The *Imperialiſts* likewiſe routed three *Swediſh* Regiments in the Country of *Kedingen*. But *Pappenheim* retir'd ſoon after, and carry'd off the Garriſon of that Place, after which the *Swedes* laid cloſe Siege to it.

The Danes diſlodg'd of Bremen.

The *Spaniards* having enter'd the Palatinate by the Upper *Rhine*, took *Kirckberg*, *Poppert*, *Over-Weſſel*, and *Altzei*; and after that the City of *Spiers*, where they continued for a Month, till they were recall'd to the Low-Countries; the Prince of *Orange* having made an Irruption into *Brabant*. When they began their March, Chancellor *Oxenſtern* purſu'd 'em with his Troops to *Triers*; ſo that they loſt one third of their Number, and all their Baggage. On the other ſide, *K. Guſtavus* had a much harder Game to play: For General *Wallenſtein*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, march'd againſt him with their whole Force, thinking, that after the

The Conqueſts and Retreat of the Spaniards.

Conqueſt of him, they could eaſily ſubdue all the Proteſtants. At that time, indeed, they had a very good proſpect; for the *Swedes* were then diſpers'd all over *Germany*. The Duke of *Bavaria* having Garriſon'd *Ratisbon* and *Ingolſtad*, march'd with his Troops through the *Upper-Palatinate*, to *Eger*, in order to joyn *Wallenſtein*'s Army. Upon which K. *Guſtavus* purſued him with all diligence, in order to weaken him before he arriv'd at *Wallenſtein*'s Camp. But they out march'd him by a day, which oblig'd His Majeſty to return to *Hirsbourg*, to ſecure a convenient Paſs, that ſo the Enemies, who were infinitely more numerous than he, might not be in a capacity to oblige him either to a Battle, or to Retire, till ſuch time as his Troops were aſſembled from all Quarters. Tho' His Majeſty could eaſily have reach'd the River of *Mein*, where he had been much ſafer, and where his diſpers'd Troops could have aſſembled more conveniently; yet he choſe rather to Poſt himſelf near *Nurimberg*, the ſpoil of which *Wallenſtein* had promis'd to his Soldiers, in caſe the *Swedes* had deſerted it, meaning thereby to frighten the other Towns into a Subjection to him: Beſides, that by that means he hop'd to ſink *Guſtavus*'s Credit, by ſhewing, that he was the Ruine of thoſe who ſided with him. *Wallenſtein* made a feint of marching to *Saxony*, to oblige K. *Guſtavus* to quit *Nurimberg*, which he meant afterwards to ſurprize. But His Majeſty being well acquainted with his Stratagems, advanc'd near that Place upon an advantageous Ground. However, *Wallenſtein* march'd with a puiſſant Army, conſiſting of 300 Troops of Horſe, and 200 Companies of Foot, boaſting, that in four days time, he would make it appear, whether he, or the K. of *Sweden* were Maſter of the World; tho immediately after he added, That he would go another way to Work, and that there had been Battels enough already. His deſign was to cut off the *Swediſh* Proviſions and Forrage, in order to force K. *Guſtavus*, either to ask Peace, or to quit his Poſt, and ſo leave him the City of *Nurimberg* for a Prey. In effect, *Wallenſtein* being encamp'd in an advantageous place, ſent a Body of Horſe to ſecure the Paſſes, which cramp'd the *Swediſh*

The D. of Bavaria *joyns* Wallenſtein.

Wallenſtein's *deſign upon* Nurimburg.

Swediſh Forraging very much. But at the ſame time, the Town of *Nurimberg* ſupply'd *Guſtavus* with Proviſions. The Parties that were ſent out on both ſides, did not ſpare one another, but gave mutual Defeats; till, at laſt, K. *Guſtavus* receiv'd from ſeveral places, a Re-inforcement of 15000 Foot, and 10000 Horſe, ſo that his Army was then 75000 Men ſtrong. Upon that, His Majeſty thinking himſelf oblig'd to do ſomething with ſo conſiderable a Force, drew up his Army in order of Battle in an open Country, in order to draw the Enemy to a Battle. But General *Wallenſtein* being unwilling to venture the Imperial Crown upon a Game of that uncertainty, mew'd himſelf up in his Camp, and only ſent out ſome Detachments upon Skirmiſhes. K. *Guſtavus* finding the *Imperialiſts* ſtood upon the defenſive, play'd upon them with Guns from three Batteries; which did but little Service, becauſe moſt of the Soldiers were well cover'd. Then His Majeſty reſolv'd to ſtorm the Imperial Camp, notwithſtanding that his Generals endeavour'd to diſſwade him, upon the plea, that in ſo doing, he would only ſacrifice his Men to no purpoſe. In fine, they Fought for ten Hours together, till Night came on; one Regiment being always ſupported by another. In this attack the King loſt 2000 Men, and the *Imperialiſts* half as many; and a great many Officers of Note were kill'd on both ſides. In this Action ſome of the *Germans*, particularly *William Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, was diſoblig'd, becauſe His Majeſty made the *Germans* Charge firſt, as if he had meant to ſpare the *Swedes*, his natural Subjects. On the other hand, the K. of *Sweden* chid the *Heſſians* ſharply, when they ſuffer'd themſelves to be repuls'd, and thereupon they led on the *Finlanders*, who had as little ſucceſs as the others. In the mean time, *Pappenheim*, in the *Lower-Saxony*, had two advantageous Encounters with his Enemies; for he defeated the Troops of *Heſſe*, near *Volck Marcen*, and forc'd *George* Duke of *Lunenburg*, and General *Bandiſz* to break up the Seige of *Callenburg*. After that, he drove *Bandiſz* from *Paderborn* and *Hoxter*. At the ſame time, he ſuccour'd *Wolfenbuttle*, and made

K. Guſtavus's Army reinforc'd.

The K. attacks the Imperial Army.

Pappenheim's ſucceſs in Lower Saxony.

himself Master of *Hildesheim*. This done, he marched toward *Thuringia*, to joyn *Wallenstein*'s Army. *Pappenheim*'s success was owing to the jealousie that reign'd among the King's Generals, and the Ambition they had to be at the head of Affairs. Besides, some of them were not well acquainted with the Art of War, particularly *Baudisz*, who was a good Horse-Officer, but did not know how to discipline the Foot; and who had formerly done very brave Exploits under the Command of other Generals, tho' he was not capable to be a Commander in Chief upon an occasion of that Importance. Upon the other hand, General *Arnheim* entring *Silesia*, with the *Saxon* Troops, took *Glogon*; and being joyn'd by the *Swedish* and *Brandenburg* Troops, under the Command of *James Duwal*, had an Army of about 16000 Men: So that he might have gain'd considerable advantages over his Enemy, who were in no condition to oppose him, if he had not designedly slighted the favourable Opportunity: For he entertain'd a secret Correspondence with General *Wallenstein*, and accordingly drew the *Saxon* Troops out of the Neighbourhood of *Misnia*, to give the Enemy an opportunity of Invading it, and so dispose the Elector to an Accommodation. And, indeed, the *Spaniards* importun'd the *Imperialists*, to use their utmost Efforts in taking that Prince off from the *Swedish* Interest. But K. *Gustavus* was equally careful to manage the Elector, so as to keep him on his side. Upon that view he sent *Augustus* of *Sultzbach*, Count *Palatine*, to sollicite him, not to clap up a precipitate Peace, till a firm and solid Foundation were laid for their common safety. This Minister represented to His Electoral Highness, That there was a necessity of uniting all the Protestants in one League, to the end, that if their Enemies should offer to violate the Peace, they might always be in a Condition to keep the Ballance even, which they could never do otherwise; That by consequence, all the Princes of the Protestant side, should meet in an Assembly; and that K. *Gustavus* was very willing to accommodate Matters with him upon certain terms, in order to bring the Negotiation to a conclusion. This Count plainly

Arnheim's Treachery.

Count Palatine moves the making of Gustavus Emperor.

plainly ſet forth, That the Affairs of the Proteſtants were upon ſuch a Foot, that it was in their power to chuſe an Emperor of their own ſide; and that they ought to confer that Dignity upon *Guſtavus Adolphus*, in conſideration of the Services he had done his Allies, and of his large Conqueſts of the Catholick Countries; and in fine, that *Ferdinand* had forfeited the Imperial Dignity long before. At the ſame time, the Elector of *Brandenburg* preſs'd very much for an Aſſembly and Union of the Proteſtants; being then entirely embark'd in *Guſtavus*'s Party, upon the hopes of Marrying his Son *Frederick William* to Princeſs *Chriſtina*, the King's Daughter; that Marriage then being warmly diſcours'd of: Beſides that, he had a mind to prevent the Diſputes that were ready to break out upon the account of *Pomeren*. The Elector of *Saxony* anſwered Count *Palatine* only in general Compliments, without touching upon the principal Affair, becauſe he ſaw plainly, that K. *Guſtavus* would have the whole management of it.

In the mean time, K. *Guſtavus* reſolv'd to decamp from before *Nurimberg*, becauſe he could not diſlodge *Wallenſtein* of the Poſt he was poſſeſs'd of. Before his decampment, he put a ſtrong Garriſon into the City for its ſecurity, in caſe the *Imperialiſts* ſhould attack it. Upon that, General *Wallenſtein* immediately broke up with all his Forces toward *Miſnia*, in order to oppreſs the *Saxons*, and by that means to draw K. *Guſtavus* out of *Bavaria*, and the Imperial Hereditary Countries: He had ſent before him *Holsken*, with ſome thouſands of Men, who ravag'd *Voigſland* and *Miſnia* in a terrible manner. After *Wallenſtein*'s Retreat, K. *Guſtavus* divided his Army into two Bodies, one of which was Commanded by Duke *Bernard*, in *Franconia*; and with the other, which was the ſtrongeſt, he march'd towards the *Danube* and *Bavaria*, in order to break the Deſign of his Enemies, who had a mind to make the Proteſtant Countries the ſeat of the War. *Oxenſtern* Chancellor of the Kingdom, adviſ'd K. *Guſtavus* not to depart from that Reſolution, tho' the Elector of *Saxony* ſhould ſuffer

Wallenſtein's *march to* Miſnia.

Guſtavus *divides his Army.*

ſome loſs for a ſmall time, becauſe his Country might eaſily be re-conquered, provided he kept but poſſeſſion of the ſtrong Holds. Purſuant to this Advice, His Majeſty poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Rexin* and *Landsberg* upon the *Lech*. In the mean time, there came Courier after Courier from *Saxony*, with Letters from the Elector, intreating the King to come immediately to his Aſſiſtance, and to reſcue him from the imminent danger that threatned him. K. *Guſtavus* was very loth to abandon the Work he had already begun; beſides, the Elector of *Saxony* had done ſeveral things prejudicial to His Majeſty, by which His Majeſty perceiv'd, that Prince would never prove Conſtant and True. But after all, notwithſtanding all theſe Conſiderations, he drop'd all his other Projects, and march'd to the aſſiſtance of the Elector; being apprehenſive, that Fear and Conſternation might diſpoſe that Prince to an Accommodation with the Emperor, to the prejudice of His Majeſty, and all the Allies; and that his Preſence was neceſſary to remedy the Diſorder and Confuſion, that then reign'd among the States of *Lower-Saxony*. He left *Chriſtian Berckenfeld*, Count *Palatine*, with ſome Troops in *Bavaria*, and *Swabia*, and *Guſtavus Horn* in *Holſace*, a great part of which he Conquered, particularly the ſtrong Fort of *Benfeld*, which he oblig'd to ſurrender. About the ſame time the *Rhingrave Otto* took *Frankendal* by Famine, and then having joyned D. *Bernard*, they march'd jointly, with all expedition, to *Thuringia* and *Miſnia*, where the *Imperialiſts* had aſſembled all their Forces. The King of *Sweden* had likewiſe recall'd from *Lower Saxony George* Duke of *Lunenburg*, who was already arrived at *Wittenburg*. Upon His Majeſty's approach to *Maimburg*, he receiv'd Advice, that the Enemy was remov'd from *Weiſſenfels*; and thereupon reſolv'd to march thither, in order to attack them in their Quarters: But being inform'd by Priſoners, that General *Wallenſtein* had ſent out a Detachment of ſome Thouſands of Men, under the Command of *Pappenheim*, he would not to tarry for the Duke of *Lunenburg* any longer, being reſolv'd to Fight *Wallenſtein*, before *Pappenheim* rejoyn'd him.

He marches towards Saxony.

him. This occasion'd the Bloody Battle of *Lutzen*, in which the *Swedish* Infantry, with an uncommon and distinguishing Valour, broke through, and disorder'd the Imperial Battallions, and at the same time master'd their Cannon. But in regard, the Cavalry could not cross the River so quickly, His Majesty march'd before the Regiment of *Smalland*, exhorting them to follow him with all diligence; and so went on, accompanied only by *Francis Albert*, Duke of *Saxe-Lauwenburg*, and two Servants, and lost his Life before his Men came up. There are several accounts of the manner of his Death: But the Circumstances make it very probable, that the Duke of *Saxe-Lauwenburg* being retain'd by the *Imperialists*, who plac'd all their hopes in the Death of that Great Prince, stab'd him behind his Back. Tho the noise of *Gustavus*'s Death was spread all over the Army, yet the Courage of his Soldiers was not abated; nay, on the contrary, they became more furious, and fell upon the Enemy with so much Ardour, that they made them retire on all sides. 'Tis true, the *Imperialists* rally'd, when General *Pappenheim*, whom *Wallenstien* had recall'd from *Hal*, came up with a Regiment of fresh Troops. But General *Wallenstein* receiving a mortal Wound, the *Imperialists* retir'd, leaving the Victory to the *Swedes*; which, after all, cost 'em too dear, since they lost their unparallel'd Prince. In this Battle there were about 9000 kill'd on both sides. Tho' the *Swedes* were very much fatigu'd, yet they pursu'd the Enemy, who, in the obscurity of the Night, escap'd, part of 'em to *Leipsick*, and part to *Bohemia*. After this, D. *Bernard* assum'd the Command of the Army, and before the end of that Year, dislodg'd all the *Imperialists* of *Saxony*.

The Battle of Lutzen.

K. Gustavus *kill'd.*

The Swedes *Victorious.*

D. Bernard *Commands the Army. Of Queen* Christina.

The Death of K. *Gustavus* occasion'd various Commotions in the greatest part of *Europe*, according to the separate Interests of States. Tho' in this Battle the *Imperialists* were Defeated, and lost a great many brave Men, yet they comforted themselves from the joy they received by the Death of the King of *Sweden*; hoping, that the *Swedish* Army would disperse of its own accord, and that

all their Allies would be ſo divided, as to ſubject themſelves to the Imperial Yoke. 'Tis true, General *Wallenſtein* adviſ'd the Emperor to Publiſh a general Indemnity, in order to an Accomodation: But His Imperial Majeſty, thinking he had then met with an opportunity of compaſſing the Deſigns he had form'd long before, made all preparations for that end, as well as the Duke of *Bavaria*. The *Spaniards* likewiſe remitted ſeveral ſumms of Money to *Italy*, for raiſing an Army in that Country; which afterwards came to *Germany*, and did the Emperor ſome Service; and after that march'd to the *Netherlands*, to act againſt *Holland*. On the other hand, the Proteſtants, who had hop'd to ſecure their Religion and Liberty, by *Guſtavus*'s Arms, were then in a horrible Conſternation, becauſe they had no-body qualified to fill *Guſtavus*'s room; and the Work he had vigorouſly purſu'd was not yet finiſhed. Add to all this, that ſoon after, there aroſe ſome jealouſie and miſunderſtanding, not only between the Proteſtant Princes, but between them, and the Crown of *Sweden*: For they had no mind to lodge the direction of the Capital Affair in the hand of the *Swedes*, tho' at the ſame time, they were fully convinc'd, that without their Succour they were intirely ruin'd. Beſides, they flatter'd themſelves with the agreeable Name of a Peace, tho' by being over-haſty in procuring it, they gave their Enemies all manner of advantage. Some of the Allies were willing to make uſe of the *Swediſh* Succours, till they ſhould compaſs their Ends; and after that, would ſend them home. Others alledg'd, That the Alliance made with K. *Guſtavus*, expir'd at his Death; and upon that plea, were for making ſeparate Treaties of their reſpective Affairs; for they believ'd, that whatever had been yet done, was not owing to the puiſſance of *Sweden*, but to the Valour, and good Conduct of their King. Tho' *France* conceiv'd an inward Joy upon the Death of *Guſtavus*; yet Cardinal *Richelieu* was for preſerving the Friendſhip of the *Swedes*, partly out of regard to his private Intereſt, and partly for fear, leſt the *Swedes* ſhould be forc'd to accommodate matters with the Emperor, after

Guſtavus's Death occaſions great alterations.

The Proteſtants in a great Conſternation.

France, England and Holland promiſe to ſecure the Swedes.

after which the *Imperaliſts* would not fail to fall upon *France* with all their Forces. Beſides, that Miniſter was apprehenſive, that the *Swedes* would expel the Roman Catholicks, by which means they might raiſe more Money than what *France* ſupply'd 'em with. Farther, the *French* hop'd to Fiſh in troubl'd Waters, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole Country between *Baſel*, and the *Moſelle* on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. Upon all theſe Conſiderations, the King of *France*, wrote to *Oxenſtern*, Chancellor of *Sweden*, and all the *Swediſh* Generals, exhorting them to a vigorous purſuit of the Work they had begun, and promiſing all manner of Succours on his ſide. The *Dutch* likewiſe and the *Engliſh* gave 'em the ſame aſſurances, tho' in the beginning, they were more concern'd for the Elector of *Saxony*, than the Crown of *Sweden*. The jealouſie that the King of *Denmark* had conceiv'd upon the progreſs of *Guſtavus*'s Arms, began to be much abated; and for that reaſon, he would not give ear to the great Promiſes made him by the Emperor, to bring him to a Rupture with *Sweden*; for he was unwilling to occaſion the ruine of the Proteſtants in *Germany* with one blow. Beſides, he thought that the Kingdom of *Sweden* had then ſo much upon their Hands, that he would find his account in the future Events. Farther, he hop'd to Marry Prince *Ulric*, his Son, to *Chriſtina* the young Queen. *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Poland*, had ſome hopes of recovering the Kingdom of *Sweden*; and 'tis poſſible he would have made ſome attempts for that purpoſe, if he had not been diverted by a War with the *Muſcovites*. On the other hand, the Czar of *Muſcovy* was very much afflicted with the Death of *Guſtavus*, having hop'd to find a conſiderable Bulwark againſt *Poland*, in the perſonal virtues of that Prince. But the *Swedes* were in a particular Conſternation, by reaſon of the unexpected Death of their King, which, in one inſtant, as it were, had thrown that State from the higheſt Felicity, to the fear of Diſſolution and total Ruine. For tho the States of *Sweden* had ſettled the Succeſſion of the Crown upon Princeſs *Chriſtina*, *Guſtavus*'s Daughter, who was then but ſix Years of Age,

The inclination of Denmark, Poland & Muſcovy.

Sweden in a great Conſternation.

The ſucceſſion of the Crown ſettled upon Princeſs Chriſtina.

Age, yet they had not made a ſufficient proviſion of the Authority and Power that was neceſſary for carrying on their important Affairs, both at home and abroad: Beſides, the Revenues were almoſt exhauſted, and the Peaſants would contribute no more towards them, by reaſon of the frequent Convocation of the Arrierban, and other inconveniencies that they had ſuffer'd in the time of the War. But, after all, the Guardians of the Crown were not diſcourag'd: For having proclaim'd *Chriſtina* Queen, they renew'd their ancient Placarts againſt the Family of K. *Sigiſmund*, prohibiting all the Subjects to entertain any Correſpondence with *Poland*; and wrote to the Governors of Provinces, and to the Biſhops, ordering them to keep the People to their Duty. In fine, they made great preparations for keeping all things in order at home, and guarding off foreign Dangers. The Regency was, at that time, lodg'd in the Hands of the Heads of five Colleges, namely, the great Bailiff, the Marſhal, the Admiral, the Chancellor, and the Treaſurer of the Crown. The direction of the Capital Affairs in *Germany*, was committed to *Oxenſtern*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, whom *Guſtavus*, before his Death, had ſent to the Circles of *High-Germany*, to ſollicite them to make preparations for the War. When *Oxenſtern* arriv'd at *Hanau*, he receiv'd the News of the King's Death. At that time, he was not ſo much alarm'd with the Power of the Enemies, as with their Unanimity and Zeal in acting for the Common Cauſe: For being incens'd to the laſt Degree againſt the oppoſite Party, they left no means untry'd to have their Revenge; whereas the Proteſtants, who were otherwiſe almoſt equal in ſtrength to their Adverſaries, did not act in Concert; but, on the contrary, every one had his particular Ends: ſo that it was a difficult Matter to Work ſo many different Heads into the ſame Sentiment; for it was K. *Guſtavus*'s Authority alone, that had hitherto kept up a good underſtanding among them. But the Chancellor had further difficulties to ſurmount, in taking upon him the regulation of the Affairs of *Sweden* in *Germany*. The Electors and Proteſtant Princes, being inveſted with Dignity and

Chriſtina's *Guardians.*

Oxenſtern *intruſted with the management of Affairs in* Germany.

Grandure, would not probably receive Orders from a foreign Gentleman. There was likewise somewhat to be fear'd from the Generals, who were most of them Native *Germans*. The Chancellor represented to himself, the Affront and Danger that would arrive to the *Swedes*, if they should quit all their Conquests in *High-Germany*, without a previous Treaty. He consider'd, That, let Affairs go which way they would, the *Swedes* had better be expell'd by force of Arms, than betake themselves to an inglorious Flight, without making any opposition: That the more Vigour and Resolution they display'd, the sooner they might expect an Honourable Peace; That if they suddenly gave over the pursuit of the Work they had begun, the Affairs of the Protestants would quickly tumble to Ruine, and *Sweden* it self would be in great danger, before it could be aware of it; That the safety of *Sweden* depended absolutely upon the steddiness and constancy of the Protestant Princes in *Germany*; and in fine, That if they could not compass their Designs with so much Glory and Reputation, as they might have done had *Gustavus* Liv'd, yet it was in their Power to keep off the Enemy from the Frontiers of *Sweden*, till they met with an opportunity of obtaining a glorious Peace.

The Chancellor's Proposals to the Circles of Upper Germany.

In fine, *Oxenstern* propos'd all these Considerations to the four Circles of *Upper-Germany*, namely, *Suabia*, *Franconia*, the *Upper*, and the *Lower Rhine*: And call'd an Assembly to be held at *Ulm* (tho' it was afterwards transferr'd to *Hailbron*) to concert Measures with reference to the common Cause. He press'd for an early meeting of this Assembly, because the Elector of *Saxony* was, at the same time, carrying on a Project of convocating the Protestant Princes, in hopes of being intrusted with the principal management of their Concerns, and so preventing the Chancellor: And for that end, endeavour'd, tho' in vain, to prevent the Assembly at *Hailbron*. The Chancellor, in pursuance of his Designs, went first to the Elector's Court at *Dresden*; but could not obtain any positive Answer; for the Elector only declar'd to him, that he would act for the common Cause as he had done formerly;

The Elector of Saxony's *coldness.*

ly; and would not enter into any Negotiation of Peace, without giving notice to the *Swedes*, and the other Parties concern'd: And, in fine, that he would never forget the great Services K. *Guſtavus* had done him. At the ſame time, *Oxenſtern* perceiv'd, that the Elector's Court could not take up any firm or conſtant Reſolution; and many of 'em were diſpos'd for the Emperor's Intereſt. After his departure from *Dreſden*, he viſited the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who not only declar'd his good intentions of promoting the Common Cauſe, but likewiſe went in Perſon to *Dreſden*, to perſwade the Elector of *Saxony* to comply with the Chancellor's Propoſals; repreſenting to his Electoral Highneſs, among many other things, That ſince the Proteſtants were not of themſelves able to repulſe the common Enemy, there was a neceſſity for the calling in of Forreigners, even tho' it ſhould coſt 'em ſome Canton or other of *Germany*: And that they had better do ſo, than loſe their property and liberty of Conſcience, and yield the Victory to their Enemies, by dallying upon cold and ambiguous Deliberations. But the Duke of *Brandenburg*'s Remonſtrances could make no impreſſion upon the Elector of *Saxony*, who ſtill complain'd, that Chancellor *Oxenſtern* aſſum'd too much Authority in *Germany*; and that a little before he had hinder'd *Frenedick Ulrich*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, to aſſemble the Circle of *Lower-Saxony*, under a pretence, that the right of Convocating belong'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Sweden*. Some time after, there came an Ambaſſador from *France* to *Dreſden*, who made the ſame Remonſtrances to the Elector of *Saxony*, that the Elector of *Brandenburg* had done, but with equal ill Succeſs. And, after all, *George Landgrave* of *Heſſe* acquainted the *Imperialiſts* with all that paſs'd at *Dreſden*. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, *Oxenſtern* ſent ſome *Swediſh* Regiments to *Sweden*, leſt that Kingdom ſhould have been too much expos'd. At the ſame time he ſent *George*, Duke of *Lunenburg* with 14000 Men from *Miſnia* (where the Army then lay) to the *Lower-Saxony* and *Weſtphalia*, in order to diſlodge the Enemies that neſted

The D. of Brandenburg's *Remonſtrance to* Saxony.

neſted there. The reſt of the Troops were conducted by D. *Bernard* to *Franconia*, who was to act in conjunction with *Guſtavus Horn*, in *Overland*. The old Count *Thurn*, was ſent to *Sileſia* (where things were much out of order) to eſtabliſh the *Swediſh* Intereſt in that Country; and at the ſame time, to have a watchful Eye over the Countries of *Marck* and *Pomeren*, in order to ſuccour them in caſe the Enemy ſhould attempt an irruption upon 'em.

Guſtavus Horn *reduces* Alſace.

Thus, 'tis manifeſt, that after K. *Guſtavus*'s death, the Arms of *Sweden* were ſufficiently imploy'd. *Guſtavus Horn*, having reduc'd *Alſace*, enter'd *Suabia*, where he beat the *Bavarian* Cavalry, near *Kempten*, and prevented their Quartering in the Country of *Wirtenburg*; beſides that, he cut off a whole Regiment, near *Simmeringen*. At the ſame time, *George* Duke of *Lunenburg*, made no ſmall Progreſs in *Weſtphalia*, where he ſubdued ſeveral Places, defeated Count *Mansfeld*, near *Kintelen*, and laid Siege to *Hamel*. Landgrave *William* likewiſe made himſelf Maſter of a great part of the Country of *Munſter*. But they had not ſo good ſucceſs in *Sileſia*, by reaſon of the Diviſion that reign'd between the *Swediſh* and *Saxon* Generals: For General *Arnheim* would needs order all things as he pleas'd, and would not employ the *Swedes* otherwiſe than as Auxiliary Troops. This put things into ſuch a confuſion, that the Proteſtants of *Sileſia* knew not who me to ſide with.

The Duke of Lunenburg's *ſucceſs in* Weſtphalia.

The Swedes *not ſucceſful in* Sileſia.

In the mean time, the four Circles of *Upper-Germany*, Aſſembled at *Hailbron*, tho' the Elector endeavour'd by Letters, to prevent their meeting, pleading, that by the *Leipſick* Treaty, the direction of the concerns of the Proteſtants was devolv'd upon him. With much difficulty, *Oxenſtern* carry'd matters ſo far, that the States of the four Circles made a mutual League with one another, as well as with the Crown of *Sweden*; and devolv'd the management of their common Affairs upon Chancellor *Oxenſtern*, as being Plenipotentiary from the Crown of *Sweden*, joyning with him a Council elected by all the Allies by the Name of *Concilium Formatum*, which choſe *Francfort* upon the *Mein*, for

The Aſſembly at Hailbron *entruſt the Chancellor with the management of Affairs.*

for the place of its Reſidence. At the ſame time, theſe Circles order'd the neceſſary preparations for ſubſiſting the Army. It muſt be own'd, that the uniting ſo many Heads, and bringing them to ſuch an unanimous Reſolution, coſt the Chancellor a great deal of trouble and repeated intreaties, eſpecially if we conſider, that moſt of the Members had their private Intereſt more in view than the publick: For they were oblig'd to grant every one what he deſir'd, or elſe he had been diſoblig'd.

The Intrigues of the French *Ambaſſador*

Monſieur Feuguieres, Ambaſſador from *France*, aſſiſted likewiſe at this Aſſembly. This Miniſter, with outward ſhew, exhorted all the Members to an Union with the Crown of *Sweden*; tho' at the ſame time, he under-hand perſwaded ſome to clog their Commiſſion to the Chancellor, with ſeveral limiting Clauſes; For the *French* did not love to ſee the Affairs of the Proteſtants and the Arms of *Sweden*, upon a firm footing in *Upper-Germany*. On the other hand, the King of *Denmark* ſet all intrigues on foot for obliging the *Swedes* to quit *Germany*, eſpecially the Coaſts of the *Baltick-Sea*. The Emperor having made him large Promiſes, if he could compaſs that End. The *Danes* fancy'd, that a ſum of Money would perſwade the *Swedes* to return home. Upon that view, the King of *Denmark*, by the Emperor's Commiſſion, offer'd his mediation to the Elector of *Saxony*. *Oxenſtern* would not openly refuſe his Mediation; but propos'd that *France* and *Holland* ſhould be joint Mediators with him; knowing, that the Emperor would either reject 'em, or elſe add *Spain*, which would give 'em a fair opportunity of rejecting all the Mediations together.

And of the K. of Denmark.

Count Palatins *Children reſtor'd.*

The Chancellor perceiving that they Negotiated a ſeparate Peace at *Dreſden*, excluding *Sweden*, oppos'd ſuch Parties to the utmoſt of his power. At *Hailbron* he re-inſtated the Children of *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, in his Territories and Electoral Dignity, in order to engage *England*, *Holland*, *Brandenburg*, and the whole Houſe of the *Palatinate*, in his Intereſt. But the Elector of *Saxony* would not approve of their Reſtoration, nor of any of the Reſolutions taken in the Aſſembly at *Hailbron*.

Oxenſtern

Oxenſtern renew'd the Alliance between *France* and *Sweden*, and endeavour'd to engage the *Dutch* to act vigorouſly in defence of the common Cauſe. At a time when they were expecting a ſeaſonable opportunity of attacking their Enemies; and when D. *Bernard*, and *Guſtavus Horn*, had jointly made an irruption into *Bavaria*; there broke out a dangerous Conſpiracy in the Army, near the *Danube*, which had been hatch'd and carry'd on by *Joachim Miſchlauw* and *Pfull*, two Turbulent and Seditious Men, that got moſt of the Officers to enter into a Combination, for recovering by force the Arrears then due, and extorting a recompence for the great fatigues they had endur'd. 'Tis certain Duke *Bernard* had not only a hand in it, but was even the Author of it, hoping upon that occaſion, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Dutchy of *Franchen*, *Wurtzburg* and *Bamberg*; and have the abſolute command of the Army. Chancellor *Oxenſtern* agreed to the firſt of his pretenſions, but deny'd the ſecond. What oblig'd him to grant the firſt, was the great Intereſt that General had among the Soldiers. And, in effect, as ſoon as he obtain'd his Demand, the Tumult among the Officers of the Army was appeas'd. During theſe Commotions, the whole Summer was ſpent to no purpoſe; for the body of the Army had no action. In *Sileſia* likewiſe a diſſenſion happen'd between the *Swedes* and the *Saxons*. 'Twas then apparent, that General *Arnheim*, and D. *Francis Albert*, entertain'd a Correſpondence with the Enemies, and deſign'd to ruine the *Swediſh* Intereſt in that Country. In fine, they continued ſo long without any Action, that *Wallenſtein* had time to recruit, and invade *Sileſia*, with a puiſſant Army. There being a ſecret underſtanding between him and the *Saxon* Generals; and the *Swediſh* Generals, namely, Count *Thurn* and *Duwal*, being too eaſie and credulous, he amus'd 'em with a ſham Truce and a Negotiation of Peace, till he met with a favourable opportunity: For at a time when General *Arnheim* march'd a ſide with the *Saxon* Forces, he fell upon the *Swedes* and routed them, and almoſt quite diſlodg'd

The Alliance between France *&* Sweden *renew'd.*

A Conſpiracy in the Swediſh *Army.*

Arnheim's *Treachery.*

The Swediſh *Conqueſts in* Germany.

diſlodg'd 'em of *Sileſia*. In other Parts the *Swedes* had better ſucceſs; for General *Baudiſz* upon the Lower Rhine, defeated the Enemy before *Andernach*. *Landgrave William* took *Paderborn*; and *William* Duke of *Weimar*, maul'd his Enemies in *Franconia*. In the *Palatinate*, the Caſtles of *Heidelberg* and *Digsberg* ſurrender'd. D. *Bernard* made himſelf Maſter of *Aichſtad*, but fail'd in his attempt upon *Ingolſtad*, which Count *Cratz* was to have betray'd into his Hands. *Guſtavus Horn* carry'd the Cities of *Pappenheim* and *Neumark* in the *Upper Palatinate*. The *Rhingrave* conquer'd *Reuteben*, and the *Walſteden*, or the *Forreſt-Towns*. But, what was more important, *George* Duke of *Lunenburg* reduc'd the ſtrong Fort of *Hamelen* to extremity: For when Count *Gronsfeld*, *Merode*, and *Bonighuiſen*, came to ſuccour it with 15000 Men; D. *George* having ſecur'd the principal Poſts before the City, march'd out of his Trenches, and carry'd a glorious Victory over them near *Oldendorp*, killing 3000, and taking almoſt as many Priſoners; whereas, the *Swedes* loſt only 300 Men. Thereupon that important place Capitulated and Surrender'd.

But, after all, Chancellor *Oxenſtern* did not think they had imploy'd their time to good purpoſe enough; for he imagin'd, that it had been better to have taken the Field with all their Troops in one Body, in order to Fight and diſperſe the Enemies. After that, ſome Regiments of *Swediſh* and *Finland* Cavalry were ſent to the aſſiſtance of *Holland*: But they were quickly weary of the ſlow way of carrying on the War among the *Dutch*; becauſe they had no occaſion to ſignalize their Valour. Beſides, they thought it very ridiculous to ſee an old *Dutch* Colonel ſhewing a parcel of Children how to hold their Arms. Not long after, *Dodon Kniphuiſen* ſubjected the City of *Oſnabrug* to the *Swedes*. In the mean time, *Guſtavus Thorn* having a deſign upon the City of *Conſtance*, march'd by the Bridge of *Stein*, through *Swiſſerland*; which occaſion'd great Diviſions between the Proteſtant and Catholick Cantons. However, he had gain'd his Deſign, if he had had a ſufficient quantity of Cannon to play upon the Town. But not long after his arrival, the

The Swediſh *auxiliary Troops weary of* Holland.

Oſnabrug *taken.*

City

City being Re-inforc'd with ſome Thouſands of Men, he choſe rather to break up the Siege, than fatigue his Troops by an uſeleſs Blockade. Much about the ſame Time, Count *Palatine* defeated the Army of *Lorrain* in *Lower-Alſace*, near *Paffenhoven*; after which, he made himſelf Maſter of *Dachſtein*; from whence he march'd to *Suabia*, to join *Guſtavus Horn*, upon advice, that *Duca di Feria* was arriv'd from *Italy* with 14000 Men, and had join'd General *Altringer*, in order to Winter in the Country of *Wirtinberg*. When the *Swediſh* Army ſtopp'd this General's paſſage, he march'd towards the *Rhine*, and after Relieving *Briſack*, which was then Block'd up, enter'd *Alſace*, whither *Guſtavus Horn* follow'd him, to prevent his raiſing the Siege of *Philipsburg*. *Duca di Feria* and *Altringer*, having ſuſtein'd ſome Loſſes, on one ſide and another, and perceiving they could do nothing, Re-paſs'd the *Rhine*, and enter'd *Suabia*, deſigning to make an Irruption into the Country of *Wirtenberg*; but *Guſtavus Thorn* purſued them ſo cloſe, that they had not time to make any attempt; and incommoded 'em ſo much upon their march, that they were oblig'd to fly to *Bavaria*; their Army which was at firſt 30000 Men, being then reduc'd to 12000. At laſt, *Duca di Feria* dy'd of Grief, for not being able to worſt the *Swedes*. About the ſame time, D. *Bernard* continuing ſtill upon the *Danube*, plaid a trick to *John de Weert*, an *Imperial* Collonel, by feigning to go to Attack *Munick*, when at the ſame time, he march'd with all Expedition to *Ratisbon*, which was then but ſorrily provided. In this Deſign he ſucceeded the ſooner, that the Governor and Lieutenant-Collonel being Kill'd in the beginning of the Siege, the Government was lodg'd in the Hands of a young unexperienc'd Officer. Thus it was that this General maſter'd a Place of that importance; after which, he Ravag'd *Bavaria* mightily. He likewiſe took *Stranbinger* and *Deckendorf*. However, he would not go too far, becauſe he had advice, that General *Wallenſtein* had march'd from *Bohemia* to Attack him. For *Wallenſtein* having Defeated the *Swedes* near *Steinau*, and ſubdu'd the Cities of *Lignitz*, *Great Glogau*, *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, and *Landsberg*, mean'd

Duca di Feria's *Army worſted.*

Himſelf Dies.

Ratisbon *taken.*

to have penetrated as far as the *Baltick-Sea*; but his Deſigns were quickly thwarted by D. *Bernard*'s Progreſs, which oblig'd him to return towards the *Danube*.

Chancellor *Oxenſtern* had reſolv'd to ſend to *Sileſia*, *John Banier*, with the Army he commanded upon the *Elbe*; and to cauſe General *Arnheim* to march with the *Saxon* Troops to *Bohemia*, to make a Diverſion in ſeveral places. But all theſe good Projects were render'd uſeleſs, by the Intrigues of General *Arnheim*, who ſet all means on foot to ſtop the Progreſs of the *Swedes* in *Germany*; for he march'd toward the Country of *Marck*, where he ſpent his time to no purpoſe, in Beſieging *Francfort* upon the *Oder*.

The State of the Affairs of Sweden *in* Germany.

Tho' the Arms of *Sweden* were hitherto Succeſsful; making abatements for *Sileſia*, where Treachery was more ſerviceable to the Enemies, than their own Valour; yet the War began to be burdenſom and uneaſie to the *Swedes*: For the four Circles of *Upper-Germany* were very weary of it, and that particularly upon the account of the Inſolencies they ſuffer'd from the Soldiers, who could not be kept under good Diſcipline, becauſe they were not in a Condition to pay 'em their Arrears: To which we muſt add, That the *Langrave* kept both his Army and his Conqueſts to himſelf; That the *French* pretended to impropriate all the Country on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, that extends from *Baſel*, to the *Moſelle*, and were diſpleas'd with *Oxenſtern*, becauſe he would not do every thing according to their Fancy. At the ſame time, *Holland* was jealous of *Sweden*, and *England* did not much concern themſelves with the Affairs of *Germany*; beſides that, they were a little byaſs'd to *Spain*. But above all, the Elector of *Saxony* did moſt harm to the common Cauſe; for he would not ſuffer Chancellor *Oxenſtern* to have the Management of Affairs. Upon which view, he was precipitantly forward for Peace, which could ſerve for nothing but to kindle a new War. Beſides, he made uſe of General *Arnheim*, as an Inſtrument to thwart the *Swediſh* Deſigns. As for the Elector of *Brandenburg*, there could be no great ſtreſs laid upon him; becauſe the

the Marriage of his Son to Queen *Christina* could not be concluded: And, in fine, *Pomeren* was much againſt *Sweden*. But after all, Chancellor *Oxenſtern* us'd his utmoſt efforts to maintain the Intereſt of the common Cauſe; and in the Aſſembly of the Circles of *Lower-Saxony* at *Halberſtad*, imploy'd all his Care to retain the Confederates in the Union, and perſwade 'em to make Preparations for the War. He call'd an Aſſembly at *Francfort* upon the *Mein*, where he invited all the Proteſtants to deliberate, Whether they would continue the War with one conſent, or come to an Accommodation. Notwithſtanding all theſe Difficulties, the *Swedes* conceiv'd great hopes, when they heard that *Wallenſtein* was diſgrac'd by the Emperor, and deſign'd to come over to them. After the Battle of *Leipſigh*, that General had recruited the Emperor's Routed Army, and put a ſtop to the great Progreſs of K. *Guſtavus*. But notwithſtanding all theſe Services, thoſe who envy'd him, did not fail to blacken him in the Emperor's Ears, alledging, That he had ſpent the whole Summer to no purpoſe, in vain Negotiations, when he might have Invaded *Pomeren* and *Mecklenburg*; That by his negligence, he had ſuffer'd *Ratisbon* to be loſt, and in Wintering his Army, had oppreſs'd the Hereditary Countries of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, tho' his Troops could have ſubſiſted elſewhere. Beſides, the Jeſuits were his mortal Enemies, becauſe he look'd upon them, as Diſturbers of the Publick, and was of opinion, that they ought not to meddle with State-Affairs. Further, the D. of *Bavaria* had an inveterate grudge againſt him; and the *Spaniards* were mightily incens'd againſt him, becauſe he contemn'd all their Counſels, and Rally'd upon the whole Nation. In earneſt, 'tis certain that General Treated underhand with *France*, to Debauch the *Imperial* Army, upon the Condition of having the Kingdom of *Bohemia* for his Recompence: And beſides, deſign'd to carry on a Negotiation with Chancellor *Oxenſtern*, by the interceſſion of General *Arnheim*, who had gone the Year before to *Gellenhuiſſen*, to have an interview with the Chancellor; but this Miniſter found his Propoſals to be groſs and ſuſpicious.

An Aſſembly at Francfort.

Moreover, when General *Wallenstein* Treated in *Silesia* with the *Swedish* Generals and the Elector of *Saxony*, he utter'd some rude aukward Expressions against the Emperor; as, for instance, That if he would not accept of Peace, they would send him to the Devil, *&c.* But Chancellor *Oxenstern* protested, that he could never penetrate into the Designs of that General. Indeed, the most probable account of the Matter, is, That by the feign'd Negotiation, and pretended Revolt, *Wallenstein* meant to cheat the *French* and the *Swedes*, and ruine their Armies; and that 'twas upon that view, that in outward appearance he Treated the Emperor after that rate, with whom he had a private understanding. However, he endeavour'd to keep his Army on his side, to secure him from his Enemies at Court, and to empower him to dispose of the Peace and Empire of the *Romans* as he pleas'd. But after all, his Enemies having a greater Interest at the *Imperial* Court than he, perswaded the Emperor to Disgrace *Wallenstein*, and give the Command of his Army to his Son, who was then King of *Hungary*. 'Tis possible that General might in that Juncture have a serious Design of siding with the Protestants, and joining in with D. *Bernard*, to whom he had sent *Francis Albert* D. of *Saxe-Lauwenburg*. But *Bernard*, pursuant to the Chancellor's Advice, distrusted *Wallenstein*, and neglected the Propositions he offer'd, of joining in with him. In the mean time *Wallenstein* having lost his Credit, both among his Friends, and his Enemies, by his extravagant Conduct, was Assassinated at *Eyer* by three *Scotch* Officers, namely, *Gordon*, *Lesly*, and *Butler*. 'Twas expected, that *Wallenstein*'s Death would cause great Troubles in the *Imperial* Army, because he had a great Interest with the Soldiers. But the Emperor put all things into so good order, that there ensued no Commotion: And D. *Bernard* could not surprise but one Regiment, which he cut in pieces. On the other side, the *Imperialists* drove a Party of his Men out of the *Upper-Palatinate*, and the *Bavarians* dislodg'd another Party of *Strantingen*. But at the same time, *Gustavus Thorn* made no small Progress in *Upper-Suabia*, where he subdu'd the Cities

Wallenstein Assassinated.

The Progress of the Swedish Army.

of

of *Kempten*, *Biberach*, and *Memmingen*, and maul'd the Enemies twice ſucceſſively. The *Rhingrave* likewiſe Defeated the *Imperialiſts*, and the Troops of *Lorrain* in a Bloody Battle near *Watweiler*: after which, he took ſeveral places in *Upper-Alſace* and *Sundgan*. At the ſame time, *Lewis Schmiedberg* took *Philipsburg* by Famine; and *Alexander Leſly* diſpoſſeſs'd the *Imperialiſts* of *Landsbergh*. But no Progreſs was made in the Aſſembly at *Francfort* upon the *Mein*; where Chancellor *Oxenſtern* had call'd together the Proteſtants, either to renew the League, or to concert Meaſures for an honourable and ſolid Peace. 'Tis true, a great number of the States were preſent; but the Duke of *Holſace*, and the Counts of *Weſtphalia* ſent their excuſe. Moſt of the Members had their particular Intereſts in their view. The Elector of *Saxony* adviſ'd to a Peace, and oppos'd with all his vigour any other Reſolutions. Excepting that Prince, all the Circles of *Saxony* were willing to enter into an Alliance with the other four Circles of *Upper-Germany*; but ſo, as to employ their Troops and their Money for their private advantage; whereas, the other four Circles, being more oppreſs'd by the Power of their Enemies, made preſſing Inſtances for being Succour'd in the firſt place. The greateſt Diſpute was, upon the Satisfaction they were to give to *Sweden*: For all of 'em acknowledg'd, that they ow'd 'em a Recompence for the great Services that K. *Guſtavus* had done to all the Proteſtant States in general. The greateſt part of the Members had *Pomeren* in their view, as being a Province immediately Situated for the *Swedes*, and not far diſtant from the Seat of their Government. This motion was vigorouſly oppos'd by the Elector of *Brandenburg*. Mean while, the *French* contributed not a little to put things in diſorder, by ſolliciting vigorouſly for the Town of *Philipsburg* its being given them, tho' the *Swediſh* Arms had reduc'd it with ſo much Difficulty. They engag'd the *Landgrave of Heſſe* on their ſide, and us'd all their efforts to depretiate the Chancellor's Authority, and embroil the Affairs of *Sweden*. Thus was the whole Summer waſted in fruitleſs Conteſts, till at laſt there happen'd a Battle at *Nordlingue*, by

Nothing done at the Aſſembly of Francfort.

The King of Hungary *made General of the* Imperial *Forces. And takes* Ratisbon.

which the Confederate Interest was entirely ruin'd in *Upper-Germany*. For the K. of *Hungary*, to signalize himself upon his Accession to the General's Post, laid Siege to *Ratisbon*, with a puissant Army. 'Tis true, D. *Bernard*, accompany'd by *Gustavus Horn*, endeavour'd to Succour that Place as he pass'd through *Bavaria*; but he arriv'd too late; because *Larsz Kagge*, the Governor of the Place, having made a valiant Defence, was at last oblig'd to Surrender upon Capitulation. Besides, these two Generals had the Mortification, to see their Army harrass'd with the Bad-ways; and there was a necessity of keeping their Troops in a Body, because the Enemy being Posted before *Nordlingue*, had receiv'd a Reinforcement of *Spanish* Troops, which coming from *Italy* to the *Netherlands*, had a mind to do the Emperor some Service as they pass'd along. The *Swedish* Army encamp'd near *Ropfinguen* in a very convenient Ground, having behind 'em the Country of *Wirtenburg* to supply 'em with Provisions. At the same time, the *Swedes* put some foot into the City within view of the Enemy; and 'tis probable they thought the *Spaniards* would march on to the *Netherlands*, after which they might hazard a Battle with the thus divided and weaken'd Enemy, tho' they should thereby lose the Town of *Nordingue*, which was not of so great importance. To which we may add, That the *Swedish*-Affairs stood not amiss in the other Countries: For in *Westphalia* the *Swedes* had master'd their Enemies; *Hildesheim* had surrender'd to D. *George*, after the Battle near *Sarsted*, in which he Defeated those that came to Relieve the Town; General *Arnheim* had likewise cut off 4000 *Imperialists* near *Lignitz*; *John Banier* having taken *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, had march'd to *Bohemia*, to oblige the Enemy to a Diversion. In fine, the *Rhingrave* had reduc'd *Brisack* and *Rhinfeld* to the last Extremity. In the mean time, *Gustavus Horn* was of the opinion that they should not put any thing to risque, without a pressing necessity; or at least, that they should wait the Arrival of *Cratz* and the *Rhindgrave*, who were already upon their march towards them with 5000 Men apiece. But the other Generals being eager for an Engage-

Engagement, resolv'd to approach to *Nordlinguen*, and Post themselves upon a Mountain, call'd *Arensberg*, from whence they might conveniently Succour the Besieged. In executing this Design, D. *Bernard* having the Command of the Van-Guard, Charg'd the *Imperial* Advanc'd-Guards, who were Posted upon that Mountain, and they retiring a great way with loss, oblig'd him to advance farther than he had formerly design'd: Tho' *Gustavus Horn* wish'd that the Duke had stood to the first Resolution of taking the Post of *Arensberg*; yet the other Generals branded his Prudence for Cowardice, and *Hofkirck* particularly spoke of it in a very petulant manner. This oblig'd *Gustavus Horn* to comply with the other Generals, to shew that it was not Cowardice or Fear that influenc'd him. Besides, he undertook to take possession of a Hill, where the *Spaniards* had in a hurry fortify'd themselves that very Night, and without which, they could not keep the Post they then had. From break of Day, till the Afternoon, *Gustavus Horn* us'd all his efforts to dislodge the Enemies; but observing that after a Bloody Engagement he could not force 'em from their advantageous Post, he resolv'd to return through the Valley, and possess himself of the other Mountain. And, indeed, in all appearance, he had compass'd his Design without great loss, if at the same time the Left-wing, Commanded by D. *Bernard*, had not been put to flight, which running away with a full Career, together with the Enemies that pursued, put the Infantry into disorder, insomuch that 6000 of the *Swedish* Foot fell upon the spot, a great many Prisoners were taken, among whom was *Gustavus Horn*, and the Enemy seiz'd upon 130 Colours, with all the Ammunition and Baggage. The Defeat of the Left-wing ought to be attributed to the *Polish* and *Hungarian* Cavalry, and the *Croats*, who by their inconsiderate forward way of Fighting, broke in upon their Ranks, and gave the Body of the *Imperial* Army an opportunity of falling in and routing them. However, most of the *Swedish* Horse escap'd, by reason that the *Rhindgrave* being but three Miles off with his Troops, march'd up and put a stop to the pursuit. The News of this Defeat gave a second

The Swedes Routed near Nordlingue.

ſhock to Chancellor *Oxenſtern*, who not very long before had receiv'd the like Alarm upon the Death of K. *Guſtavus*; for abating theſe two Accidents, no Care or Buſineſs was ever known to diſturb the Repoſe and Tranquillity of that Miniſter.

The Forlorn Condition of the Confederates.

After this, the League of *Heilbron* was in a manner upon its laſt Legs; for every one of the Confederates were overwhelm'd with Deſpair, and waited with impatience to know the Conqueror's Laws. They all cry'd out againſt the *Swedes* and Chancellor *Oxenſtern*, as being the Authors of their Misfortune; tho' formerly they cry'd 'em up to the Heavens, as being the Deliverers of the Oppreſſed. In effect, the Chancellor, who could not obtain a Glorious Peace, by reaſon of the Intrigues and Artifices of his Enemies and Allies, had in this juncture but very little hopes, conſidering the Haughtineſs of the *Imperialiſts*, who were puffed up with the advantage they had gain'd. However, to avoid the Infamy of ſuffering the Intereſt to drop on a ſudden, and lying altogether idle; Chancellor *Oxenſtern* reſolv'd to keep up the Intereſt as long as he could, and to endeavour to engage the *French* in the War, tho' formerly he had us'd all his efforts to keep their Hands clear of the Affairs of *Germany*. By this Reſolution he hop'd to obtain a more reaſonable Peace from the Emperor, or at leaſt, to have time to poſſeſs himſelf of the Coaſt of the *Baltick-Sea*, which he cover'd as much as poſſible, in order to preſerve it from an Invaſion. And 'twas for this reaſon, that he would not retire, as ſeveral adviſ'd him; for by that means he would have left all the *Upper-Germany* to the *Imperialiſts*, and in his Retreat he had certainly been purſu'd by the Enemy as far as the *Lower-Saxony*. Beſides, the Troops Commanded by D. *George*, *William Landgrave of Heſſe*, *John Banier*, and *Rhingrave*, were ſtill in good Condition, and had not been worſted. With theſe the Enemy might have been repuls'd, if the Confederates had been Unanimous. Add to all this, that in the Defeat of the *Swediſh* Army, the Horſe receiving but very little Damage, had Rally'd in the Neighbourhood of *Francfort* upon the *Meine*. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, Affairs were

in

in a very sorry Condition: For the Elector of *Saxony* did nothing, but on the contrary employ'd all his Diligence and Care in making a separate Peace at *Pyrmy*. The other Allies mov'd but very slowly, and so gave the Enemy an opportunity of penetrating to the Heart of *Germany*, and thus hindring the Allies to joyn one another. Those Members of the League that lay at a distance, were but little mov'd with Chancellor *Oxenstern*'s Remonstrances. The Troops that had escap'd from the Defeat, made a hearty outcry for Money, which could not be had any where. The *Imperial* Troops marching with all Expedition, pass'd the *Rhine* at *Mayence*, and encamping in the Neighbourhood of that place, quickly consum'd all the Provisions about it. In fine, things were come to that pass, that the only Remedy lay in the K. of *France*'s breast, whose Interest it was to lend his helping Hand, because if the *Swedes* should have been run down, the *Imperialists* would be sure to fall upon *France* with their whole Force. At last, to give Satisfaction to His Christian Majesty, *Philipsburg* was deliver'd into his Hands; and *Marshal de la Force* was sollicited to advance with his Army, in order to give the Routed *Swedish* Troops time to Rally, and put themselves in a posture of Defence. At the same time, an Embassy was sent to *France*, to sollicite the King to declare open War against the Emperor. Mean while, the *Rhingrave* had march'd towards *Strasburg*, and had enough to do to save himself in passing the Bridge; because the *Imperialists* having pass'd *Brisack*, had advanc'd a good way into *Alsace*; upon which, the *Rhingrave* finding no expedient for the Defence of so many places, was oblig'd to give up to the *French*, the whole Province, excepting *Benfeld*. By this means, all *Upper-Germany* was expos'd, and the County of *Wirtinburg* was over-run by the Enemies. The Chancellor indeed call'd an Assembly of the Confederates at *Worms*, where some of 'em met; but after all their Deliberation, they could think of no Expedient for their Relief. D. *Bernard* finding no Subsistence for his Troops on the other side of the *Rhine*, pass'd that River, and march'd through *Weteravia* to *Bergstraat*, where he halted till the

Philipsburg deliver'd to the French.

The Swede sollicits the K. of France to engage in the War.

The Confederates Assemble at Worms.

the end of the Year. In the mean while, the *Imperialists* took the Cities of *Schwienfurt*, *Wurtzburg*, *Winsheim*, and *Weissenburg*; and the Emperor Sequestrated the whole Country belonging to the Marquis of *Anspach*; in compensation of which, *Minden* was adjudg'd to D. *George*. 'Tis true, *John Banier* might have contributed much to retrieve the *Swedish* Affairs, since he had been all Summer at the Head of a powerful Army in *Bohemia*, and after the Defeat of *Nordlingue*, had march'd to *Thuringia*, in order to be in a readiness for Succouring the Confederates: But he thought it not proper to advance further, for fear the Enemy should take possession of that Country, and so cut off his Retreat to the *Baltick-Sea*, which by all means was to be prevented. 'Twas for this reason, that that General chose rather to keep the Posts he was possess'd of, and observe the Enemy, and in the mean time to Re-inforce his Army, since he could lay no stress on the Electors of *Saxony* or *Brandenburg*: For the first of these Princes had already concluded a separate Peace with the Emperor, which was to be confirm'd and ratify'd at *Pragh*. After which, he recall'd his Troops from the Emperor's Territories, and began to penetrate into the Country where General *Banier*'s Army was Canton'd. In this Juncture, the Archbishop of *Bremen* died, and D. *Frederick* the Son of *Christian* IV. K. of *Denmark*, made use of that opportunity to possess himself of that Archbishoprick, notwithstanding that the *Swedes* had rescu'd it from the hands of the Enemies, and still kept Garrison in *Stade* and *Buxtenhude*. Tho' *Sweden* was not then in a Condition to annoy *Denmark*, yet it was her duty to put on a good Countenance, and take care that another did not fish before her Net.

Saxony's separate League with the Emperor.

The King of Denmark *seizes the Archbishoprick of* Bremen.

Thus did the Affairs of *Sweden* fall into a terrible Confusion, after the Battle of *Nordlingue*: For this Defeat quite alter'd the complexion of Mens Minds; insomuch, that both the States of *Sweden*, and the Chancellor, desir'd nothing more than an Accommodation upon reasonable Terms. But this they could not bring about, by reason of the Pride and Arrogance of their Enemies. It had look'd scandalous

The progress of the Imperialists, *obliging the* Swedes *to ask a Peace*

lous, if *Sweden* had gone to beg a Peace, and ſo drop all their Conqueſts in *Germany* at one blow. So that the only expedient left, was to engage *France* in the War, and at the ſame time, to try if by vertue of the Elector of *Saxony's* Treaty, they could not come to an Accommodation with the Emperor. Accordingly, Chancellor *Oxenſtern* perceiving he could do nothing in *Upper-Germany*, went to *France*, and made a Treaty with the King, which after all was not obſerv'd. After that, he went by Sea to *Holland*, and from thence to the Confines of the *Elbe* in *Germany*, to be at hand, in caſe of a Negotiation; and at the ſame time, to take care of the Coaſts of the *Baltick-Sea*; beſides that, he had a mind to try if he could give Satisfaction to the Elector of *Saxony* touching the City of *Magdeburg*; and to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, with reference to *Pomeren*. In the mean time, the *Imperialiſts* were very Fortunate; for they not only ſurpriz'd *Philipsburg*, where the *French* had great Magazines, but took the City of *Spires*, by which means they got a firm footing on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. Beſides, the *Spaniards* maſter'd *Triers*, and took the Elector Priſoner, to the great diſhonour of the *French*, who had a Garriſon in that place. The City of *Ausburg* was conſtrain'd by Famine to Surrender upon very hard Terms: And the Caſtles of *Wurtzburg*, *Pappenheim*, and *Coburg*, fell into the Hands of the Enemies. The *Landgrave of Heſſe* was reduc'd to the laſt extremity; D. *Bernard's* Arms made no Progreſs; and the Elector of *Saxony* having pull'd off his Maſk, forſook the *Swedes*, and offer'd by force to poſſeſs himſelf of their Quarters in *Thuringia*, and retake from them, the Cities of *Halberſtadt* and *Magdeburg*. Upon this occaſion, *Sweden* was oblig'd to yield a great many Points to that Elector, to avoid the Troubles that would have incommoded her very much in that juncture. A great many were ſurpriz'd, to ſee the Elector of *Saxony* making Preparations for War, after the Concluſion of a Treaty with the Emperor. Now, that Prince could have no other view in this matter, than that of diſlodging the *Swedes* by open force, in caſe they would not be gone with good will. At the ſame time,

this

this Elector ſollicited the other Confederates to accommodate Matters with the Emperor. Among ſeveral others, the Elector of *Brandenburg* fore-ſeeing the pernicious conſequences that might enſue upon that Treaty, would not hear of it at firſt. But afterwards, the Elector of *Saxony* having promis'd that *Pomeren* ſhould be adjudg'd to him by the Treaty, over-perſwaded him. All this affected *Sweden* the more, becauſe the Truce they had made with *Poland*, was e'en almoſt expir'd; and they were oblig'd to ſend a puiſſant Army to *Pruſſia*, under the Command of *James de la Gardie*, to back and fortifie their Negotiation, or elſe to be in a poſture of Defence, in caſe of a Rupture. But the *Swedes* being unable to make Head againſt two ſuch formidable Enemies at once, and being at a loſs how to diſengage themſelves with Honour of their Concerns in *Germany*, were at laſt oblig'd to ſubmit to very hard Terms, and purchaſe a Peace of Twenty-ſix Years, by the ceſſion of *Pruſſia* to *Poland*; to which they were ſollicited, by the *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*. The deſign of the *French*, was to keep *Sweden* engag'd in the War of *Germany*; but *England* and *Holland* meant by that means to ſink the Duty that was laid upon their Goods in *Pruſſia*. After that, the *Swedes* were not ſo eager upon leaving *Germany*, and returning empty-handed. But the Elector of *Saxony*, who pretended to be Mediator, having engag'd to drive the *Swedes* out of the Empire, while the Emperor acted againſt *France*; Chancellor *Oxenſtern* went to *Magdeburg*, to be near the place of Negotiation, and to preſerve the Coaſts of the *Baltick-Sea*; for he ſaw that *Sweden* had loſt all in *Upper-Germany*, and when the *Imperialiſts* croſs'd the *Rhine* at *Spires*, D. *Bernard* had enough to do to eſcape upon the Frontiers of *France*. Add to all this, that the Cities of *Nurimberg*, *Ulm*, and *Memmigen* accepted of the Peace of *Prague*, which was then firſt publiſh'd, and by which the Proteſtants of *Germany* were ill us'd, and the Foreigners were entirely diſlodg'd of *Germany*. At *Magdeburg*, Chancellor *Oxenſtern* had great difficulties to encounter; for he could not depend upon any of the Confederates, and the Officers of General *Banier's* Army

Oxenſtern reſides at Magdeburg.

Army in the Neighbourhood of *Magdeburg* began to Mutiny, and there was no possibility of finding Money to appease 'em. On the other hand, the Elector of *Saxony* sent Deputies to demand of the Chancellor the restitution of the Archbishoprick of *Magdeburg*, which the Emperor, as he alledg'd, had given to his Son; and to desire him to retire gently with his Troops. By the same Deputies he offer'd him 2500000 *Misnia* Livres for a Recompence. But *Oxenstern* would not accept of any such Proposals. The Chancellor perceiving that the Elector had no regard to his Remonstrances, but was preparing to Attack the *Swedes*, resolv'd to put the *Swedes* into a posture of Defence; tho' after all, both he and General *Banier* were not so much afraid of the Elector of *Saxony*'s Arms, as of their own Officers, whom that Prince endeavour'd to debauch by Promises, and other Intrigues, insomuch that they had the presumption to enter into a Negotiation with him, and when he took one part after another, they made no resistance. But when the Chancellor observ'd that the Elector of *Saxony* having pass'd the *Elbe*, march'd gradually down that River, and plainly shew'd, that he design'd to cut off General *Banier*'s Passage towards the *Baltick*; he then thought it not safe for him to stay there any longer. Upon which view, he set out in the Night-time with all expedition for *Wismar*. Upon the Road, he made himself Master of *Donitz* with what Troops he had, there being no Garrison in that place. On the other hand, the *Imperialists* had already surpriz'd *Gartz*, and made an Irruption into *Lower-Pomeren*. General *Banier* perceiving that the Officers of the Army continu'd to Treat with the *Saxons*, who approach'd very near to him, march'd from *Magdeburg* to the Country of *Brunswick*, in order to baulk them, and to observe the *Saxon*-Troops at a distance, as well as ease and refresh his Men. That Elector being so troublesome and stiff, that 'twas impossible for the *Swedes* to Treat with him, without injuring their Reputation, even tho' they were willing to quit their just Rights: Upon this account, they took up a firm Resolution, rather to stay till they were dislodg'd by force of Arms, than to beg a Peace that would reflect

The Saxons prepare to Attack the Swedes.

reflect a Scandal upon their whole Nation. The Elector of *Saxony* poſſeſs'd himſelf of the lower part of the *Elbe* on both ſides, in order to diſpoſſeſs *Banier* of the Poſt he had upon that River. Upon this, General *Banier* was oblig'd to draw all his Forces together with all diligence, to prevent his Army's being enclos'd or routed by the *Saxons*. But all the difficulty was, how to be firſt Maſter of the Paſſage of the *Elbe*; and in effect, he prevented the Enemies, tho' they march'd fourteen *German* Leagues in two Days. General *Banier* arriving at *Altenburg*, Defeated the Advanc'd-Guards of the *Saxons*, before he paſs'd the River. But, at the ſame time, 7000 *Saxons* had paſs'd the *Elbe* near *Domitz*, in order to Maſter that place: Upon which, General *Rudwen* was Detach'd with moſt of the *Swediſh* Cavalry, and 1000 Foot, to Succour that City. The *Saxons* being deſtitute of Cavalry, the *Swediſh* Horſe fell upon 'em, cut moſt of 'em off, and took 2500 Priſoners, whom they forc'd to ſerve in the *Swediſh* Army. General *Baudis*, who Commanded the *Saxons*, eſcap'd narrowly. This Victory prov'd a conſiderable acceſſion to General *Banier*'s Reputation, and his Army's Courage. After this, the *Swedes* having Demoliſh'd *Lentzon*-Bridge, the *Saxons* were oblig'd to return as far as *Werben*, in order to repaſs the River. Thereupon *Banier* poſſeſs'd himſelf of an advantageous Poſt near *Malchin*, in order to wait the Arrival of ſome Troops from *Pruſſia*. The Country of *Mekelburg* being at that time the Seat of the War, D. *Adolphus Frederick* offer'd to be Mediator between the *Swedes* and the Elector of *Saxony*. Upon this view, he viſited, by turns, the Elector, and Chancellor *Oxenſtern*; and made 'em ſeveral Propoſals: But, after all, his Negotiation had no effect. On the other hand, Mr. *Chaumont*, Ambaſſador from *France*, us'd all his endeavours to retard the *Swedes* from coming to an Accommodation. At the ſame time, the *Swediſh* Army return'd to their wonted Obedience to their Generals, and receiv'd a conſiderable Reinforcement of Troops from *Pruſſia*. Proviſions being ſcarce in the *Swediſh* Camp, and General *Banier* deſigning to advance further towards the *Baltick*; he fell upon the *Saxons*, who had already

The Swedes obtain a Victory at Domitz.

The Duke of Mekelburg's *Mediation ineffectual.*

ready enter'd the Country of *Mekelburg*, and forc'd 'em to repass the *Haval* with all expedition. This gave *Banier* an opportunity of dispersing his Troops up and down the Country of *Marck*. This General would have attack'd *Berlin*, if the Elector's Troops had not encamp'd behind that place, near *Bernau*. The two Armies attempted no Expedition this whole Year; but in the latter end of it, the *Imperialists* master'd *Koninshgoren*, *Frankendal*, and *Mayence* in *Upper-Germany*.

A favourable turn to the Swedish Affairs.

In the beginning of the next Year, the *Swedes* retriev'd their former Condition; their War with *Poland* being then at an end, and the Saxon-Troops being much weaken'd. But, after all, *Sweden* had still many Difficulties to surmount. The Emperor had gain'd considerably, by engaging the Elector of *Saxony* to act against *Sweden*; for that by that means he had an opportunity of reducing all the *Upper-Germany*. Besides, the *Swedes* were forsaken by all their Confederates, excepting *William Landgrave of Hesse*; who, at the same time, was so enclos'd by his Enemies, that he could not make any motion. Farther, the *Dutch* would not imbark into the War of *Germany*; and far less would *England*: For the K. of *England* himself, notwithstanding his endeavours to adjust the Elector-Palatine's Affairs by several Embassy's, suffer'd himself at last to be overreach'd by the *Emperor*, and the K. of *Spain*. Add to all this, that the *French* would not declare openly against *Germany*, because they were oblig'd to bend their greatest Force against the *Netherlands* and *Italy*. 'Twas for this reason, that, pursuant to Chancellor *Oxenstern*'s advice, the States of *Sweden* would not ratifie the Treaty that Minister had made with *France*, but always made use of delays, hoping to accommodate Matters with His *Imperial* Majesty. But the D. of *Mekelburg*'s Offices of Mediation prov'd successless; the Chancellor of *Sweden*, to terrifie his *Enemies*, and bring 'em to reasonable Terms, made a provisional Treaty with Mr. *Chaumont* the *French* Ambassador; by which, the two Allies pretended to adhere to a mutual Resolution, of giving no ear to any Accommodation with their *Enemies*, after the beginning of *August* next. By this means the

A Provisional Treaty between Sweden & France.

Swedes

Swedes gain'd time to obſerve the ſucceſs of the War, or of the Negotiation of Peace. Thereupon 'twas reſolv'd, That General *Banier* ſhould Command the Body of the Army upon the *Elbe*; that *Vrangel* ſhould Command a Detachment upon the *Oder*; and that *Alexander Lesly* ſhould act in *Weſtphalia*, upon the *Weſer*. However, the State of the War was quite alter'd; not only becauſe thoſe who had been hitherto the Allies of *Sweden*, were now its Enemies; but becauſe the former foundation of the War depended abſolutely upon the League that the *Swedes* had made with the Proteſtants of *Germany*. Now this had always been the occaſion of ſeveral Difficulties, ſince no Action of moment could be undertaken, without a great many Diſputes and Conteſts, every one of the Confederates ſtriving to eaſe their Country of the Burthen and Inconvenience of the War, and all of 'em Voting for different marches, purſuant to their various Intereſts: Whereas, in the preſent State of the War, the *Swedes* were at liberty to turn their Arms where they pleas'd. 'Tis true, their Force was not ſo great as formerly; but then they had the advantage of acting more in concert. And 'twas upon this view, that they did not court any longer the Alliance of the Proteſtant States of the Empire; for according to the Meaſures of War, they might uſe the more liberty in what Countries they poſſeſs'd. To this we muſt add, That *Sweden* kept up a good underſtanding between the Houſe of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and ſome other *German* States, in order to retain the *German*-Soldiers in their Service, and not to diſcourage them, in fancying that *Sweden* had an eye upon the whole Empire in general. 'Tis true, Orders were given to General *Banier*, to give good Words to all the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, excepting the Elector of *Saxony*; but at the ſame time he was allow'd to make his Troops ſubſiſt upon their Territories, according as he thought fit, and purſuant to the Neceſſities of the War. *Banier* obſerving that the Elector of *Saxony* advanc'd gradually towards *Pomeren*, and meant to draw him thither, where his Troops might Dye for Want, reſolv'd to fruſtrate his Deſigns by a Stratagem, it being improper, at that time, to run the

A new ſtate of the War.

Riſque

Risque of a Battle. Accordingly he began to march, making his Infantry pass the *Elbe* near *Werben*, and ordering the Cavalry to repair with all diligence to to *Magdeburg* on this side of the same River, and to secure the Bridge, in order to re-join the Foot. The *Swedes* met some *Saxon* Troops upon their march, and Defeated 'em; and General *Banier* went and posted himself near *Hall*. In the mean time, the *Saxons* having advice of *Banier*'s Designs, discontinued their march to *Pomeren*, and return'd with the utmost expedition to the Country of *Wirtenberg*, in order to Attack the *Swedes* near *Hall*. The two Armies continu'd some time in sight of one another; being Posted, the one on one side, and the other on the other side of the *Sala*. The *Saxon*-Troops attempted to pass the River, in order to Attack the *Swedes*, but were several times repulsed with loss.

General *Banier* leaving the River *Sala*, marched to *Arscherssleben*, in order to rest and refresh his Troops; and on the other hand, the *Saxons* went into Winter Quarters, expecting the *Imperialists* commanded by *Hatsfield*, who had been roughly handled by the *Swedish* Parties. And besides several other Losses of the Elector of *Saxony*, General *Banier* Routed Twelve Regiments of his Men near *Petersberg*. But when the *Saxons*, Reinforc'd by *Hatsfeild*, intended to Attack *Banier*, that General repass'd the *Elbe* with all diligence; and pretending a design of Besieging the City of *Wirtemburg*, he obliged the Elector of *Saxony*'s Army to return thither; for the *Saxons* with all their Forces having pass'd the *Elbe*, *Banier* immediately returns over the same River to *Magdeburg*; yet notice having been given him, that *Manozine* was marching with some Troops towards *Pomeren*, he resolv'd upon moving down the *Elbe*, to observe them; letting the *Saxons* tire themselves out before *Magdeburg*, which was then well enough furnish'd with Necessaries. The *Swedes* in the mean time were not backward in other places; for General *Kniphuisen* Defeated the *Imperialists* near *Haselemen* in *Westphalia*, in a very obstinate Battle, cutting off above 1000 of their Men on the spot, tho' he he was Kill'd in this Encounter; after which, his

Banier Routs 12 Saxon Regiments.

Kniphuisen defeats the Imperialists, but is slain.

Forces were oblig'd to retire, and repaſs the *Weſer*. But *Alexander Leſly* having Recruited them with ſome Troops he had brought out of *Pomeren*, put himſelf in a good Poſture; and having gathered all the diſpers'd Regiments, repaſs'd the *Weſer*, and became Maſter of *Minden*, the Garriſon whereof had till then been ſubject to *George* D. of *Lunenburg*, adding to his Army the *Swediſh*, which were before in the Service of that Prince.

Alex. Leſly *comes into* Weſtphalia.

The Affairs of *Sweden* carrying thus a good Face in *Weſtphalia*, *William Landgrave of Heſſe* reſolv'd to take the Field, and joyn the *Swedes*, and Relieve the City of *Hanaw*, which *Lamboi* had ſo ſtreightly Block'd up, that there was no entrance into it. The Enterprize ſucceeded, for they compell'd the *Imperialiſts* to retreat with much loſs; after which, *Leſly* returned towards the *Weſer*. General *Gallas*, on the other ſide, came in great Confuſion from *Lorrain*, having loſt two thirds of his Army; beſides that, Cardinal *La Vallete* and Duke *Bernard* were come from *France* with Money, to ſet upon him in *Alſace*.

Hanaw *reliev'd.*

But in the mean time, the *Swediſh* Affairs in *Saxony* went backward; ſince, contrary to the Sentiments of the whole World, the City of *Magdeburg* Surrender'd to the Elector, the Officers of that Place having needleſly ſpent all their Powder with diverting *Banier*'s Deſign, of aſſiſting the Beſieged; and that General (finding himſelf too weak to ſtand againſt his Enemies, and perceiving that *Wrangel* had employment enough againſt *Marozin* in *Pomeren*) recall'd *Leſly* from *Weſtphalia*; and, that he might joyn him with greater ſafety, he departed from *Werlin* towards the Country of *Lunenburg*, where he took the City of that Name, and put Garriſons in *Kalckberg* and *Winſen* on the *Elbe*, intending afterwards to march towards *Miſnia*, and Attack *Weſt-Saxony*, and was already got as far as *Saltzwedes*; but upon notice that the Elector on the other ſide of the *Elbe*, had taken *Havelberg*, the Fort of *Werben*, *Ravenau*, and the City of *Brandenburg*, he bent his march towards *Donitz*, to hinder the Enemy from carrying that Place alſo. However, the *Saxons* making their way towards the Country of *Mecklenburg*,

and

and incamping with a powerful Army near *Perleburg*, General *Banier* alſo paſs'd the *Elbe*, and Poſted himſelf near *Parchini* in expectation of *Wrangel*, who was coming from *Pomeren* to joyn him: The Elector's Troops on the other ſide, had poſſeſſed themſelves of a very advantageous Poſt near *Perleburg*, believing they might Ruine the *Swediſh* Army, and invade at the ſame time the Dutchy of *Slinburg* and *Pomeren*. In ſhort, the *Saxons* intended to reduce the *Swedes* and their Garriſons by Famine, and being recruited by the *Imperial* Troops, and thoſe of *Lunenburg*, thought they could overpower *Bernier's* Army with their great Numbers, if he ſhould attempt to break in upon them.

But the General having received the Recruits which *Wrangel* brought him from *Pomeren*, his Army then conſiſting of 9000 Horſe, and 7000 Foot, he reſolv'd to attack the Enemy, before they had augmented their Forces; believing it more proper to hazard a Battle, than to be ſtill, and be ſtarved: So, taking his way towards *Perleburg*, he beat back four Regiments of *Cuiraſiers* towards the *Saxon* Army, with the loſs of 400 Men; and tho' the Enemy had 13000 Foot, and 15000 Horſe, they would not quit the advantageous Poſt they were poſſeſſed of; wherefore General *Banier* endeavour'd to draw them out of their Camp, by ſtopping the paſſage of the *Elbe*, and on this account Attack'd *Havelburg*, and the Fort of *Werben*. The Enemies at length left their Camp before *Parleburg* to call back a Detachment of 3500 Men, whom they had ſent under *Klitzing*'s Command, to ſeize old *Brandenburg*. But *Banier* thereupon immediately advancing againſt 'em, ſtrove to Poſt himſelf upon a riſing Ground, near *Witzſtok*, and march'd with all expedition, in order to ſet upon them, before they could joyn *Klitzing*; and by reaſon that the *Saxons* had before them a Wood, with ſome Holds, and Pieces of Artillery, he caus'd the Left-wing of his Army to march along the Wood, and Charge them in the Flank, and Wheeled off himſelf with the other Wing towards the Right, to draw the Enemies from a Poſt ſo advantageous. After which, the *Saxons* pouring upon him, with all their Forces, began a furious Fight;

Banier *Engages, and Routs the* Saxons.

ſo that the *Swediſh* Regiments having Rally'd ten times, one part of them began to fly; the blame whereof may, in truth, be laid on *Witzdom*, who came up too ſlowly with the Troops under his Command; but nevertheleſs, as ſoon as he came, and the Left-wing of the *Swediſh* Army had Charg'd the Enemies on the other ſide, they were preſently put to the Rout. Then did the *Swedes* make ſuch miſerable ſlaughter, that 5000 of the Enemies fell on the place, beſides ſuch as were kill'd in the purſuit; and General *Banier* won in this Battle, 150 Standards and Colours; and loſt on his ſide no more than 1100 Men, not including the Wounded, who amounted, in all, to above 3000. The next day, the *Swedes* took 2000 Priſoners, and cut many of them in pieces. In fine, ſuch a Victory obtained over an Enemy, conſiderably ſtronger in number of Men, and ſo advantageouſly poſted, rais'd the thoughts of all *Europe*; ſo that the Arms of *Sweden* regain'd their primitive Glory, and the States of *High-Germany* conceiv'd freſh hopes of ſetling their Affairs. To which may be added, That *France* and *Holland* greatly rejoyc'd at the News of the happy ſucceſs of *Sweden*; and that all the Deſigns which the King of *Denmark* had form'd againſt them, with the Aſſiſtance of the D. of *Lunenburg*, were vaniſh'd in ſmoak.

After that General *Banier* had gain'd this advantage over the Saxons, paſſing the River *Elbe*, near *Werben*, he entred *Thuringia*, and drove the *Imperialiſts* through *Heſſe*, as far as *Weſtphalia*; and afterwards turning back, he made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Erford*, and then took good Winter-Quarters for his Troops, in *Thuringia*, *Miſnia*, and the Neighbouring Provinces. Thus the Emperor's Matters run backwards, after he had ſuppos'd, that the Saxons would not only drive the *Swedes* from *Germany*, but give a dangerous blow to *France*, when *Gallas*, with a formidable Army, made an Irruption into *Burgundy*. But, indeed, this General gain'd nothing by that Expedition, but the Deſtruction of a multitude of his Men, by the Swords of his Enemies, as well as by Plague and Famine, and perceiv'd himſelf compell'd to regain the *Rhine*. In the

the mean time, the *French* having contented themſelves with repulſing the *Imperialiſts* from their Frontiers, without purſuing them in good earneſt, the *Swedes* obſerving their management, would not ratifie the Articles of the Treaty, which they had made with them.

The Tranſactions between Sweden and Germany, in the Year 1637.

The *Swedes* finding there was no way to procure Peace with their Enemies, unleſs they compell'd them to it by force of Arms, order'd *Banier* to do his utmoſt, to diſarm the Princes of *Lunenburg*, and the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenbarg*; that he might afterwards carry the War into the Hereditary Dominions of the Emperor; and the *Imperialiſts*, on the other hand, joyn'd all their Force in a Body, to pour them in upon the *Swedes*, and cut them off at one blow; after which, they doubted not to reduce the *French* with much eaſe.

Thus was General *Banier* conſtrain'd, in the following Year, to ſtand on his guard, and prepare for a vigorous Reſiſtance; wherefore, without remaining too long in Winter-Quarters, at the beginning of the Spring, he Routed eight *Saxon* Regiments near *Eulenburg*, purſuing them to *Torgaw*, where he forc'd them to Surrender; releaſing all the Officers, but taking the Soldiers amongſt his Troops; on the other ſide, *Pfulil* us'd the Enemy very ill in the Country of *Henneberg*. After that, General *Banier* reſolv'd to lay Siege to *Leipſick*, but could not effect it, by reaſon that *Hatsfeld* and *Gotz*, the Emperor's Generals, came from *Weſtphalia* into *Thuringia*, which made *Banier* draw his Troops together, and endeavour to put a ſtop to the *Imperialiſts*, at the paſſage of the River of *Unſtrut*, and that of *Sala*. But the Enemy having paſſed, the General was forc'd to return to *Eulenburg*, having firſt Defeated 2000 of them near *Pegaw*, and beaten ſeveral Parties, which he met in his way. *Banier* obſerving that the Enemy advanc'd more and more, he haſted to his Army near *Torgaw*, where his Camp was well fortify'd, and caus'd the greateſt part of his Horſe to paſs the *Elbe*, for the better Subſiſtence of his Troops. Then found he himſelf in a bad Condition, becauſe the *Imperialiſts*, unwilling to hazard a Battle, gather'd together all the Troops diſpers'd

in *Germany*, in order to over-power the *Swedes* by their Numbers.

In the mean time, *Banier* thought it not adviseable to go into the Countries of *Marck*, or *Pomeren*, because he should soon be in want of Provisions for his Forces; and also, would be at too great distance from *Westphalia*. For which reason, he resolv'd to remain encamp'd near *Torgaw*, and endeavour to get *Wrangel* to joyn him from *Pomeren*, before all his Enemy's Force should be ready to attack him; after which, he would willingly hazard a Battle. The General sent some Regiments which were not compleat, into *Westphalia* for Recruits, and to cause a diversion to the Enemy. But tho' the *Swedish* Parties did very much harrass the *Imperialists* about *Torgaw*, yet did they not stir far. To which may be added, That they were unable to hold out for any long time, because *William Landgrave of Hesse* durst not move, and the *French* who were to act on the *Rhine*, made no progress; so that General *Banier* was forc'd to bear the whole Brunt. The Enemies intended to hem him in on all sides, and to suppress him at once. He might indeed have gone into *High-Germany*, and joyn'd D. *Bernard*, but the Regents of *Sweden*, had, of all things, order'd him to be careful of the *Baltick-Sea*, lest *Wrangel*, with the Recruits he brought out of *Sweden*, should not be able to preserve it. Besides, the Enemies in such case, might have been able to shut him up in some place; whence he could not easily have disingag'd himself. Wherefore he concluded to get away in time, into *Pomeren*; and to that end, departing from *Torgaw* in precipitation, he left as much of his Baggage, as the Army could spare. As soon as he was Decamp'd, the Enemies pursued him towards the Left, to have prevented him; and detach'd some light Horse, to Charge him in the Rear; but they were vigorously repuls'd, with considerable loss.

Thus General *Banier*, without any loss, pass'd the *Oder* to *Furstemberg*, with his Artillery, and made his way towards *Landsperg*; but being come thither, he was Advertised, That the *Imperialists* had already out-gone him, by passing a Bridge near

Custrin,

Cuſtrim, and that they were incamped on the other ſide of the River *Warta*; ſo that, having cut off his paſſage that way, he was oblig'd to take a ſudden Reſolution, and therefore pretends to take the way of *Poland*, to make the Enemy march thitherward, but in the Night returns towards the *Oder*, which he paſs'd about a League above *Cuſtrim*, and got to *Stetin* without loſs, and without giving the leaſt ſuſpicion to the *Imperialiſts*, who ſuppos'd they had him in their power; which made them repaſs the *Oder*, and march towards *Upper-Pomeren*, which *Wrangel* had undertook to defend; and *Banier*, on the other hand, retir'd into *Lower-Pomeren*, the two Generals being reſolv'd to hinder the Enemy from Invading that Country. The *Imperialiſts* at firſt, were for entring it by the way of *Anclain*, but that Deſign failing them, they went to *Ribenitz*, where the *Swedes* had already ſtopp'd their paſſage. General *Banier* believ'd, that by making an In-road into *Newmark* and *Sileſia*, he ſhould oblige the Enemies to withdraw from the Coaſts of the *Baltick*; and did ſo far ſucceed, as to compel *Gallas*, with the *Imperial* Army, to quit *Pomeren*, and retire to *Marck*; whereupon, *Wrangel* ſuppoſing he had nothing to fear, took the way of *Gripſwald*; but a Gentleman of *Pomeren*, nam'd *Kuſſon*, brought General *Gallas* back again, promiſing to ſhew him a way near *Tribleſz*, to enter *Pomeren*; which he perform'd. As ſoon as the *Imperialiſts* had this way got an Entrance, they terrify'd and diſorder'd the *Swedes*, and over-run all the flat Country, in ſuch a manner, that the *Swediſh* Affairs were in a very bad Condition; for the Enemies had made themſelves Maſters of the *Iſle of Uſedom*, and taken *Wolgaſt* by Aſſault, and *Demmin* Surrender'd on Articles; yet notwithſtanding their Progreſs, *Banier* ſtopp'd them from entring *Lower-Pomeren*; and Winter drawing on, *Gallas* quitted *Upper-Pomeren*, after having made exceſſive Spoil there, and almoſt intirely ruin'd it. And having put Garriſons into *Wolgaſt*, *Demmin*, *Loitz*, and *Nukermonde*, he went to Winter-Quarters, in the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, and *Lower-Saxony*.

The Imperialiſts *Ravage* Pomeren.

Thus were the *Swedes* this Year inclos'd, and moreover, loſt all the Places they had on the *Hovel*, with *Domitz*, *Lunenburg*, and *Winſen*. In the mean time, the Landgrave *William* took *East-Friezland*, where he died. But, on the other hand, D. *George* openly declar'd for the Enemy: Whereto we may add, That the *Swedes* had much trouble in holding *Erfort*. True it is, D. *Bernard* had paſs'd the *Rhine*; but becauſe the *French* did not aſſiſt him as they ought, he was oblig'd to repaſs it: So that, the *Imperialiſts* re-took the Forts, which the *Swedes* had on the *Rhine*, to the great diſhonour of *France*. And *Bogiſlaus* XIV. Duke of *Pomeren* Dying, the *Swedes* had a World of trouble, to hinder the Elector of *Brandenburg* from taking poſſeſſion of that Country, which, indeed, belong'd to him of Right. Many offer'd their Mediation, for Concluding a Peace; but it being at preſent very unſeaſonable, the *Swedes* began, by degrees, to Treat about an Alliance with *France*; that being thereby render'd more Powerful, their Enemies might the more readily be brought to an Accommodation. In fine, after long deliberation, perceiving the Emperor had no inclination to Peace, and that there was no ſecurity in ſeparate Treaties, there was an Alliance Concluded with *France* for three Years.

The Land-grave of Heſſe Dies.

This Winter, and the Spring following, General *Banier* was oblig'd to lie quiet, waiting for Recruits, which he was to have out of *Sweden*; and in the interim, the *Imperialiſts* ſurpriz'd *Gartz*. But their Army was in ſuch want of Neceſſaries, that of Six-ſcore Regiments, which they pretended was their Number, it was reduc'd to 11000 Horſe, and 4000 Foot. When *Banier* had receiv'd the Reinforcements he expected, (whereof, notwithſtanding he put the greateſt part into Garriſons, keeping none but old Soldiers in the Field) he firſt Attack'd *Gartz*, which he carry'd by Aſſault; after which, entring *Upper-Pomeren*, he regain'd the Paſſages of *Loitz*, *Tribleſz*, and *Damgarten*; and being got into the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, he ſo mawl'd the *Imperialiſts*, that General *Gallas* was oblig'd to retire, with the loſs of above 3000 Men; and the *Swedes* did further ſo harraſs him, in ſeveral places, that he was forc'd

The Event of the War in Germany, 1638.

forc'd to paſs the *Elbe* near *Werben*, with his Army in great Diſorder, to refreſh himſelf in the Emperor's Hereditary Countries. In the beginning of the following Year, General *Banier* paſs'd the *Elbe*, to purſue *Gallas*. And in the ſame Year, *Charles Lewis*, Elector-Palatine, had a deſire to take his ſide, endeavouring to Re-eſtabliſh himſelf in his own Country; and having rais'd ſeveral Regiments in the *Low-Countries*, he gain'd the City of *Meppen* by Treaty; where he intended to lay up his Stores; but that place was ſurpriz'd by the *Imperialiſts*, for want of a Garriſon. After which, joyning the *Swediſh* Forces in *Weſtphalia*, he was beaten by *Hatsfeld*, near *Flota*, inſomuch, that with great difficulty he ſav'd himſelf by paſſing the *Weſer*, and Prince *Robert*, his Brother, was taken Priſoner by the Enemy. The *Imperialiſts* afterwards grew more Powerful in *Weſtphalia*, and took *Veit*, by reaſon that the Houſe of *Lunenburg* loſt their Time in fruitleſs Negotiations; and the *Swedes* beſides, loſt the City of *Hanaw*, the only Place they had left in *High-Germany*.

But on the other ſide, D. *Bernard*, the ſame Year, put his Troops on a very good Foot, having ſo Reinforc'd them in the Canton of *Baſil*, the *Franche Compte*, and the Neighbouring Countries, that he was in a Condition to enter upon Action, without the Aſſiſtance of the *French*; as, indeed, he ſtrove to ſubſiſt of himſelf, without the Aid of any one. To this purpoſe, he betook himſelf to the *Rhine* with ſpeed, and having took *Laufenburg*, and *Seckingen*, he Beſieg'd *Rhinfelden*. The *Imperialiſts* being on their march to Relieve that Place, with the Bavarian-Forces, Duke *Bernard* gave them Battle near *Bucken*, with near an equal Loſs on both ſides, yet could he not hinder the Enemy from putting a great Number of Men into the Place; ſo that, he was conſtrain'd to raiſe the Siege, but came three days after and Attack'd the *Imperialiſts*, compelling them to quit the Field. It is remarkable, that in this Battle, ſcarce one Officer of Note in the *Imperial* Army was ſaved, but many ſtaid on the Place, who were moſt of them taken Priſoners; amongſt whom were *Savelli*, and the famous Partyman

man, *John de Weerd*. After this, *Rhinfelden* Surrender'd to the Duke, as did *Reutelen*, and *Friburg* in *Brisgaw*; whereupon *Wilderholt*, Commander in *Hohentwiel*, was in a Condition to preserve that Place in the Interest of *Sweden*: But the Duke of *Wirtemburg*, had by a Treaty, engag'd himself to deliver it to the Emperor. Afterwards, D. *Bernard* march'd towards *Brisack*, with a design to Starve them out; as on the other hand, the *Imperialists* did all they could to Relieve it. The Famine increased the more, by reason that the Governor, out of Avarice, had Sold a good quantity of Corn; and some Rogues had fired a Cask of Powder, and blown up the Magazine, with store of Ammunition. When *John Gotz* came with an Army, and a thousand Load of Provisions to its Relief, he Engag'd him in a Bloody Battle near *Witteweier*, where the *Imperialists* met with such a Defeat, that of 12000 Men, which *Gotz* brought with him, he could scarce Rally 2500. But tho' *Brisack* was straitly Block'd up on both sides of the *Rhine*, yet the Enemies did not forbear attempting to Relieve it. The Duke of *Lorrain* march'd with 3500 chosen Men, to joyn the other Troops, that were incamped near *Swartewood*; but D. *Bernard* marching to Attack him near *Than*, so Routed his Troops, that he sav'd but a few Hundred of them, which were all afterwards cut in pieces near *Ensisheim*. On the other side, endeavours were used to force the Works, which the *Swedes* had made before *Brisack*, and to throw in Provisions; but they were repuls'd with much loss. Whereupon, that Place, having for a long time endur'd a grievous Famine, was oblig'd to Surrender to Duke *Bernard*, who resolv'd hereby to make his Fortunes. After that General had put the Place in good order, he sent his Troops into Winter-Quarters; which, after a Campaign of Eleven Months, many Toils and Fatigues, and several Sieges and Battles, were yet Stronger by 6000, than when they took the Field.

D. Bernard *Defeats the* Imperialists.

Brisac *Surrendred to* D. Bernard.

What past in Sweden *and* Germany, 1639.

After the *Imperialists* were entirely Defeated, as well on the *Rhine*, as in the Country of *Mecklemburg*; the two Victorious Generals, to wit, Duke *Bernard*, and *John Banier*, unanimously resolv'd to Invade

Invade the Emperor's Hereditary-Countries, thereby to bring him to ſeek for Peace. *Banier*, for his part, did all he was able; for, a little after the New-Year, paſſing the *Elbe* near *Lawenburg*, he entred the Countries of *Anhalt* and *Halberſtadt*, where he left his Infantry with his Artillery, advancing farther with the Horſe, to drive the Enemies from the Quarters they poſſeſs'd; which, indeed, ſucceeded ſo well, that having between *Oelintz* and *Reichenberg* met with *Salis*, Grand Maſter of the Emperor's Artillery, when he was endeavouring to ſave himſelf in *Bohemia*, he cut in pieces ſeven Regiments, which he Commanded. Furthermore, the *Swedes* Defeated near *Dreſden*, four Regiments of *Saxon*-Troops, and the others retir'd under the Cannon of the City. Afterwards, *Banier* undertook the Siege of *Friburg*, but ſoon quitted it, upon Advice, That *Hatsfeld* was on his march from *Weſtphalia*, to its Relief; and for the ſame reaſon he retir'd to *Zeitz*, to wait for his Infantry; and having learnt, that the *Imperialiſts* and *Saxons* were incamp'd between *Zwickow* and *Chemnitz*, in expectation of *Hatsfeld*, who was to joyn them; he, to prevent their meeting, fell on the former near *Chemnitz*; where, after a vigorous Engagement on both ſides, he ſo put them to the Rout, that but a very ſmall Number were ſav'd. After this, without ſtopping at *Friburg* or *Dreſden*, he proceeded to take *Pernaw*; and Invading *Bohemia*, he ſeiz'd great part thereof, and paſſed the *Elbe* to *Branderiz*, where *Hofkirk* then was with ten Regiments of Horſe, and ſome Foot. After a ſhort Engagement, *Banier* put him to flight, cut in pieces two thouſand of his Men, and purſued the reſt, till they got under the Cannon of *Prague*; and in this Encounter, took *Hofkirk* and *Montecuculi* Priſoners. *Banier* afterwards repaſs'd the *Elbe*, to draw the War, by little and little, into *Sileſia* and *Moravia*, but had not the ſucceſs he at firſt hop'd for; for the Enemies Troops encreaſing daily, *Banier* could not diſperſe the Forces in *Bohemia*, as he would have deſir'd; beſides, he had much trouble to defend his Poſſeſſions on the other ſide of the *Elbe*, becauſe that River being ſhallow, was eaſily paſſable on Horſe-

back.

back. On the other hand, the *Imperialists* hindred *Banier* from advancing very far into *Silesia*. To which may be added, That *Banier* rely'd much upon the Exiles of *Bohemia* and *Austria*, as well as the Malecontents, whose Churches had been taken from them; but when it came to the upshot, not a Person stirr'd; and for these reasons, he could not hold against the *Imperialists* in *Bohemia*; or at least, could get no place of Security. Yet was he not backward in doing all he was able; for he Routed near *Glatz*, 1500 of the Enemy, and drove the *Saxons* three times from before *Pernaw*, with loss; tho' he nevertheless did afterwards quit that Place, because it was nor worth his while to be at the trouble of defending it. Afterwards, when *Hatsfeld* was enter'd into *Misnia*, with a design to remove the *Swedish* Garrisons from *Zwickow* and *Clemintz*, General *Banier* made an attempt upon the *Imperial* Army, which lay incamped before *Prague*, and dealt very roughly with the *Hungarian*-Horse, who were further repuls'd, with considerable loss, when they set upon the Forragers of the *Swedish* Army. Besides, he Defeated, near *Satz*, two Regiments of *Saxons*, of whom about 600 had, by the Treachery of the Inhabitants, driven the *Swedish* Garrison out of the Castle; but the *Swedes* having receiv'd Assistance, compell'd all the *Saxons* to Surrender at Discretion.

In the mean time, the *Imperial* Army Commanded by *Picolomini*, was much encreas'd in the *Low-Countries*; and the Arch-Duke *Leopold William*, who Commanded all the Emperor's Forces, in quality of *Generalissimo*, got together as many as he could, that he might, if possible, compel the *Swedes* to give Ground. Thus *Banier*, in the following Year, perceiv'd himself more dangerously threaten'd than before, because there was none that could oblige the Enemy to a Diversion, who had no Thoughts of seeking the *French* on the *Rhine*. However, the *Swedes* became Masters of *Demmin* in *Pomeren*, and took *Landsperg* and *Driesen* in the Country of *Marck*; *Stalhanch* likewise, whom *Banier* had sent into *Silesia*, reduc'd many Places, and began by little and little to get Ground. Furthermore, the *Swedes* began

gan to revive in *Weſtphalia*, after the Command of the Troops there, was given to *Koningſmark*; for that General having Plunder'd the Countries of *Eicksfeld* and *Franken*, put them under Contribution: But his hopes of Supplies from D. *Bernard* were fruſtrated, by the unexpected Death of that Prince. That Prince had taken ſeveral Places in *Burgundy*, where he had given good Quarters to his Men, and reſolv'd to make ſmart Work with his Forces along the *Danube*, and in *Bavaria*. He had likewiſe Written to *Banier*, who was in a Condition to defend himſelf vigorouſly for two Months, after which time, he had promis'd to Relieve him. But *Briſack*, where he had before gain'd ſo much Glory and Reputation, prov'd at length the occaſion of his Death. The *French* had a grievous itching at ſo delicious a Morſel, but D. *Bernard* was willing to keep it to himſelf; and all their fine Words proving ineffectual to obtain their deſign, they prepar'd for him a miſchievous *Soop*, whereof he died at *Newburg* on the *Rhine*, while he was on his march to Invade *Bavaria*. His Troops, indeed, belong'd to *Sweden*, being firſt rais'd under that Name; and having taken Oaths to that Crown, it is certain, they never were Disbanded; and if the King of *France* advanced any Aids to D. *Bernard*, that Prince, in requital, did him conſiderable Service. But there were two Rivals, who made equal Pretences to the Command of the Army, and poſſeſſion of Places; to wit, the King of *France*, and the *Elector-Palatine*; That Elector thereby hoping to recover his Country. To which purpoſe, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Duke's Army, to hold a Treaty, reſolving at his departure from *England*, to take his way through *France*, into *Germany*. But the poor Prince being arriv'd at *Moulins*, was taken Priſoner, and carry'd to *Bois de Vincennes*, under pretence, that a Perſon of his high Quality, ought not to Travel through His Majeſty's Dominions, without having given him notice before. During theſe Tranſactions, the *French* gain'd their Ends, with Money and fair Promiſes, having already, in particular, brought over *Erlack*, the Chief Officer in the Duke's Army, in ſuch a manner, that they had the diſpoſal both of his Men,

D. Bernard Treacherouſly Poyſon'd by the French.

and

and the Places that Prince had Conquer'd; wherein they play'd the *Swedes* a foul Trick, who would have been in a much better Condition, could they have kept *Briſack* and *Alſace*, to the end of the War. But when the *French* were Maſters of *Briſack*, they ſoon forgot the fine Promiſes they had made to the Duke's Army, ſince call'd, The Army of *Weimar*; nay, they ſtrove to reduce them to Neceſſities, which at laſt they brought about, to hinder their becoming too Formidable to them, as well as their Enemies. And as throughout the whole War, *France* ever had ſecret Correſpondencies with the Duke of *Bavaria*; ſo did they likewiſe hinder that Army from putting in execution, the Deſign D. *Bernard* had laid, of Invading the Lands of that Prince. And this gave occaſion to the *Imperialiſts*, to fall on the *Swedes* with all their Force, and regain many Places in *Bohemia*, in the beginning of the Year.

The Tranſactions of the Swediſh and Imperial Armies, 1640.

When the Forrages came to be appointed in *Bohemia*, and General *Banier* found himſelf oblig'd to change his meaſures, he might, indeed, have advanc'd as far as the *Danube*; but on mature deliberation, he thought it beſt to take the way of *Miſnia*, that he might have near him the Army of *Weimar*, and the Troops of *Heſſe* and *Newburg*; eſpecially, becauſe he did not ſtand well with the latter. It's true, D. *George* had made it appear, that he was diſcontented with the Emperor, who had been againſt him in the buſineſs of *Hilderſheim*; and that moreover, he would not any way obſerve his Pleaſure; ſince in the fore-going Year, he had not diſputed with *Banier*'s paſſing the *Elbe*: And as that Duke had not openly declar'd againſt *Sweden*, *Banier*, to engage him abſolutely on his ſide, thought fit to move towards his Country. In the mean time, before they left *Bohemia*, Colonel *Erick Slangé* cut in pieces 3000 *Croats* near *Kitſch*; and General *Koningſmarck*, in his return from *Weſtphalia*, beat the *Imperialiſts* near *Geraw* and *Schmolen*; and a third time, near *Leipſick*. Afterwards, *Banier* ſpread his Troops in *Miſnia* along the *Mulda*; but he ſent *Wittenburg* with nine Regiments, diſpoſing every thing ſo as to draw the other Armies to him; eſpe-

cially,

cially, because of General *Picolimini*, who had Invaded the same Country, and drove *Wittenburg* from thence with loss. In fine, by his Diligence, he brought it about, that the Army of *Weimar*, under the Command of the Duke of *Longueville* and *Guebrian*; that of *Hesse*, Commanded by *Melander*; and lastly, the Troops of *Lunenburg*, and *Klitsing*, came to joyn him near *Erfort*. Then was there to be seen a fine Army all together, consisting of twenty two Battalions of Foot, and 20000 Horse, all pick'd Men, well mounted and provided, and very desirous of coming to Action; so that, something of importance might have been put in execution, would they have acted according to General *Banier's* Sentiments. This Army immediately resolv'd to give Battle to the *Imperialists*, who were incamp'd near *Sasfeld*; but they would by no means be drawn out of their Trenches; so that the Allies, by firing on them from the top of a Mountain, did them much mischief, and compell'd them to change their Tents several Times. Thus remain'd those two Armies a long time in sight of each other, but not without great inconveniencies; and *Banier* was very uneasie with his Allies, by reason that each of them pretended to dispute with him the Command of the Army, in quality of *Generalissimo*. Now, General *Banier* not thinking it convenient to attack the Enemy on that side in their Camp, or to endure a Famine with them, out of spite to each other, resolv'd to go into *Franconia* through *Turingia*, and to take some advantageous Post on the *Mein*; and was got as far as the River *Sala* near *Nieustat*, with most of his Army; but the *Imperialists*, in the mean time, finding out a shorter way, prevented the Allies by half a day, and posted themselves there to that advantage, that it was impossible to come near them: Wherefore, *Banier* seeing that the Enemy had cut off his Passage that way, was forc'd to turn back, and march towards *Hesse*, where his Forces suffer'd much for want of Provisions. *Banier* finding that he could not perswade the Troops of *Hesse* to joyn him a second time, in order to attack the Enemy, pretended he would pass the *Weser* and *Elbe*, and joyn *Stalhands* in *Silesia*; whereupon, *Hesse* and

All the Swedish Forces joyn.

and *Lunenburg* would become a prey to the *Imperialists*: But the two Princes, from the apprehensions of that Danger, began to conform somewhat more to the Sentiments of that General. The Enemies in the mean time departing the Country of *Franconia*, went to *Fritzler*, in order to go thence into *Westphalia*; but *Banier*, to prevent them, with the Troops of *Hesse* and *Lunenburg*, hasted thither to give them Battle, when seeing the *Imperialists* seated to advantage, he encamped at *Wildingen*, with a design to cut off their way, and Starve them but, tho' himself endur'd much Want. Hereupon, the Enemy being Reinforc'd by the Troops of *Westphalia*, decamped on a sudden, and march'd towards *Wolfhagen*, whence he went with speed to *Hoxter*, to pass the *Weser* there, and Ravage the Country of *Lunenburg*, as he had done by that of *Hesse*, and likewise, to carry the War into the Protestant Countries: But *Banier* no sooner had notice of his march and design, but he did all he could to prevent him; wherein he had this good fortune, That the Commander of *Hoxter* stopp'd the *Imperialists* for three days, by a vigorous Resistance; and tho' the fright had made the Duke of *Lunenburg* resolve to abandon his Country as far as the River *Leine*, yet *Banier* oppos'd him, and hinder'd the *Imperialists* from passing *Weser* to *Ferstenberg*, upon a Bridge, which they had begun. Thus General *Banier* hinder'd them from over-running the Country of *Lunenburg*, where he staid some Weeks to refresh his harrass'd Troops. In the mean time, the Enemy, who was on the other side the River, was much put to't, as well for Hunger, as on account of the Parties of *Hesse*; wherefore, after having some time wander'd about *Westphalia*, they at length concluded to return into *Franconia*, and take Winter-Quarters there; but were by the way roughly handled by *Rosa*, near *Zeigenheim*, who Commanded the Troops of *Weimar*, and routed sixteen Squadrons. After *Banier* had refreshed his Army, he was unwilling to remain longer in the Country of *Lunenburg*; but, together with the Troops of *Weimar*, march'd through *Turingia* and *Voighland*, to enter the Country of *Culembach*, that he might be amongst the Enemies

Quarters,

Quarters, where he tarried till the end of *January*. During this Year, *Stalhansch* employ'd almost his whole care to preserve the Place he held in *Silesia*, because he was to keep an eye upon the Body of the Army, and upon *Pomeren*, yet did he defeat near *Schonau* nine *Imperial* Regiments.

At the beginning of the following Year, General *Banier* thought it advisable to make an attempt upon the City of *Ratisbon*, where the Emperor and the States of the Empire then were, in order to assist at the Diet. *What past in Germany, 1641.*

And he had so much the greater hopes to succeed in his Design, because the *Imperialists* were dispers'd in their Winter Quarters; and that the *Danube* was Frozen over. 'Tis true, indeed, he approach'd the place, which was all in Alarm, with his advance Guard: And, besides, the *Swedes* might have posted themselves in *Bavaria*; but in the mean time there came on such a great Thaw, that 'twas impossible for them to pass over the River. But tho' that General miss'd of his design against *Ratisbon*, he did not at all doubt of carrying the War into the Emperor's Country and *Bavaria*; and he had certainly done it, had he not been too soon left by *Guebrian*, who Commanded the Troops of *Weimar*, and had retir'd towards the *Mein*; notwithstanding all the opposition *Bavaria* could make to dissuade him from the undertaking. Thus that General return'd to *Cham*, to see if he could perswade *Guebrian* to joyn him again: Otherwise he was resolv'd to go into *Bohemia*, that he might have Communication with *Stalhansch*, and carry the War into *Bohemia*, *Moravia* and *Silesia*.

But before he could put his design in Execution, the Enemy met together so quickly and unexpectedly, that *Bavaria* had no better expedient left him than to retreat with all expedition, tho' the Ways through which he was to pass, were very deep and incommodious. He instantly called in his Regiments from *Cham*, and began his march through the Forrest of *Bohemia*. In the mean time, Collonel *Slange* having delay'd a little to joyn the main Body with three Regiments which were under his Command, was surrounded by

the Enemy near a Wood, where, however he defended himſelf vigorouſly with his Cavalry for three Days, behind an old Wall; and after he had been thrice Attackt, was forc'd, at laſt, to ſurrender on diſcretion. This loſs of Three Regiments, ſav'd all the *Swediſh* Army, which otherwiſe, had, undoubtedly, loſt all their Fort and Artillery, if the Enemy had march'd directly towards *Cham*. But tho', by this means, *Banier* had an opportunity to advance in his March, he found himſelf cloſely purſu'd by ten Thouſand *Imperialiſts*, who yet durſt not ſtand their Ground when that General fac'd about to them: So that the *Swedes*, by a haſty retreat, paſs'd over the *Eger* at *Caden*, and came, at length, to *Annabery*, through the Forreſt of *Bohemia*.

But on the other ſide, *Picolomini* with his Foot, took a ſhorter way by *Schalkenwald*, that he might be before *Banier* at the paſs of *Preiſznitz*; and had undoubtedly got his Deſign, and routed the whole *Swediſh* Army, if *Banier* had not come up half an hour before him, and paſs'd over his Troops, by which means he put a ſtop to the Enemies, and hinder'd them from purſuing him any further. After this the *Swedes* took up their Quarters at *Suitkau*, to refreſh themſelves after the fatigue they had endur'd. Upon which *Guebrian* again joyn'd *Banier*, being adviſ'd by *Koningſmark*, not to march towards the *Rhine* by the way of *Bambery*, but to the Country of *Voigtland*. *Guebrian* was then ſufficiently convinc'd of the bad effects of his ſeparating his Troops from thoſe of the Allies, who otherwiſe could have made *Auſtria* the Seat of the War. Beſides all theſe misfortunes, *George* Duke of *Lunenburg* happen'd to die, to the great loſs of the Confederates; the Miniſters of that Prince abandoning the generous Deſigns which he had laid down: And to Crown their Misfortunes, *Banier* fell into a dangerous Sickneſs, when they moſt ſtood in need of his Prudence and Service. The *Swedes* Army, and that of *Weimar*, finding the Enemy with a conſiderable Force, was entring into the Country of *Voigtland*; march'd towards the River *Sala*; and

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the *Imperialists* endeavouring to pass over it, were beat back with loss: For which cause they marched with all diligence by *Hall* to *Bernbourg*, where they arriv'd sooner than the *Swedes*, whom the winding of the River had oblig'd to take a longer compass. 'Twas also for this Reason that they march'd towards *Halberstad* to wait till the Troops of *Lunenburg* and *Hesse* had joyn'd them; at which Place General *Banier* Died. 'Twas believ'd, that at a Feast where he had been the first of *November* before, at *Hilderhein*, with *George* Duke of *Lunenburg*, the *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, and Count *Schomberg*, he had drunk some *Muscovy* Liquor; all the Persons now mentioned, Dying likewise a little after. *G.* Baniers Death.

The *Swedish* Army by that General's Death, was reduc'd to a very dangerous Condition: The greatest part of the Officers refusing to obey for want of their Pay. Till then, *Banier* had kept them in awe by his Credit and Authority; but at length they discover'd their Resentment without any fear. The four Major Generals *Adam Pfulh*, *Charles Gustavus Vrangel*, *Arfwerd Wittenberg*, and *Christopher Kingsmark* took upon them to Command the Army, till a new Generalissimo should be sent from *Sweden*. But the Colonels combin'd together, resolving to force their Payment; and, besides, to be sharers in the Command. But all their Designs were frustrated partly by humouring them, and partly by gaining some of them by Bribes. In the mean time, the Enemy cut a considerable number of *Swedes* in pieces near *Quedlinbourg*; and the *Swedish* Army finding that they advanc'd, return'd to *Wolfenbotel*, and encamp'd near the Sluce of *Kibitzer* to hinder the *Imperialists* from succouring that place, which the the *Lunenburgers* pretended to take by swelling up the River *Oker*. Bnt the *Imperialists* taking another round between *Schoningen* and *Helmstad*, the *Swedes* marching near the Sluce of *Hesse*, crossed the passage and got half a days march before the Enemy; after which they joyn'd the Troops of *Lunenbourg*, and *Weimar*, near the Sluce they had made on the River *Oker*. But

tho' the *Imperialists* hop'd to get the *Lunenburg* Troops over to their side, because *Augustus* of *Brunswick* had already private correspondence with them, yet they resolv'd to Attack the Troops of *Hesse*, which were to joyn them in a few days, thinking it a shame not to relieve *Wolfenbotle* by pulling down the Sluce. But *Vrangel* receiv'd their Foot, and *Koningmark* their Horse with such bravery, that the Enemy was forc'd to quit the Field of Battel with great loss; and they had undoubtedly been totally routed, if the Troops of *Weimar* and *Lunenburg* had assisted them. However, more than three Thousand of them lay on the spot, and five hundred were made Prisoners.

The Imperialists beaten.

But notwithstanding that defeat of the *Imperialists*, the Condition of the *Swedish* Army grew more dangerous, because for want of a Generalissimo, Military Discipline was much neglected: Besides, the *Imperialists* by their Sollicitations, and the *Danes*, by great Promises, endeavour'd to Debauch the Soldiers. To which may be added, That Provision became daily scarce in the Army; so that the Lieutenant Generals found a vast difficulty to keep things in order till the arrival of General *Leonard Torstenson*, who having been taken very ill with the Gout, could not come till *Autumn*. With him was sent *John Liliehock* in quality of Grand Master of the Artillery; and that *Torstenson*, upon the first entring to his Office, might gain the more Credit and Authority, he was provided with good Troops and store of Money. At this time the *Lunenbourgers* broke off from the other Confederates, and enter'd upon a serious Treaty of Peace with the Enemy at *Guzla*; notwithstanding which the *Swedes*, *Weimaners*, and *Hessians* for some time guarded the Sluce near *Wolfenbotle*; and, besides, defeated two Thousand of the Enemies Horse near *Hambourg*, and had, by all appearance, carried the Place, had not the *Lunenbourgers* acted too faintly, in hopes that the Emperor would, of his own accord, deliver up that Town to them. But the *Imperialists* daily advancing nearer, and endeavouring to cut off the *Swedes* Passage, they resolv'd to leave the Siege of *Wolfenbotle*, and having broke down the Dike, went

went and encamp'd at *Saarſtad* upon the *Loines*: From whence the *Heſſe* Troops went to *Weſtphalia*, to take their Winter Quarter: The *Swediſh* Army continued in their Poſt till the arrival of General *Torſtenſon* from *Pomeren*; The Lieutenant Generals being oblig'd to appeaſe the Soldiers partly with Money, and partly with fair Words. As ſoon as that General was come, the Troops of *Weimar* went off, tho' he earneſtly intreated them to remain till there was an opportunity of engaging the Enemy. This broke all his meaſures, ſo that he was forc'd to continue near *Kloſterberg* to obſerve the Enemies motion, and the march of the *Lunenburgers*; ſo that he remain'd in the Country of *Lunenbourg* till the end of the Year. *General Torſtenſon.*

Nor were the *Swedes* this Year more ſucceſsful in *Sileſia*; for tho' *Stalhanſch* us'd all his endeavours to reſiſt the Enemy; yet they being far more numerous, carried all before them: So that the Troops of *Sweden* which were yet in this Province in a bad Condition, were forc'd to retire to the Country of *Newmark*; where all Acts of Hoſtility ceas'd between *Sweden* and *Brandenburg*, when *Fredrick William* being Elector, laid down Deſigns different from thoſe of his Father, and reſolved to obſerve a Neutrality with *Sweden*. This Year the Alliance with *France* was prolong'd to the end of the War, becauſe there was no appearance of the Emperor's inclining to a Peace.

General *Torſtenſon* was oblig'd to continue without doing any thing in the Country of *Lunenburg*, to the end of the Year 1641, as well becauſe *Guebrian* had abandond him with the Troops of *Weimar*, as becauſe he waited the ſucceſs of the Negotiation of *Gozlar*, and had beſides fallen into a dangerous Sickneſs. But, in the mean time, the *Imperialiſts* and *Bavarians*, who were poſted near the Rivers of *Sala* and *Untruſt*, obſerv'd all his Deſigns. In the beginning of the New Year he approach'd nearer the Enemy, to the old *Mark*, where he was again taken with a dangerous fit of Sickneſs. As ſoon as the *Imperialiſts* had notice of this, and fancied beſide, as the report was, that he was actually Dead, they began their march in *The Occurrences of the Year 1642.*

very bad Weather, and through very bad Ways, and came to *Stendel* in the old *Mark*, hoping they ſhould eaſily defeat the *Swediſh* Army, which they believ'd to be without a Head, particularly becauſe there were ſeveral *Swediſh* Officers, with whom they entertain'd private Correſpondence, amongſt whom was Colonel *Sackendorf*, who, being apprehended, was Executed for his Treaſon. Upon this *Torſtenſon* went before the Enemy as far as *Saltzweden* and *Arnſee*, and Poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that 'twas impoſſible to come at him. So that the *Imperialiſts* finding they could do nothing, paſs'd the *Elb*, and came to *Tangermond*, pretending to have a deſign in ſome Sea-Port-Town in the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*: And that they might draw the *Swedes* into that Country which was already laid waſte, they ſent Toops thither before-hand. But General *Torſtenſon* having diſcover'd their Stratagem, did not move from his Poſt: So that the Enemy who had no mind to ſtarve for Hunger in the Country of *Mecklenburg*, very ſoon re-paſs'd the *Elb*. The *Bavarians* went to the Country of *Franken*, and the *Imperialiſts* took up their Quarters in *Miſnia* and *Thuringia*. In this troubleſome March they loſt as many as if they had been defeated in open Battle.

After the Enemies Retreat, *Torſtenſon* reſolv'd to invade *Sileſia*, tho' to amuſe them, he made a faint towards *Weſtphalia*, to which end he detach'd *Koningſmark* with nine Regiments that way, who worſted the *Croates* at *Quedlinburg*, and rais'd the Siege of *Mansfeld*, with loſs on the Enemies ſide. But General *Torſtenſon* having paſs'd the *Elb* at *Werben*, and the *Havel* at *Havelberg*, march'd the way of *Sigiſer* without any oppoſition, ſtill advancing towards *Sileſia*, whence *Stalhanch* had been driven away by *Francis Albertus*, Duke of *Saxon Launenburg*. In this March *Torſtenſon* order'd Matters ſo, that he was joyn'd by *Stalhanſch*; and in his way, this General took *Luca*, *Sora*, and *Sagan*; But what was much more to his Glory, he took the Town of *Great Glogan* by Storm, without having made any Lines of approach, or any breach in the Works; which he did becauſe the Duke of *Sax-*

The boldneſs and ſucceſs of Torſtenſon.

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on Lauenburg Aſſembled a great number of Troops in order to relieve the Town; and that he could not continue long before it for want of Proviſions: The taking of this Town was followed by that of ſeveral others, *viz. Gura*, *Hernſtad*, *Sprettau*, *Freidſtad*, *Walau*, *Drakenberg*, *Militſch*, *Parchuits*, *Javer* and *Strigau*. At length *Torſtenſon* laid Siege to *Schuinitz*; and Duke *Albert* coming with all his Horſe to relieve it, was ſo receiv'd by *Torſtenſon*, that after a very ſharp Engagement they were ſoundly beaten, and purſu'd for five Leagues: The Enemies loſt above three Thouſand Horſe, and the Duke himſelf, who was made Priſoner, died ſome days after of his Wounds. By his Death, all the deſigns which *Arnheim* had ſuggeſted to him, of driving the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, vaniſh'd to ſmoke. The Town of *Schuenitz* ſurrender'd immediately upon the defeat of the *Imperialiſts*; after which, *Torſtenſon* march'd towards *Neiſſe* and left *Lilehock* to take the place, going himſelf in purſuit of the *Imperial* Army. But the Enemy made their eſcape with all haſte over the Mountains, tho' many of them were catch'd by the way. After which, he march'd directly towards *Olmatz* in *Moravia*, where there was then but a very weak Garriſon, and took it in four days, together with the Towns of *Litta* and *Neuſtat*; by which means having got Footing in the Province, he return'd to *Sileſia*, where he took the Town of *Oppelen*, and alſo laid Siege to *Brieg*, hoping that by the taking of that place, he might ſoon become Maſter of *Breſſau*. But the Siege continued ſo long, that the *Imperialiſts*, under the Command of Arch-Duke *Leopold William*, had time to joyn together to come to relieve the place. And thus the *Imperialiſts* being much more numerous than the *Swedes*, General *Torſtenſon* thought it not convenient to run any hazard; eſpecially becauſe he daily expected a new Re-enforcement from *Sweden*: For which Reaſon he rais'd the Siege, and march'd along the *Oder*, following the courſe of the River, that he might the more ſafely be joyn'd by the Troops which were coming from *Sweden*, and encamp'd very advantageouſly near *Cuben*, behind

the *Neisse*, where the River discharges itself into the *Oder*.

The Imperialists *Besiege* Great Hogan.

The *Imperialists* with all their Forces followed him, and resolv'd to lay Siege to *Great-Hogan*: But as soon as *Charles Gustavus* was arriv'd with the Troops he had brought from *Sweden*, *Torstenson* advanced towards the Enemy, and oblig'd them to raise the Siege. Afterwards, he had a design, to make an Irruption into *Bohemia*, but could not effect it, because the *Imperialists* march'd up always at his side: But however, he took the Town of *Zittaw*, before their Eyes: And here a Cartel was first made, for exchanging of Prisoners. *Torstenson* willingly consented to it, principally for this reason, That by that means, the sollicitations of the *Imperialists*, to debauch his Soldiers, were render'd useless and vain. But *Torstenson* seeing that he could not penetrate into *Bohemia*, nor bring the Enemy to a Battle, because they were very advantageously Posted, march'd along the *Elb*, following its course; and having pass'd it near *Torga*, he march'd directly towards *Leipsigh*, with a design to make himself Master of that important Place; and at the same time, to give *Koningsmark* an opportunity to joyn him, having then Ravag'd all the *Lower-Saxony*. The Arch-Duke *William*, and *Piccolomini*, with all their Forces, began their march, in order to Relieve the Town. But *Torstenson* finding it was not safe to continue in his Camp, where he must have had the *Imperialists* before, and the Town behind him, advanc'd his Army to a Plain near *Breitenfeld*, to wait for the Enemy's coming. On the other hand, Arch-Duke *Leopold* resolv'd to hazard a Battle, and *Guebrian*, with the Troops of *Weimar*, were in a few days to joyn the *Swedish* Army. Thus those two Armies were encamp'd over-against one another, in the same Field where *Gustavus Adolphus* had some Years before attain'd such a glorious Victory. Immediately, the great Guns began to play on both sides; and at the very beginning, one of the Enemies Balls had like to have done great mischief, carrying away the hinder parts of *Torstenson*'s Horse, piercing the Neck of that of *Charles Gustavus* Count-Palatine, and

and the Belly of that of *Rabenau* Captain of Horſe; ſo that they fell all three to the Ground, but without any hurt: But it paſs'd through the Belly of Chancellor *Laurens Crabbe*, and carry'd away another's Leg. Immediately after, *Wirtenberg* and *Stalhanſch* ſetting upon the Enemies Left-wing, put them in ſuch Diſorder, that Arch-Duke *Leopold* had great difficulty to Rally them again. But on the other hand, the Left-wing of the *Swediſh* Army gave ground at firſt, ſo that the Enemy began to Plunder; but the care of their General made them return again to the Battle. The Infantry on both ſides continu'd immovable; for after they had diſcharg'd on one another, they fell on with Clubbed Muſquets; but as ſoon as the Left-wing of the *Swediſh* Army began to Flank the Enemy, their Infantry was forc'd to retire; and when their Right-wing was charg'd, ſeeing that they were like to be attack'd both before and behind, they betook themſelves to flight. In this Battle 5000 *Imperialiſts* lay on the ſpot, and more than 2500 were made Priſoners, with ſeveral Officers of note. The *Swedes* on their ſide loſt 2000, of whom there were ſeveral Officers, and particularly *John Liliehock*, great Maſter of the Artillery.

The Imperialiſts *Routed.*

But General *Torſtenſon* having a great many Wounded, and the Army ſtanding in need of Reſt and Winter Cloaths, and the Officers longing to have their Pay, he return'd before *Leipſick*, and eaſily oblig'd it to Surrender upon Compoſition. After which, it was very ſerviceable to him in Equipping his Troops. Having a little refreſh'd his Army, he reſolv'd to make an Expedition into *Bohemia*. In his way, he ſat down before *Friberg*, as well becauſe the bad Weather made his march very troubleſome, as alſo, becauſe he was told, That that Place was well ſtor'd with Proviſion, and that it could not hold out above eight Days: But this Siege having continued the Year following for ſome Weeks, he was oblig'd to abandon it, without making any progreſs. The ſame Year, the Troops of *Weimar* and *Heſſe* ſignaliz'd themſelves alſo; for in the beginning they obtain'd a glorious Victory over *Lamboi* near *Kempen*, and afterwards made a conſidera-

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ble progress in the Country of *Colen*, where they continu'd till Autumn; at which time, *Guebrian* return'd towards the *Rhine* with the *Weimar* Troops; and having made a long Circuit thro' *Westphalia*, the *Lower-Saxony*, and *Thuringia*, he enter'd into the Country of *Franken*, where he took up his Winter-Quarters, near the Borders of *Margentheim*.

The Occurrences of the Year, 1643.

In the beginning of this Year, General *Torstenson* presented himself before *Friberg*; and notwithstanding the vigorous Resistance of the Besieged, he brought them to the last Extremity, when *Piccolomini* came up with 15000 Men to raise the Siege. It is true, indeed, that *Torstenson* was desirous to give him Battle; but believing that the Enemy would not quit their advantageous Post, and finding there was no more Forrage near that place, he left *Friberg*, and encamped near *Streelen* on the *Elbe*, to observe the Enemies motion: *Torstenson* lost 1500 Men before that Place. The Enemy fancied they had done a great Action, in obliging *Torstenson* to raise the Siege; because by this Attempt, he had lost the time he might have employ'd in pursuing this Victory. But on the other hand, this General thought his pains very well bestow'd, by drawing the *Imperialists* out of their Quarters, in a cold and stormy Winter; by which means, they lost in a little time, 5000 Horse. *Torstenson* having pass'd the *Elbe* at *Streelen*, march'd towards *Bauzen* in *Lusatia*. In his way, he Routed *Bruai* at *Saffenberg*, who came to charge the *Swedes* with 2000 Horse; and immediately leaving *Bauzen*, he went to *Bohemia*, where *Gallas* had receiv'd the Command of the *Imperial* Army, to the great Satisfaction of the *Swedes*; because that General usually took such methods, as very often destroy'd his Army. But tho' he propos'd to hinder the *Swedes* from entering into *Moravia*, yet *Torstenson*, having march'd by him, enter'd into that Province, and took several places. *Gallas* Posted himself over-against him, near *Brin*; so that, the two Armies continu'd for some time in sight of one another. In the mean time, three *Swedish* Regiments, who were Quartered in the Mountains, not keeping good Guards, were very badly Treated by a small number

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of *Imperialists*. But on the other hand, *Torstenson* having surpriz'd Count *Bacheim*, who was Detach'd to *Silesia* with 1500 Horse, entirely Routed them: But for the rest, he could not bring the Enemy at all to a general Battle. After the *Swedish* Troops had sufficiently Wasted *Moravia*, during the Summer, *Torstenson* receiv'd Orders, from the Regency of *Sweden*, to pass *Incognito* into *Alsatia*. To which purpose, having provided *Olmutz*, *Neustad*, and *Eulenberg*, with all Necessaries, he return'd to *Silesia*, and encamped near *Little-Glogauw*, to see if the Enemy had any mind to hazard a Battle: But *Gallas* had not the least design to Fight, which oblig'd *Torstenson* to advance farther: But he so often chang'd his Road, and spread abroad so many false reports, that it was impossible to penetrate into his design. The *Imperialists* follow'd him to *Lusatia*, and re-took *Luben*, *Lemberg*, and *Zittaw*; after which, they return'd to their Winter-Quarters.

Upon which, *Torstenson* order'd a Bridge to be made over the *Elbe* near *Tirga*, pretending to pass over into the *Misnia*, in order to enter into the *High-Palatinate* and *Bavaria*, where they were already Alarm'd upon the noise of his marching. But he always advanced, falling still lower, till he arriv'd at *Havelberg*, where he discover'd his Design to the Officers of his Army, who rejoic'd at it; and towards the end of the same Year, enter'd into *Holsatia*, and put the whole Country under Water. The same Year *Koningsmark* signaliz'd himself on several occasions. When General *Torstenson* enter'd into *Bohemia*, he left him a Detachment of his Troops, with which *Koningsmark* having made an Irruption into *Misnia*, and the Country of *Franken*, put a vast tract of Ground, even to the *Rhine*, under Contribution. After which, he return'd by the Countries of *Falden* and *Turingia*, into *Lower-Saxony*; where he surpriz'd *Hailberstad*, and took the Towns of *Sladen* and *Osternick*; but at length he was oblig'd to march with all diligence to the *Lower-Pomerania*, where *John Ernest Crackau* had made an Invasion by the way of *Poland*, with 3000 Horse and Dragoons; by which means he had rais'd a great Tumult in that Province, and encamped

General Torstenson *enters* Holsatia.

General Koningsmark's *Victory.*

encamped near *Belgard*: But before he had time to fortify himself, *Koningſmark* fell upon him unexpectedly, retook the Places where he had put Garriſons, and beat his Parties in ſeveral Rencounters. *Crackaw* having but very little Forrage in his Camp, left his Baggage behind; and marching from *Belgard*, retir'd as quietly as poſſible into *Poland*, breaking down all the Bridges as he paſs'd over, and ſo ſav'd himſelf out of the hands of *Koningſmark*, who ſtill follow'd them cloſe, while he could come within two Leagues of them. Thus this Diverſion, which the *Imperialiſts* had built ſuch hopes on, came to nothing. The ſame Year, *Erick Ulfpain* Governor of *Weimar*, took the Town of *Domitz*. But on the other hand, *Guebrian* with the *Weimar* Troops, were not very unſucceſsful; for after they had run up and down for ſome time through *Suabia*, they did nothing remarkable, but were oblig'd to repaſs the *Rhine*, and retire into *Alſatia*, whither the *Bavarians* purſu'd them. However, having receiv'd a Reinforcement of ſome Thouſand Men from *France*, *Guebrian* again repaſs'd the *Rhine*, and took the Town of *Retueil*, which yet coſt him very dear, both becauſe his Army which had conſiſted of 15000 Men, was reduc'd to Ten; and that he himſelf dy'd of a Wound which he had receiv'd at this Siege. After which, his Troops went to Quarters in the Country of *Dulinga*, and the circumjacent places, where being Attack'd unexpectedly by the *Bavarians*, the greateſt part were cut to pieces, and ſeveral taken Priſoners; the reſt made their eſcape by the way *Lauffenburg* to *Suntgau* in the *Higher-Alſatia*. At length *Turenne* came from *France* with great Sums of Mony, to make new Levies. This Defeat was very prejudicial to the *Swedes*; the *Imperialiſts* having an opportunity now to imploy all their Arms againſt them; tho', on the other hand, they had the advantage of bringing over *Ragotzi* Prince of *Tranſilvania* to their ſide; to which the Prince was of himſelf inclinable. But the *Imperialiſt* hinder'd him from Attacking *Sileſia* and *Moravia*, when the *Swedes* were buſied in *Holſatia* againſt the *Danes*. All the World was ſurpriz'd at this Attempt of the *Swedes*; and not a few look'd upon it as an act

General Guebrian beaten and kill'd.

of

of great Raſhneſs, that being already engaged in a troubleſome War with a potent Enemy, they ſhould create another to themſelves without any Neceſſity. But, after all, 'twas Neceſſity that put them upon this Reſolution: For the *Danes* had for a long time laid down ſeveral Projects, in prejudice of the *Swedes*, and always endeavour'd to make them loſe in *Germany* the advantages they had got by force of Arms. And 'twas with this intent that the King of *Denmark* offer'd his Mediation between the Emperor and the Crown of *Sweden*, that he might totally exclude the *Swedes* from *Germany*. Beſides, he ſecretly ſtole away *Marca Eleanora* the Queen *Dowager* to affront the *Swedes*. To which may be added, That a little before he laid new Impoſts at *Ruden*, and ordered that all the Merchandiſe which ſhould be tranſported from *Sweden* into *Pomerania*, ſhould pay Toll in their Paſſage. In fine, he was jealous to the laſt degree, to ſee the Trade of *Sweden* ſo flouriſhing: And therefore, that he might ruin their Trade, or bring them to his Diſcretion, he appointed ſeveral Impoſts to be pay'd by ſuch as paſs'd the *Sound*, and were put to continual trouble by his Commiſſioners, and often had a part of their good Confiſcate. Theſe Diſorders and Violences committed in the *Sound*, went ſo far, that the *Swedes* could no longer bear with them; and tho' frequent Complaints were made at Court, inſtead of Redreſs they received nothing but Scorn.

Reaſon of the Swedes making War with Denmark.

At length it was reſolv'd in *Sweden* to repel all theſe Outrages by force of Arms, and, at the ſame time, to rid themſelves of an unjuſt Mediator, who by all the Treaties of Peace, had only perplex'd the Affairs of *Sweden*. The greateſt difficulty was, to put this Deſign in Execution before it made any Noiſe, to prevent, by this means, their making preparations for War. And, in effect, the thing ſucceeded ſo well, that after it was deliberated for ſeveral days in Council, in the Month of *March*, and that all neceſſary Orders were given, yet the *Daniſh* Miniſter, who was then at *Stockholm*, had not the leaſt knowledge of it; neither

neither was it thought fit to communicate the design either to *France* or *Holland*. The Resolution which they had taken went so far, that it was determin'd, that in case of Necessity they should abandon *Pomerania*, and demand satisfaction for it from the *Danes*, whom they hop'd to reduce in a little time, provided the Winter was favourable to their undertaking. And 'tis very probable they had succeeded, if General *Torstenson* could have pass'd into the Isle of *Fuhnen*, by the *Little Belt*; and *Gustavus Horn* could have enter'd into the Isle of *Seeland*, and the Streights of the *Sound*. In short, the only thing that sav'd *Denmark*, was, That the Ice was not strong enough: To which, however, we may add, the undaunted Courage of the King, who, notwithstanding his Gray Hairs, was never shaken at any danger.

Occurrences of the Year 1644.

The *Swedes* succeeded the more easily in the beginning, because the *Danes* had made no preparations to resist them: For in *Holsatia*, they took, without great difficuly, *Rendsburg*, *Itschoe*, *Penneberg* and *Christianburg*: After which, they took up their Quarters in *Holsatia*, and the Isle of *Jutland*: By which means the *Swedish* Army was considerably re-inforc'd. It is true, the *Danes* built a Fort in the Land of *Jutland* upon the *Belt*, and gathered some Troops together: But *Douglass* defeated fifteen hundred of their Horse near *Coldingan*; so that scarce one hundred of them escap'd. Moreover their Infantry, which was about four Thousand five Hundred strong, being attack'd in their Camp by *Torstanson*, were forc'd to surrender; and the *Germans* that were amongst them to the number of a Thousand, went into the *Swedish* Service, the rest being sent home with bitter Raillery and Scorn. Besides, the Frost which came on gave an opportunity to the *Swedes*, not only to pass into *Marchlanden*, but likewise into the Country of *Wentzussal*, where they cut to pieces seven hundred Boors that had taken up Arms. So that in the space of two Months, the *Danes* had lost all on that side, except the Towns of *Gluckstad* and *Knempe*. On the other other hand, *Gustavus Horn*, with an Army of Fourteen thousand Men,

Men, leaving *Sweden* in the beginning of the Year, made an irruption into *Schonen*, and having left a Garriſon in *Helimburg*, which the *Danes* had ſlighted, he put ſome Boors, who had put themſelves in a poſture of defence, to the Sword. In the mean time, there arriv'd from *Holland*, a Fleet of Thirty Ships of a middle rate, which *Lewis de Gear* had obtain'd from ſome private Merchants: The States refuſing to ſend them any (tho' they were oblig'd thereunto by the Treaty made betwixt them) upon pretence that this War had been begun without their conſent. But the truth is, they deſir'd to Fiſh in muddy Water, and to keep an equal ballance between both Parties, under the appearance of a Mediation. 'Tis true, that this Fleet oblig'd the *Danes* to abandon the *Haven* of *Gothenburg*, which they Beſieg'd: But yet the *Daniſh* Fleet hinder'd it to tranſport the *Swediſh* Troops into the Iſle of *Fuhnen*; ſo that, for that time, after a ſhort Engagement, it was forc'd to put into *Ulia*. But the *Swediſh* Fleet, Commanded by Admiral *Fleming*, arriv'd on the Coaſts of *Holſatia*, in the Month of *June*, and Ravag'd the Iſland of *Femeren*, where they put all to the Sword who offer'd to make the leaſt Reſiſtance. Afterwards they fought againſt the *Daniſh* Fleet, where the King himſelf Commanded in Perſon; and in all appearance, the *Swedes* would have got the advantage, if all their Captains had done their Duty as became them. In this Battle the King of *Denmark* was Wounded in the Eye with a Splinter. After this Battle the *Swediſh* Fleet retir'd to *Chriſtiaanprys*, to be re-fitted. The *Daniſh* Fleet went before that Town, whence the *Swedes* could not chaſe them becauſe of contrary Winds; inſomuch that the *Danes* having Landed ſome Troops, poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Hill over-againſt *Chriſtaanprys*; whence they ſhot into the *Swediſh* Fleet. The *Swediſh* Admiral, while he was waſhing his Hands, was Wounded by a Cannon Ball in the left Knee, of which he died in a few days after. To revenge his Death, General *Torſtenſon* cut in pieces all the *Danes* who had Landed, being about thirteen hundred Men. After the Death of the Admiral, *Vrangel*

took

took the Command of the Fleet, who was alſo obliged to continue a whole Month in the Harbour, but not without danger, untill a favourable Wind preſented to carry them out, otherways the *Danes* had hindred them from Sailing to *Stockholm*.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the Garriſons of *Gluckſtad* and *Krempe* beat ſome *Swediſh* Troops, and ſurpriz'd *Itzchoe*. And on the other ſide, the *Danes* coming with their Fleet near *Coldinſen*, Landed ſome Men who defeated four Companies of *Infantry*. But, in a ſhort time after the *Swedes* reveng'd it with a witneſs: For tho' General *Torſtenſon* had gone from *Holſace* with the main Body of the Army, yet he left ſtill ſome Troops there, under the Command of *Helm Vrangel*, who gall'd the Enemies in diverſe rencounters. In *Schonen Guſtavus Horn* carried the Caſtle of *Landskroon* after which, he enter'd into *Blekingia*, and the Province of *Holland*; He ſo beat the *Danes* in ſeveral places, that they durſt appear no more. Beſides, he took alſo *Lakolme*, whence returning into *Schohen*, he laid Siege to *Malmo*, in which place there was a ſtrong *Daniſh* Garriſon.

The *Swediſh* Fleet being return'd homeward, the *Danes* fancied that they would not ſet to Sea that Year any more; and for that Reaſon His *Daniſh* Majeſty ſent the greateſt part of his Forces into *Schonen*, to Chaſe *Guſtavus Horn* from his Poſt. But the *Danes* being in no Condition to do any thing, were fain to retire with ſome loſs, and paſs into the Iſland of *Zeeland*. The *Swedes* were alſo buſied upon the Frontiers of *Norway*; but all they did was of ſmall Conſequence to the *Main Affair*. They were fortunate at Sea that Year; for *Vrangel* had ſet to Sea very late againſt any attempt of the *Danes*, and joyn'd the Fleet of *Lewis de Geer*, that came from *Holland*, and paſs'd through the Straits of the *Sound*, and the *Breams* of *Danemark*, near to *Saltholm*. So continuing their Courſe near to *Colberge Heide*, about the *Femern*, they met ſixteen *Daniſh* Men of War, all which he ruin'd entirely, except two which made their eſcape; for he took ten of them, forc'd three upon the Banks, and burnt one. In this Action the *Swedes* loſt only one

Ship,

Ships, which they had hir'd in *Holland*, and was ſunk. But when they arriv'd to *Kielerhaven*, in order to be re-fitted; the Water was ſo low that the moſt part of them ſtranded, inſomuch, that for fifteen Days time they were not afloat; and by theſe means loſt the opportunity of ſeizing ſome of the *Daniſh* Iſlands, as they had propos'd to themſelves. Afterwards the Winter coming on, and Proviſions failing, the Crew became Sick. This oblig'd the Fleet to retire into the Harbour of *Wiſmar*, in order to Winter there. But the *Hollanders* return'd home.

However, the Wars of *Denmark* had oblig'd General *Torſtenſon* to leave the moſt part of his Troops in *Holſace*, and the Country of *Jutland*, yet he had his Eyes upon the Affairs of *Germany*; for after he had provided the principal places with all Neceſſaries, he ſent *Douglaſs* into *Pomeren*, and *Guſtavus Otten* into *Weſtphalia*, to obſerve theſe Countries: But order'd *Koningſmark* to have particular regard to the *Higher* and *Lower-Saxony*. And as ſoon as this latter had diſcover'd that the Archbiſhop of *Bremen* concern'd himſelf in the Wars of the King of *Denmark*, his Father-in-Law, he diveſted him of the Town of *Verden*; and when he heard that the *Imperialiſts* were making ſome motion in *Miſnia*, he went thither with all diligence, to fruſtrate the deſign they had form'd of Beſieging the Town of *Leipſick*. On the other hand, the *Imperialiſts* intending to take the advantage of this opportunity, and march firſt to ſhut up the *Swedes* in the Country of *Jutland*, with the main of their Army, Commanded by *Gallas*, and next by joyning *Hatsfeld*, with the Troops of the Archbiſhop of *Bremen*, to ruine the Troops of *Koningſmark* and *Heſſe*; and, in fine, to divert the *French* by means of the *Bavarians*. After which, they fancied that all the places where any *Swediſh* Garriſons were, would ſoon be forc'd to ſurrender, in regard, that the *Imperialiſts* would be every where Maſters of the Field. However, a great part of theſe fine Projects vaniſh'd into Air.

It's true, the General enter'd into *Holſace*, at the Head of a numerous Army, with a deſign to poſ-

ſeſs himſelf of the Paſſage betwixt *Stapelhorn* and *Sleſwick*, in order to hinder the *Swediſh* Regiments to come from *Jutland:* But *Torſtenſon*'s Vigilance defeated his Enlerprize. *Gallas* left *Oldeſlo*, where ſome *Daniſh* Troops joyn'd him, and went to *Kiel*. On the other ſide, *Torſtenſon* not thinking it convenient to ſee himſelf ſhut up, nor famiſh'd, march'd with his Army from *Rendebourg* directly againſt *Gallas*, in order to give him Battle. But having obſerv'd that the *Imperialiſts* had no mind to run any riſque, he paſs'd out of *Holſace* in their preſence, and incamp'd near *Ratzenburg*, in order to cut them off from their Proviſions. *Gallas* follow'd him, without having done any thing with his Army, but ravage the Country. The *Swedes* gall'd his Rear very much when he went to *Lawenburg*, in order to paſs the *Elbe*. But the *Danes* took their way towards *Bardenwick*, highly diſatisfied at their Expedition.

Tho' *Torſtenſon* had a favourable opportunity to fall upon the *Danes*, when they were ſeparated from the *Imperial* Army, yet he judg'd it more expedient to purſue *Gallas*, before he could receive any Re-inforcement, and return to Attack him. By that means he gave ſome ſatisfaction to the *French* who were extreamly out of humour, that the *Swedes* ſhould have left the whole burden of the War of *Germany* upon them, while they made an Expedition into *Denmark*. *Torſtenſon* having paſſed the *Elbe*, near *Rouzebourg* follow'd General *Gallas* with all ſpeed, who poſted himſelf upon a Hill near *Brenburg*. *Torſtenſon* encamp'd pretty near him, and took that Caſtle, whence, with his Cannon, he forc'd the *Imperialiſts* twice to change their Camp.

But *Gallas* having no mind to venture a Battle, the two Armies continued in ſight of one another, till the latter end of *September*. *Torſtenſon* unwilling to allow the *Imperialiſts* to eſcape, whom he had, in a manner Beſieg'd, Fortified and Garriſon'd as many places round as he could, to hinder all Neceſſaries from coming to the Enemies Camp, who, by theſe means, were reduc'd to great extremity; inſomuch that both Men and Horſes

Horſes were ſtarv'd to Death. But their miſery was ſtill the greater, after that their Forrages and Convoy were defeated near *Aſcherſleben*. And tho' *Gallas* his Army had been reinforc'd with the *Saxon* Cavalry, yet *Torſtenſon* ſhut them up ſo cloſe, that there was no way by which they could ſave themſelves, except they intended to take the Road of *Magdeburg*, which they thought convenient to do, as ſoon as they had heard that *Torſtenſon* had gone in perſon with a great part of his Cavalry to ſurprize the Forragers, who march'd towards *Eiſleben*. And tho' *Torſtenſon* return'd preſently after, he was inform'd that the Enemy was decamped; but *Gallas* march'd ſo ſpeedily, that he ſav'd himſelf at *Magdeburg*, having left his Baggage and a great many Wounded Men his Camp; and when the *Imperial* Foragers and Convoy return'd the next day, they fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. The *Imperial* Cavalry having no Forrage at *Magdeburg*, attempted to paſs into *Sileſia*; *Torſtenſon* followed them with all diligence, and came up with them near *Niemeck* and *Juterbeck*, cut a great part of them in pieces, made a great many Priſoners, and diſpers'd the reſt intirely. But General *Gallas* continued ſtill at *Magdeburg* with the Infantry; and *Torſtenſon* left *Koningſmark* to obſerve him, he himſelf going into Winter Quarters in *Miſnia*, where having ſtay'd till the end of the Year, he increaſed his Army conſiderably: But in a ſhort time, the flakes of Ice having broke down the Bridge of Boats, the *Swedes* had caſt over the *Elbe*, *Gallas* had, by this means, an opportunity to ſave himſelf with a few Infantry from *Magdeburg*, it being then impoſſible for the *Swedes* to paſs the River. However, they ſtill overtook a thouſand Firelocks upon the Road; theſe would not march ſo hard as the reſt: And thus of ſo numerous an Army as *Gallas* brought into the Field, he carried only a thouſand Foot along with him into *Bohemia*.

On the other hand, while the *Swedes* were thus Beſieged, the *Imperialiſts* took, the laſt Year, in *Sileſia*, *Drakenburg*, *Schaweinits*, *Opelen* and *Wolau*; they block'd up, but in vain, the *Great Glogau* and *Olmutz*. The *Swedes* deliver'd ug freely *Frankfort*

upon the *Oder*, and *Crosien* to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, to the end they might manage their Troops the better. *Ragotzi* gave work enough to the Emperor in *Hungaria:* And, on the other side, the *French*, under the Command of *Conde* and *Turenne*, having Defeated the *Bavarians*, near *Friburg*, took afterwards *Philipsburg*, *Manheim*, *Spire*, *Wormes* and *Mayance*.

The Occurrences of the Year 1645.

In the beginning of the succeeding Year, *Helm Vrangel* made a very considerable progress in the Countries of *Jutland* and *Holsace*, and made himself Master of almost all *Marklanden*. Upon the other side of the *Elbe*, *Koningsmark* march'd with all speed into the Archbishoprick of *Bremen*. After having Conquer'd *Altenland* and *Kedingerland*, he laid Siege to *Staden*, which was forc'd to surrender the second day; and other places following its Example, *Vrangel*, in less than a Months time, became Master of all that Country. It's true, Colonel *Eggering* re-took *Vermeurde*; but *Koningsmark* took it again the following Year. The *Swedes* made also some progress upon the Frontiers of *Norway*. *Vrangel* also made himself Master of the Island of *Bornholm*, and resolv'd to attempt some other Places. *Gustavus Horn* intended once more to Attack *Malmo*; but before he could put his design in Execution, the Peace was concluded by the Mediation of *France* and *Holland*. By this Treaty the King of *Denmark* gave up to *Sweden* for ever, *Jempterland* and *Handalen*, with the Island of *Gothland* and *Oesel*; giving the Province of *Halland* as a security for twenty six Years: They might have stipulated much more for the Crown of *Sweden*, if they durst have trusted the *Hollanders* who had sent a Fleet of eight and forty Men of War into the *Sound*, without specifying, in the least, their Design. After the *Swedes* had brought the King of *Denmark* to reasonable Terms, and freed themselvvs of a suspected Mediator, they were as successful in the progress of their Arms; for *Torstenson* considering his Army had been sufficiently refresh'd, resolv'd to march into the Emperor's Hereditary Country, in order to check the New Levies they were raising there, and to draw near to *Ragotzi*, who made him very

Peace with Denmark

Peace with Saxony.

very preſſing Inſtances to that purpoſe; and to the end he might be ſecure behind, he made a *Truce* with the Elector of *Saxony*, which was very prejudicial to the Emperor, ſeeing by it he was abandon'd by his ancient Friend and Ally: However, that Prince, was not, in his own Judgment, ſo much inclin'd to it, as he was wrought upon by the preſſing Inſtances of his Sons.

In the mean time, the *Imperialiſts* gathered an Army together under the Command of *Hatsfeld*, in order to make head againſt *Torſtenſon*, and oppoſe his further progreſs into thoſe Countries. The Emperor himſelf was in Perſon, at *Prague*, to the end, that he might encourge his Troops by his Preſence. In this manner, the two Armies were near *Jancowitz*, when both the Generals reſolv'd to hazzard a Battle. The *Imperialiſts* were determin'd to it as well upon the account of their Emperor's Inſtances to them, as that they were alſo more numerous by three Thouſand Horſe than the *Swedes*; and *Torſtenſon* was reſolv'd to decline it. The Place, indeed, was hardly very proper to joyn Battle, being environ'd upon all ſides with Hills and Woods. In the firſt Attack the *Swedes* routed the Left Wing of the *Imperial* Army, Commanded by *John Gotz*, who was Kill'd upon the Spot; After which, they Poſted themſelves behind a Wood, whither the *Swedes* following them, the Battle became very obſtinate on both ſides, until, at laſt, after an Engagement of two hours, the two Wings of the *Imperial* Army were routed; but the Infantry keeping their ground half an hour longer, were ſurrounded by the *Swedes*, and almoſt all cut to pieces, and the reſt taken Priſoners with Marſhal *Hatſfeld*, and a great many other Officers. The number of Priſoners amounted to above four thouſand, and the number of the Slain was no leſs. The *Swedes*, for their part loſt almoſt two thouſand Men. The *Imperialiſts* ſuffer'd extreamly by *Torſtenſon*'s Cannon.

The Battle of Jancowitz.

Thus the Flower of the *Imperial* and *Bavarian* Troops being cut off, *Torſtenſon* had a free Paſſage into *Moravia* and *Auſtria*; and without loſing any time, he enter'd through *Bohemia* into *Moravia*; and

Torſtenſon *enters* Movaria.

and having taken *Iglau* and *Znain*, with a great many other places in that Neighbourhood, and advanc'd as far as *Crems* upon the *Danub*, he carried that place with a great deal of eaſe: However, he could not paſs the River there, in regard there were no convenient Boats in that place. Beſides, he had no great deſire it, his principal Intention being to joyn *Ragotzi*'s Troops; and to that purpoſe he march'd directly to him, taking in his way, *Cornanburg* and the Fort of *Weens-brugge*, with many other Caſtles and Towns in *Auſtria*, on this ſide the *Danube*. He ſtop'd ſome time at *Miſtelbach*, to refreſh his Troops (becauſe the Enemy had been chaced to the other ſide of the River) hoping after having joyn'd *Ragtozi*, to find ſome convenient place to paſs the *Danube*, betwixt *Vienna* and *Presburg*, and ſo act upon both the ſides of the River. After he had refreſh'd the Troops for four Weeks together, he went to Beſiege *Brin*, where he found much Oppoſition, as well in regard of the ſtrength of the place, as becauſe *Souches*, who had formerly defeated the *Swediſh* Troops and Commanded there, made a deſperate Defence. In the mean time the Troops of *Ragtozi*, to the number five and twenty Thouſand Men, joyn'd *Torſtenſon*; but all being undiſciplin'd Men, they could not rely very much upon their aſſiſtance; beſides, they ravag'd the Country miſerably, and therefore *Torſtenſon* would gladly have them paſs over the other ſide of the *Danube*: But *Ragtozi* choſe rather to continue on this ſide, to the great diſſatisfaction of *Torſtenſon*, who was ſenſible the *Tranſilvanians* would utterly ruin his Quarters. However, when *Torſtenſon* underſtood the Defeat of the *French* near *Margenthiem*, he us'd all manner of ways to oblige *Ragotzi* to ſtay until he perſuaded him to take Poſt on this ſide *Willenbergh*, near *Eiſzgralon*, and in that Neighbourhood. However, *Ragotzi* did not continue a long time with *Torſtenſon*; for the Emperor being very deſirous to be freed of that Enemy, granted him all he could ask, inſomuch, that *Ragotzi* having obtain'd all his Pretenſions, turn'd his back immediately upon the *Swediſh* Army, and return'd home with his People. This Reaſon joynt-

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ly with the ſcarcity of Proviſions, and inſupportable Stink which annoy'd the *Swediſh* Camp, becauſe of their long continuance in that Place, oblig'd *Torſtenſon* to raiſe the Siege of *Brin*, and to take his former Poſt near *Miſtelbach*, to the end, that after having refreſh'd his Troops, he might look out for the Enemy, in order to offer him Battle, or failing of that, he might chaſe him from the other ſide of the *Danube*: always diſigning to have *Auſtria* ravag'd, as well by Friends as Enemies: And to this effect he came with his Army to *Stekerau*; but was diſappointed of his aim there, becauſe the Arch-Duke *Leopold* march'd with part of his Army to the aſſiſtance of the Troops of *Bavaria*, againſt the *French*; and had already ſo far advanc'd, that it was impoſſible to overtake him. The Arch-Duke left the reſt of his Troops to guard very carefully the paſſages of the *Danube*. But when *Torſtenſon* perceiv'd there was nothing to be done in *Auſtria*, and that both the *Peſtilence* and *Bloody flux* rag'd in his Army, becauſe his Soldiers had eaten exceſſively of the green Grapes, he reſolv'd to provide them other Quarters before the Roads ſhou'd become impracticable; and endeavour'd to oblige the Arch-Duke to return and ſtop him in his March; and to the end that *Auſtria* might not be altogether deliver'd of the *Swedes*, he left very ſtrong Garriſons in *Crems* and *Cronenbuag*, and ſome other places, to maintain the Communication with *Olmutz* and *Oglau*. Afterwards General *Torſtenſon* march'd towards *Bohemia*; whither the *Imperialiſte* follow'd him, that they might defend that Country as much as poſſible. From thence he ſent *Koningſmark* into *Moravia*, to provide Neceſſaries for the places in that Country. *Koningſmark*, in his return, took ſeveral Caſtles in *Sileſia*, whither the *Swediſh* Army came to joyn him, afterwards the *Swedes* return'd to *Bohemia*, and took their Quarters along the River *Eyer*.

Hitherto *Torſtenſon* ſupported the weight of the Affairs of *Germany* with a great deal of Glory and Reputation; but finding himſelf more and afflicted with the Gout, which made him loſe many opportunities of annoying his Enemies, he quitted

Torſtenſon quits the Command of the Army.

the Command of the Army, and came to *Leipsick*, in expectation of finding there some ease of his Pain. They expected in his place *Charles Gustavus Vrangle*, who was to come with a considerable Re-inforcement from *Holsace*. The same Year, the Arms of *France* had a very different success in *Germany*; For *Turenne* receiv'd a considerable check near *Margentheim*, from the Troops of *Bavaria*, who march'd with all diligence to Attack him, when he thought himself most secure; insomuch, that he was forc'd to retire into the Country of *Hesse*, where the Troops of the *Landgrave* and *Koningsmark* cover'd him from the pursuit of the Enemy, until the Prince of *Conti*, then Duke of *Enguien*, joyn'd him with a considerable Re-inforcement. Soon after, these two Generals return'd into *Swabia*, and once more engag'd the Army of *Bavaria*. In this Battle, it's true, the *French* were Masters of the Field; yet the loss appear'd to be equal on both sides: But afterwards, when the Arch-Duke *Leopold* came with Succours to the *Bavarians*, *Turenne* was fain to repass the *Rhine* with all diligence, and hardly without running the risque of a very severe check.

The Occurences of the Year 1646. Vrangel takes the Command of the Army.

In the beginning of the Year 1646, *Vrangel* took the Command of the *Swedish* Army as Generalissimo. The *Swedish* Troops consisting then of fifteen Thousand Horse, and eight Thousand Foot, all *Veterans*, and chosen Troops; besides the Garrisons and flying Camp, under the Command of *Koningsmark*; for about that time, *Wittenberg* parted from *Silesia*, to joyn the Main Army. On the other side, the *Imperial* Army, which was advancing towards the *Swedes*, consisted of thirteen Thousand Horse, and eleven Thousand Foot, besides twelve Regiments of Cavalry, and eighteen of Infantry of the Troops of *Bavaria*, that came to joyn them. The Enemies intention was, to fall suddenly upon the *Swedish* Army, before *Koningsmark* could joyn it, or before the *French* could give them any diversion upon the *Rhine*. But General *Vrangel* thought it not convenient to hazard a Battle (without Necessity) against an Enimy that was oblig'd to divide his Army; besides, the place which he took up in *Bohemia*, was not in a condition to afford him Provisions for any considerable

ſiderable time; he De-camp'd ſeaſonably, and return'd towards *Miſnia*, where he diſpers'd his Troops along the River *Sala:* But that he might not ravage too much the *Proteſtant States*, he marched towards the *Weſer*, to the end, that joyning the *French*, he might be in a better Condition to Attack the Enemy with the greater Vigour, and particularly harraſs the *Bavarian* Troops; which might be of conſequence, as well for continuing the *War*, as procuring the *Peace*. And that the Emperor's Provinces might not be altogether exempted from the inconveniencies of the War, he ſent *Wittenberg* with ſome Troops into *Sileſia*. General *Vrangel* heaving *Thuringia* in the beginning of *April*, in order to march towards the *Weſer*, took *Hoxter*, *Paderborn*, and *Stadbergen*, with ſome other little places in that Neighbourhood. And General *Turenne* having inform'd him, that he deſign'd to paſs the *Rhine* at *Bacherat*, in the beginning of *June*, that he might joyn the *Swediſh* Army with the greater ſecurity, *Vrangel* march'd towards the *Upper-Heſſe*, and poſted himſelf near *Wetzlar*, whither *Knoingſmark* came to him, having taken *Bremevenerde* and *Leingau* in his way. But *Turenne* having fail'd in his Promiſe, *Vrangel* was reduc'd to a very perplex'd State, in regard, that the Enemy advanc'd againſt him with all their Forces: For if he had not rely'd upon the *French* Promiſes, he could have employ'd his Time much more ſecurely and advantageouſly in *Weſtphalia*. However, he thought it not convenient to return thither, leſt he might expoſe the Princeſs of *Heſſe-Caſtle* to the Diſcretion of the Enemy, and therefore reſolv'd to encamp near *Amentburg*, that thence he might the better obſerve the Deſign and Countenance of the Enemy, until the *French* ſhou'd draw near him. In the mean time, the *Imperialiſts* and *Bavarians* march'd on againſt him, giving out, That their Army was thirty Thouſand Men ſtrong: Beſides that, *Melander*, otherwiſe call'd *Holtſapffel*, had joyn'd againſt them, ſaying, That he would once more venture his Gray Head againſt the *Swedes*. The Enemies had the greater hopes of ruining the *Swediſh* Army, becauſe *Torſtenſon* was not there, thinking always, that the abſence

absence of that General, was of greater importance to the *Swedes*, than ten Thonſand Men: For, beſides his extraordinary Conduct in other Affairs, he knew always how to do them a great deal of miſchief with his Artillery. Thus the *Imperial* Army Poſted themſelves within half a League of the *Swedes*, upon a riſing Ground, whence they could ſee into their Camp. The next day there happen'd a ſevere Skirmiſh betwixt the *Swediſh* and *Bavarian* Troops, in which the latter ſuffer'd very much. It's certain, that the *Imperialiſts* deſign'd to cut off the *Swedes* from their Proviſions, and hinder their joyning with *Turenne*'s Army; but they failed in both their Projects: For the *Swediſh* Army was ſufficiently provided from *Caſſel*, whereas the Bread which was brought from *Franconia* to the *Imperialiſts*, was altogether Mouldy, by reaſon of the great Heat and far Carriage; inſomuch, that the Infantry were extream faint, and even the Cavelry ſuffer'd ſufficiently upon that high Hill for want of Water and Forrage. Upon which account, the *Imperialiſts*, to avoid all Inconveniences, were conſtrain'd to retire, after having loſt above four Thouſand Men, and a great many Horſes. In fine, *Turenne* having joyn'd *Vrangel*'s Army in the Neighbourhood of *Gieſſen*, they march'd both towards the Enemy, that was encamp'd near the Convent of *Ilmenſtad*, with a deſign to give them Battle: But theſe two Generals ſeeing that the *Imperialiſts* durſt not appear, they reſolv'd to paſs along the left of their Camp, and hinder their Communication with the Towns of *Francfort*, *Hanau* and the River *Mein*. And, in effect, their Enterprize ſucceeded ſo happily, that they cut in pieces a Detachment of five Hundred Horſes, who went to diſpute with them the Paſſage of the *Nidda*; and by theſe means they pillag'd all the Magazines which the Enemy had along that River. They ſent *Koningſmark* with ſome Troops to *Gern Huiſen*, in order to hinder them from paſſing to the Right near *Vogelberg*; inſomuch, that the *Imperialiſts* found themſelves reduc'd to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forc'd to return, with all diligence in the Night-time, towards the River *Laine*. But the

Skirmiſh between the Swedes *&* Bavarians.

Beſiegers

Beſiegers thought it not convenient to follow them into a Country exhauſted of all things, and therefore march'd, without any oppoſition, towards the *Danube*, and defeated near *Donavert*, a party of eight hundred of the *Bavarian* Cavalry, who deſign'd to burn a Bridge upon that River. Having afterwards paſs'd the *Lech* near *Oberendorf*, they carried the Town of *Rain* with little oppoſition. After which, they came before *Augsburg*, that wou'd have prov'd of great Conſequence to them in order to bridle *Bavaria* and *Suabia*. At firſt ſight the Inhabitants ſeem'd as if they meant to receive a *Swediſh* Garriſon; but as ſoon as fifteen Hundred Soldiers were enter'd from different Quarters, they began to put themſelves in a poſture of Defence. The *Swedes* and *French* fail'd in nothing that was poſſible for them to do to gain the Place, inſomuch, that they were advanc'd into the Ditch, and had already undermin'd a Baſtion, ſo that they were juſt ready to make a general aſſault, in order to oblige the Beſieged to Surrender: But the *Imperialiſts* coming in the mean time, threw powerful Succours into the place, by a certain Paſſage which was impoſſible for the Allies to block up; upon which, raiſing the Siege, they took their march towards *Laugingen*, to ſecure themſelves of the paſſage of the *Danube*. On the other hand, the Enemies paſs'd from *Bavaria* into *Suabia*, and poſted themſelves behind *Memmingen* and the *Iller*. But the Enemies having by that March left them open paſſage to enter into *Bavaria*, the Allies paſs'd the *Lech* at *Lendsberg*, and hinder'd them, for ſome time, from coming into their own Country; until, at laſt, having hover'd a long time, they paſs'd the *Leach*, near the Cloyſter of *Dierhoofd*, having loſt a great many Men in their haſty March. General *Vrangel* was very deſirous to penetrate further into *Bavaria*, and paſs'd the *Iſer* near *Triſingen*, to the end they might exhauſt the Country with the two Parties: But the *French* refu'sd to follow him; for, indeed, during the whole courſe of the War, they entertain'd a ſecret Correſpondence with the *Bavarians*, nor ever wou'd they fall upon them vigorouſly. Beſides, they pretend-

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ed for an excuſe, the Negotiation that was afoot for a Truce. Moreover, the *French* never deſign'd to oppreſe the Enemy to that degree, that the *Swedes* might be in a condition to ſubſiſt without their aſſiſtance: And tho' they never meant to reduce them intirely, nevertheleſs they abandon'd them when they ſeem'd to be any way uppiſh, to the end, that they might keep them always in a middle State. Thus the Allies left *Bavaria* (having firſt ravag'd all the Country) and went into Winter-Quarters in *Suabia*. *Turenne* ſeiz'd the places along the *Danube*; and *Vrangel* took up the Country that extends towards the *Bodenſia*. However they entered once more by *Rain* into *Bavaria*, where they defeated two Thouſand Horſe near *Bruckhein*. About the latter end of the ſame Year *Vrangel*, very fortunately carried a ſtrong Place near *Bregentz*; in which, there were ſix Thouſand Country Men to defend it: Beſides, he took the Caſtle of *Pannenberg*, which is very near it. The *Swedes* got very rich Booty in *Bregentz*.

While the Main Body of the *Swediſh* Army made ſuch progreſs in that part of *Germany*, the *Imperialiſts* had the opportunity of re-taking a great many places in the Emperor's Hereditary Provinces, ſuch as *Terſchen*, *Cornenburg*, *Crems*, *Frunkeſtein* and *Nicolasburg*, with many other places where the *Swedes* had Garriſons in *Auſtria*. But to theend, that theſe Countries ſhould not be exempted from the charges of the War, General *Vrangel* ſent *Wittenburg* into *Sileſia*, with a Detachment of five Thouſand Men. Having taken the Town *Wittenberg*, he retir'd for a while into the *Lower-Sileſia*, where he waited for a Re-inforcement of four Thouſand Men who were to come to him from *Sweden*. After which, he attack'd the *Imperialiſts* and forc'd them to retire, He afterwards enter'd into the *Upper-Sileſia*, *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and defeated the Enemies in divers Countries.

A Truce between Sweden and Bavaria, 1647.

In the beginning of the Year 1647, General *Vrangel* laid Siege to *Lindau*, but fail'd in the ſucceſs of his Deſign, becauſe of the advantageous Situation of the Place. However, he made himſelf Maſter of the Iſland of *Meinau*, Situated in *Bodoniſia*,

doniſia, and of the Caſtle that defends it. After that, he made a Truce at *Ulin*, with the *Bavarians*, not ſo much out of any inclination he had to make that Treaty, or that he thought it any advantage for the Arms of *Sweden*, but becauſe the *French* inſiſted ſo much upon it, he could hardly avoid it, without diſobliging them. Moreover *France* believed it of ſingular Conſequence for them to have brought over *Bavaria* from the Intereſt of the Emperor. By this Treaty the *Bavarians* yielded *Memininguin* and *Uberlingen* to *Sweden*; and on the other hand the *Swedes* gave up the Towns of *Rain*, *Dunaverd*, *Wembdingen* and *Maldelheim* to the *Bavarians*. Beſides, the Elector of *Cologn*, and the Princeſs of *Heſſe Caſſel*, were alſo included in this Treaty. Not only the Emperor complain'd highly of this Accommodation made by the Duke of *Bavaria*, but a great many Officers of the Army of that Prince, were extraordinary diſſatisfied at it. However, that Prince excus'd himſelf upon pretence, that there were no other means left him whereby to get his Country rid of the *Swediſh* Army. Afterwards General *Vrangel* leaving the *Upper-Suabia*, went down towards the Country of *Franken*, where he laid Siege to *Schweinfort*, judging it a very convenient place for entring a Communication betwixt *Weſtphalia*, and the *Upper-Germany*. In fine, he oblig'd the Beſieged to Surrender on Diſcretion, and brought over ſeven Hundred Horſmen and four Hundred Foot of the Garriſon, to ſerve in the Army. In the mean time, *Torſtenſon* march'd with the *French*, under his Command, into the Low-Countries, it appearing, by his Countenance, at his Departure, that he had no deſign of returning in haſte to *Germany*. This oblig'd *Vrangel* to recall *Wittenberg* from *Sileſia*; eſpecially becauſe a great many People laid little ſtreſs upon the Truce, that was made with the *Bavaria*; and, indeed, that Prince had disbanded none of his Troops. After *Vrangel* had refreſh'd his Troops from ſome few days, he march'd through *Bamberg*, he laid Siege to *Eger*. Upon his arrival, he defeated three Regiments of the *Imperial* Army, who were negligent upon their Guard. There was in *Egar* a Garriſon

Eger *Beſieg'd and taken.*

riſon of fourteen Hundren Men, all old well choſen Troops, who defended themſelves with a great deal of Courage and Reſolution, inſomuch, that *Vrangel* found it very hard to ſucceed in his deſign. Beſides, the *Imperialiſts* got together under the Command of *Hautappel*, to whom the Emperor intruſted the charge of his Army; and upon whoſe Conduct the Enemies rely'd very much. However, the Place Surrender'd upon Compoſition, before Succours could come to their Relief. *Vrangel* diſmiſs'd all the Officers, but retain'd the common Soldiers in the *Swediſh* Service. The *Imperialiſts* were hardly at three Leagues diſtance from *Eger* when it ſurrendered; and it was commonly reported, that they might have come up two days ſooner, if they had not been oblig'd to march about by order of Count *Slick*, Preſident of the Council of War, who was unwilling to have his Country Ravag'd by the march of an Army. In the mean time, the Generals of the *Bavarian* Army, namely, *John Weerd* and *Spark*, being extreamly incens'd at the laſt Truce the Duke had concluded with *Sweden*, reſolv'd to joyn the Forces with the Emperor's, and even, already, they began to file off the Soldiers. However, their deſign was ſtop'd very ſeaſonably, becauſe the Duke of *Bavaria* vigorouſly oppos'd both the Emperor and theſe Generals in the Execution of it, by declaring theſe Generals perjur'd and Rebels, by a publick Proclamation. Nevertheleſs the *Swedes* diſtruſted them ſtill. After the Surrender of *Eger*, the *Imperial* Army, where the Emperor was in Perſon, went and encamp'd near the *Swediſh*, before the Town, call'd *Galgenbergh*, the River only ſeparating the two Parties; for *Vrangel* thought it not fit to quit the Poſt before he repair'd the Works which were Ruin'd, and put the Place in a poſture of Defence. Two days after the *Imperialiſts* had took their Poſt, *Holm Vrangel* marching with ſome Squadrons to attack them in their Camp, preſs'd ſo hard upon them, that his Men pierc'd through even to the Emperor's Tent, and cut the Sentinel in pieces, inſomuch, that they could not have fail'd of taking him Priſoner, if they had manag'd their oppor-

opportunity dextrouſly; and that their War had follow'd them with an equal ſpeed; but being too far advanc'd, they were beat back with ſome loſs; yet the *Imperialiſts* were liable to a great many Inconveniencies in that Poſt, not only becauſe the *Swedes* gall'd them extreamly with their Artillery, but alſo, in regard, they were much expos'd to Famin, having their back turn'd towards *Miſnia*, whereas the *Swedes* had all *Bohemia* behind them. Beſides, Water beginning to fail them upon the Hill, a great many of their Horſes, fell dead upon the Ground; and the Soldiers, who were newly Levied, not being us'd to ſuffer ſuch Extremity, died by whole Companies: Add to this, That thoſe who went any diſtance from their Camp, were always cut to pieces, either by the *Swediſh* Parties, or by the Country People. In fine, the *Imperialiſts* were extreamly miſtaken in their Expectation; for they fancied that the *Swediſh* Army was ſo much leſſen'd by the Siege of *Eger*, that it was reduc'd to ſix Thouſand Horſe, and two Thouſand Foot, and that they would be compell'd to retreat in *Miſnia*, as ſoon as the *Imperialiſts* wou'd appear. The next day the Enemy decamp'd, having loſt ſix Thouſand Men in this Expedition: Moreover, the *Swedes*, who chas'd them, gall'd their Rear extreamly. After General *Vrangel* had repair'd the Works of *Eger*, and began to want Proviſions, he decamp'd alſo, and came into *Bohemia*, by the way of *Koningſwaart*: He encamp'd near *Plan*, where he had all *Franconia* open behind him. The *Imperialiſts* deſigning to hinder his further progreſs into *Bohemia*, march'd to oppoſe him, and Poſted themſelves at *Taſchva*, about half a League from the *Swediſh* Army: Thence marching in their way, they took the Caſtle of *Tribel*, where there were thirty *Swediſh* Dragoons in Garriſon; and there they intended to attack the *Swedes*. And, in effect, having ſurpriz'd the main Guard, they beat them back very vigorouſly, and carried off ſix pair of Colours; upon which, the *Swediſh* Cavalry advancing, began a bloody Combat, which laſted near two hours, and in which the *Imperialiſts* were oblig'd at laſt to give way. However, they made a great

A bloody encounter.

great Trophie of the thirteen Colours which they had taken. But the *Swedes* loſt only 150 Men in this Engagement; amongſt whom was *Helm Vrangel*; whereas, the *Imperialiſts* loſt above 200 on the ſpot. Some few days after, the *Imperialiſts* decamp'd once more, paſſing, at a diſtance, along the Right of the *Swediſh* Army, and took up their Poſt behind *Plan*, having the *Upper-Palatinate* behind them. Upon which, General *Vrangel* march'd alſo, in order to hinder the Enemy from ſeizing a Paſs near *Koningſmark*. Nevertheleſs, they prevented him, becauſe he was oblig'd to march round about, by reaſon of the Mountains that were in his way. However, having come up with three Regiments of Dragoons of the *Imperial* Army, upon a riſing Ground, he cut them in pieces, in the ſight of their Army. But ſeeing they had cut him off from his Paſſage to *Eger*, he march'd with his Army to *Tropelen*, in order to have his Paſſage into *Miſnia*, always free. There he encamp'd upon a riſing Ground, in a very advantageous Situation; whither the *Imperialiſts* follow'd him, and Poſted themſelves juſt by him. They attempted twice to carry a Fortreſs, which the *Swedes* had Built to cover their Camp; but they were always repuls'd with loſs. After that, both Parties wrought hard to fortifie themſelves; and they were at ſo ſmall a diſtance from one another, that during the whole courſe of the War, the two Armies had never been ſo near, not being ſeparated by a River or any Paſſage, but only by the Works which the different Parties had caſt up for the defence of their Camp. In fine, all Mankind believ'd, that 'twas impoſſible for theſe two Armies to ſeparate, without a general Battle. Nevertheleſs, the *Imperialiſte* decamp'd the 3d time, and left the *Swedes* to themſelves, who march'd alſo, and paſs'd the *Eger*, to come to *Satz*, in order to joyn *Hammerſteim* there, who came from *Miſnia*, with a Reinforcement of ſome Regiments. The moſt remarkable thing in this Expedition, is, That the *Swedes* had the Glory of obliging the *Imperialiſts* to decamp three times, before them, tho' they had the advantage of being upon their own Ground: Beſides, their Army was 8000 Men ſtronger than

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the *Swediſh*. In the mean time, the Emperor preſt the Duke of *Bavaria* ſo importunately, that he prevail'd with him to take up Arms again, without any regard to his Word or Reputation. This puffed up the *Imperialiſts* to that degree, that they already ſwallow'd up the *Swediſh* Army in their fancies; eſpecially, becauſe they hop'd the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* would follow his example, and that the *French* would intirely abandon their Allies. And for theſe reaſons, General *Vrangel* had no other expedient left him, than to retire into a place of ſafety, and there wait for *Koningſmark*, and the Troops of *Heſſe*. It was alſo upon that account, that he left no Garriſons in all *Bohemia*, except in the Town of *Eger*, and the Caſtle of *Brixen*, and in the Fort of *Koningſwaart*; and ſo return'd into *Miſnia*, by the Paſſage of *Prieſnitz*; and having paſs'd the River *Sala*, he enter'd into *Thuringia* and the Country of *Eicksfeld*; whence he ſent *Wittenberg* into *Sileſia*, with a conſiderable Detachment, to oblige the Enemy to make ſome Diverſion: But himſelf went farther, and paſs'd the *Weſer* near *Hoxter*, where he refreſh'd his Troops for ſome time. The *Imperialiſts* and *Bavarians* follow'd *Vrangel* into *Thuringia* and *Miſnia*, paſſing the Forreſt of *Bohemia*. However, they did not march directly againſt him, tho' they might have forc'd him to retire much further, and were in Circumſtances to reduce him to great Straits; but they took the Road of *Heſſe*, paſſing towards the Left, in order to hinder the *French* from joyning the *Swediſh* Army; or perhaps, becauſe *Holtzappel* meant to vent his Choler againſt the Princeſs Dowager of *Heſſe*, by laying her Country waſte. While the Enemies paſs'd the *Falda*, in order to draw near the *Swedes*, *Vrangel* paſs'd the *Weſer*; to come to *Oldendorp*, and diſpers'd his Army, that was harraſs'd, into Winter-Quarters, which he took up in the Neighbourhood of *Halberſtad*, *Hildeſheim*, *Minden*, *Schaumburg*, and in the Country of *Brunſwick*, where he remounted his Cavalry, and put his Army into eaſie Quarters. The *Imperialiſts* paſs'd thorough *Heſſe*, and laid the whole Country in Deſolation, but gain'd no advantage in it, having loſt a great

many of their Men in that Hilly Country: Moreover, the Country People destroy'd a good number of them, whom they found dispers'd up and down; and even *Holtzappel*, attempting the Taking of the Castle of *Marpurg*, was wounded in the Head by a Splinter of a Beam that was split by a Cannon-Bullet shot by the Besieg'd; insomuch, that 'twas thought he would Die of the Wound. Afterwards, the *Bavarians* retir'd into the Country of *Francken*; and the *Imperialists* went to take their Winter Quarters in *Thuringia*, and that Neighbourhood.

The same Year, while *Wittenberg* return'd from *Silesia*, to joyn the main Body of the Army in *Bohemia*, the *Imperialists* had some breathing-time. After a long tedious Siege, they took the Town of *Iglau* in *Moravia*. But on the other side, *Koningsmark* made himself Master of *Vecht* in *Westphalia*, of *Fustenau* and *Weidenbragge*; and when *Lamboi* went with all diligence to make an Irruption in *East-Frise*, and had already taken some Forts, *Koningsmark* went to Attack him with the Troops of *Hesse*, and shut him up near *Rheenen*, Defeating him in several Encounters, until he was oblig'd to go and joyn the main Army, after he had taken under his Command *Weimar*'s Veteran Horsemen, who had Mutiny'd in *Turenne*'s Army.

After the Duke of *Bavaria* had broken the Truce he had made with *Sweden*, his Troops took the Town of *Memingen*.

The Exploits of both Parties, in the Year, 1648.

In the beginning of the last Year of this long and bloody War, *Vrangel* taking the Field, march'd towards the *Upper-Hesse*, in order to give the Enemies some Work in their Winter-Quarters. Taking his way through the *Spessard*, he pass'd the *Rhine* near *Gemund*, to wait *Turenne*'s Arrival: And the *Imperialists* seeing the *Swedes* took the Field so early, they were also oblig'd to march out of their Winter-Quarters, where they had hardly time enough to warm themselves; insomuch, that they march'd towards the *Danube*, in a very miserable Condition; for they were hardly 4000 Horse, and 3000 Foot; and *Vrangel* had certainly Defeated them intirely, if *Turenne* had condescended to follow him; but that General refus'd it, upon pretence,

tence, That he would first have Satisfaction upon the account of the Cavalry of *Weimar*, which the *Swedes* retain'd. So the Month of *February* pass'd in disputes only upon that subject, to the great discontent of the *Swedes*, seeing themselves forc'd to lose so favourable an opportunity, without making the least advantage of it; and shew'd evidently, that the *French* had no mind to set upon the *Bavarians*; insomuch, that at length they were oblig'd to tell them the truth very freely. When the *French* and *Vrangel* were joyn'd, they march'd directly toward the Enemy, who was Posted betwixt *Nemburg* and *Ingolstad*; and having chac'd 'em to the other side of the *Danube*, they carry'd a great many Places on this side the River. After which, *Turenne* return'd into his Quarters, and *Vrangel* took his way towards the *Upper-Palatinate*, in order to send *Koningsmark* to throw some Provisions into *Eger*, which that General executed very successfully, tho' the *Imperialists* (who, after the separation of the *French*, retir'd towards the *Upper-Palatinate*) endeavour'd to give him some check in his return. After that Expedition, General *Vrangel* march'd toward *Swabia*, where he made himself Master of *Dunckelphul*; and there being yet no Grass in the Field, *Turenne* quitted to the *Swedes* some part of his Quarters, in the Country of *Wittemburg*, till the end of *April*; when they march'd to look out for the Enemy, who having no mind to wait for them, pass'd the *Danube* in all haste, and march'd towards the *Lech*. However, the Allies pass'd the *Danube* near *Laugingen* in pursuit of them, overtook their Rear-Guard near *Susinarshuisen*, and cut about 2000 of them in pieces, amongst whom was *Holtzappel*, General of the *Imperial* Army. After that, the *Imperialists*, all in a fright retir'd into *Bavaria*, whither the Allies had chac'd them. Afterwards, *Vrangel* sent *Koningsmark* with a considerable Detachment into *Bohemia*, to give the Enemy some diversion there. The *Swedes* were the more desirous to go and Ravage *Bavaria*, because the Duke had prejudic'd them extreamly, by breaking treacherously the Truce he had made with them. The Allies march'd first towards *Friburg*, where they

Holtzappel *Kill'd.*

they chas'd the Army to the other side of the *Iser*; and afterwards made themselves Master of *Landshut*; then that Country was more allarm'd than it had been in the whole course of the War, and particularly because they had no General to head their Army, but daily expected *Picolimini* from the *Netherlands*. In fine, their Consternation was so very great, that the Duke of *Bavaria* himself retir'd to *Salsburg*, looking out for Sanctuary amongst those he had formerly so much oppress'd, insomuch, that he left all his Country betwixt the *Lech* and the *Irm*, to the Discretion of the Enemy. However, the *Swedes* cou'd not pass this last River, not only becaus it was very high by reason of the melting of the Snow, that came down from the *Alps*; but also becaus the Enemies, having assembled their Forces, guarded all the Passages very carefully. At first, they might easily have carried *Wasserburg*, if they had attack'd it briskly; but they disdain'd to Besiege it formally: Nor cou'd they make any advance at *Muhldorf*, where they intended to build a Bridge, and where the Allies continued till the end of *June* without doing any thing. In the mean time, the Enemies were Re-inforc'd from all sides, and assum'd some Courage when they saw *Picolimini* at the head of his Army, as Generalissimo. Soon after, they came near *Schardingen* on this side the River *Irm*, and posted themselves betwixt *Passau* and *Vilshoven*; leaving that place, they re-pass'd the *Danube*, becaus their forrage fail'd them, and incamp'd near *Windorf*. On the other hand, the Allies having ruin'd all the Neighbourhood about *Muhldorf*, and perceiving it was impossible to pass the *Irm*, they decamp'd from the place, and took their Post near *Dingelfingen*. The *Imperialists* came and incamp'd by them, near *Landau*, along the *Iser*, where they were often gall'd by the *French* and *Swedish* Parties: But they found much more work when the Enemies came near *Mamingen* within a League of the *Swedish* Army. Both Parties, indeed, search'd for one another; but neither of them would hazard a general Battel. After the Allies had consum'd, in a Months time, all the Country in the Neighbourhood of *Dingelfingen*, they march'd towards *Misberg*. But the *Imperialists* re-

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turn'd towards the *Irm*, least the *Swedes*, with their Allies, should pass that River; for then the Water was so low, that they might foord it over in many places. Thence they march'd towards the *Alps*, in order to prevent the Allies, who, a long time, had an eye upon the Country betwixt the *Iber* and the *Lech*, the only place that abounded at that time in Provisions. Nevertheless, the Allies left *Misburg*, with a design to attack *Landsberg*, and by this means give an opportunity to the Enemies to hazard a General Battel. Upon this March General *Vrangel* had a Rencounter with the Enemies, near *Dachau*, where he receiv'd some check. He had advice, that *Jean Weerd* had pass'd the *Iber* at *Munic*, and was come to *Pruck*; *Vrangel* march-ed towards *Dachau*, with sixteen Squadrons of Horse and some Dragoons to surprize him in his return, and thence by the *Ammer* he went to *Munic*. But, contrary to his expectation, the Enemies Cavalry fell upon him, and beat back his advanc'd Troops. However, the Dragoons disputed a Passage with the Enemies so long, that *Vrangel*'s Troops had opportunity to put themselves in a posture of Defence, and retire Fighting towards their main Body, with the loss of three Hundred Men, as well kill'd as taken Prisoners.

But because the City of *Landsberg* was not to be taken without much trouble, and Provision began to fail in the Camp of the Allies, they rais'd their Siege towards the end of *September*, and pass'd the *Lech*, to go into *Suabia*, after having ravag'd *Bavaria* all the Summer: For, the D. having refus'd to pay Contribution, and buy off a Conflagration, the most part of his Goods were reduc'd to Ashes. Afterwards, General *Vrangel* passing the *Danube* to *Donawert*, staid some time at *Norlingen*, designing to move from thence into the *Upper-Palatinate*, and endeavour to joyn *Charles Gustavus*, Count *Palatine*, Generalissimo: But before he could put it in Execution, he receiv'd the News of the conclusion of a Peace, which caus'd a Cessation of Hostilities on both sides. In the same Year *Koningsmark* had made considerable progress; for, having left the Body of the Army, he march'd towards the *Upper-Palatinate*,

where he took ſeveral Places, and likewiſe into *Bohemia*, where he made great havock: And then did *Erneſt Odowalski*, a Lieutenant Collonel, whom the Emperor had caſhiered, give occaſion to *Koningſmark* to undertake a deſign of importance: That Officer ſeeing all his effects plundered, which he had about the City of *Eger*, endeavour'd to be again entertain'd into the Emperor's Service; but being injuriouſly refuſed, he went and joyn'd with *Koningſmark*, ſhewing him how he might ſurprize the City of *Prague*; and, indeed, this undertakking being wiſely manag'd, was ſo ſucceſsfully Executed, that in mounting the Ramparts, and blowing up a Gate, *Koningſmark* loſt but one Soldier, and ſome Wounded. Thus the General became Maſter of a great part of the City, where was the Emperor's Caſtle, and the Palaces of the greateſt Lords of the Country, and where the *Swedes* met without ineſtimable Booty, and took many Priſoners of Note. The *Swedes* might preſently have gone by the Bridge in the Old City; but *Koningſmark* contented himſelf with what he had, becauſe he had not Men enough to hold a City of that vaſt extent, and which contained above 12000 Citizens able to bear Arms; and truly had work enough to preſerve what he poſſeſt with ſo few until *Wittenberg* could arrive with his Troops. He holding his Enemies in *Sileſia* in ſufficient play, having a little before invaded *Bohemia*, was gone to poſt himſelf near *Koningſaal*, to hinder them from entring that City, and to be ready to aſſiſt *Koningſmark* in caſe of need. But ſeeing he could make no conſiderable progreſs there, he Beſieg'd *Tabor*, which he carried by Storm, with very ſmall loſs on his ſide, where he found very rich Booty. Afterwards *Wittenberg* took his way towards *Prague*, but being inform'd that the *Imperialiſts* were gathering about *Budewies*, he reſolv'd to go thither and diſperſe them. In his way meeting Count *Buecheim*, with ſeveral Officers and Perſons of Note who were got out of *Prague*, he defeated their Convoy, and took the Count, with many great Lords, and 350 ordinary Perſons, and go, in this Encounter, conſiderable Booty. In

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the end, *Charles Gustavus*, Count *Palatine*, came into *Germany* on the behalf of Queen *Christina*, who had given him the chief Command of all her Troops, with the Title of *Generalissimo:* This Prince, had for some Years, learnt the Art of War under General *Torstenson*; but was since that time return'd to *Sweden*, where he rested some time to carry on his Match with the Queen, wherein he apply'd himself with much Care and Assiduity: But she being already resolved against Marrying, he could obtain no further Promise, but only that in case her mind should change, she would Marry none but himself. Now, to the end that this Prince might have an opportunity to signalize himself, and give marks of his Capacity, the Queen gave him this important Office; particularly, because she knew no person, whom she could better confide in, or, who would more punctually exercise her Orders. Besides, he having very great advantages above all others, as well on account of his Noble Birth, as of his future Grandure; the other Generals could not take it amiss, that he was set above them, who would have been much concern'd, had they been to pay Obedience to one of an inferior Quality. But to raise his Credit and Reputation, as well with those of his own side, as with his Enemies he brought with him from *Sweden*, a recruit of 7000 *Swedes* and *Finlanders*, in order to compel the *Imperialists* (who were ever wavering while Treaties of Peace were on Foot) to come to an Accommodation, and to be in a condition to make Head against his Enemies in case the *French* should desert him. As soon as *Charles Gustavus* was arriv'd in *Germany*, he greatly desir'd to joyn the Body of the Army; but they were at such distance from him, that he could not come up to them without hazard; wherefore he made his way to *Bohemia*, with a design to Besiege *Prague*, and become Master of that important Place, [or else to draw the *Imperialists* thither; for that Prince thought if he were too weak to oppose the Emperor's Strength, it would, at least, be easy for him to post himself on the other side of the *Elbe*, and wait till *Vrangel* should joyn him with the whole *Swedish* Army. That City was Attack'd very Courageously; but the Besieged made

Charles Gustavus *Count* Palatine *made* Generalissimo.

a vigorous Reſiſtance, eſpecially, ſince thoſe amongſt them who were able to bear Arms, were three times more numerous than the *Swediſh* Infantry. In the mean time the *Swedes* having forc'd the Works of the Beſieged, drove them into the City from two of their Intrenchments; ſo that length, they muſt have yielded, had the *Count Palatine* thought it beſt to purſue his Point. But becauſe the *Swedes* would have been incloſed within the Walls, it was their moſt prudent way to raiſe the Siege, ſince they had what they aimed at, which was to rid *Vrangel* of a part of the *Imperial* Army; whereunto may be added, That the Beſieged being ſo numerous, might eaſily caſt up new Intrenchments in the City, whence they might find trouble enough to diſlodge them: Beſides that, the Infantry who in the latter part of *Autumn* had endur'd a continual Rain, could not long continue without entire Ruine. So the *Count Palatine* quitted the City of *Prague* after three Months Siege, and diſperſed his Troops into Winter-Quarters in *Bohemia*, waiting an Expreſs from *Munſter*, which ſhould bring him News of the Concluſion of a Peace, and which being received ſome little time after, put an end to Hoſtilities on both ſides. Many Years had this Peace been concerting, which was chang'd into all manner of Senſes before it was brought into its true Form; For after the Fight of *Norlingen*, the *Imperialiſts* puſt up with their Victory, preſently fancied they could not only ſecure their Dominions in *Germany*, but, that, with the Elector of *Saxony*'s aſſiſtance, they might eaſily compel the *Swedes* to re-paſs the *Baltick-Sea*, after which, being at liberty, they could Invade *France* with all their might, and impoſe Laws upon them; but finding, on ſeveral occaſions, they had reckoned amiſs, and that the *Swediſh* Army, under *Banier*'s Conduct, had made great progreſs, then the Enemies began to talk of Peace; but conditionally, that they ſhould under hand make a ſeparate Treaty with *Sweden*, whereby ſatisfaction ſhould be made them, if they did not concern themſelves with the other States of *Germany*. *Julius Henry* of *Saxe Lunenburg* in particular was a long time about this ſecret Treaty; and,

Peace between Germany *and* Sweden.

and, on the other hand, Count *Kutts*, Count *Averſperg*, and *Conrad Luſon* the Emperor's Ambaſſador, were very importunate thereupon, at *Hamburg* with *John Silvius*. Furthermore, General *Banier* was ſounded about the ſame while he was in *Bohemia*; and it was ſtill perſiſted in, even while the general Treaty was much advanced. But the *Swedes* finding there was neither Reputation nor Safety in ſuch underhand Treaties, the *Imperialiſts* were, at length, forc'd to conſent to a general Negotiation, when they ſaw the War begin to grow too heavy for them. The King of *Denmark*, who carried himſelf as Mediator therein, or rather, who had intruded himſelf in that Quality, appear'd ſo violent againſt the *Swedes*, that, at laſt, they were oblig'd to ſtrip him by force of that Character. The Preliminaries were, for ſome Years, treated at *Hamburg*, wherein, ſometimes the *Imperialiſts* and ſometimes the *French* rais'd new Difficulties. But upon the whole, they were abſolutely unwilling that the States of *Germany* ſhould be admitted to this Negotiation; particularly, ſuch as had made an Accommodation with the Emperor. Furthermore, there were great Heats before Paſſes could be obtain'd for the Ambaſſadors in the form that the *Swedes* deſired: And, in fine, the *Imperialiſts* would not move a ſtep, unleſs upon News of ſome miſhap which their Army had received from the *Swedes*. At length, after ſeven Years Conteſts about the Preliminaries, the Negotiation was enter'd upon at *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug*. They purpoſely treated in two different places to avoid the Diſputes which might ariſe between *France* and *Sweden* about *Precedence*; as alſo, becauſe the *Swedes* would have nothing to do with the Pope's Nuncio, nor he with them. Thus the Ambaſſadors of *Sweden*, the Emperor, and moſt of the Proteſtant States, met at *Oſnabrug*; but thoſe of *France*, the *Emperor*, *Spain* and *Holland*, and the *Pope's Nuncio*, with thoſe of moſt part of the *Catholick States*, at *Munſter*. In the mean time it was agreed, That the Treaties of theſe two places, ſhould be deem'd a ſingle one; and that the one ſhould determine nothing without the other; And, indeed, the Ambaſſadors of the

the Allied Crowns, made frequent Journeys from one City to another. But at length, the Peace was concluded at *Munſter*. Never was there ſeen before, ſo ſolemn and ſo conſiderable an Aſſembly of ſuch a Number of Ambaſſadors of the Potentates of *Europe*. There did the *Imperialiſts* practiſe all ſorts of Tricks and Artifices to divide the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Sweden*; and particularly, the latter and the *Proteſtant-States*; but all their endeavours prov'd ineffectual; for whatever Subterfuges they ſought, about the Intereſts of the *Proteſtant-States*, the Ambaſſadors of the two Crowns happily determin'd them. As a ſatisfaction to the *Swedes*, they gave them the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, *Upper-Pomeren*, and part of the *Lower*, with the *Iſle of Rugen*, and the City of *Wiſmar*, which hath a Voice in the Circles and Diets, as a Fief of the Empire, beſides five Millions of Crowns for their Army. And, which is yet more to the Glory of the *Swedes*, is, That they ſo contributed towards ſettling the Empire, that moſt of the Differences, which had till then divided the States of *Germany*, were abſolutely concluded, and many enjoy'd their own again; beſides, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the Privileges of all the *States* of the Empire, were confirm'd. But this put *France* into a great Concern, which is ever glad to ſee Troubles and Broils in *Germany*. Now, tho' by this Peace *Sweden* acquir'd much Glory and Reputation, and beſides had got ſome great Provinces, yet ſome imagine the *Swedes* did it too haſtily, and that they Sold the Advantages they had gain'd at too low a rate, and might have ſtipulated more advantageous Conditions, as well for themſelves as their Allies, if they had continued the War for ſome time, inſtead of being forced to permit themſelves to be ill dealt with after laying down their Arms. Theſe People add, That the *Swedes* held in *Germany* above a Hundred Places, which they had Garriſon'd, as well in the Hereditary Countries of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as in other Countries of the Empire; That they might have put under Contribution all the Countries from the *Baltick* to the *Boden-Sea*; That their Troops were above 70000 Men, all choſen and old Soldiers,

Soldiers, who had Experience, and very well underſtood the Trade of War; beſides, the Generals and Commanding Officers were certainly the Braveſt of that Time; ſo that perhaps there was no Soveraign in *Europe*, who had ſo formidable an Army. Whence, laſtly, they conclude, That if they had waited but one Year longer, they might have carry'd the War from the other ſide of the *Danube* into the Heart of *Auſtria*, and made the Emperor Tremble: And further, they pretend that the Peace was no way agreeable to Chancellor *Oxenſtern*, nor the other Generals. But notwithſtanding all theſe Reaſons, Queen *Chriſtina* had very ſtrong Motives to induce her to put an end to a War, the events whereof are uſually very uncertain. For, firſt, *Holland* had left the Allies, and made Peace with *Spain*, and Troubles began to break out in *France*; ſo that *Sweden* ran the riſque of bearing the whole Burden of the War. And again, had the *Swedes* but loſt one general Battle, which was ever the aim of the *Imperialiſts*, they would at one ſtroak have loſt the fruit of ſo many Toils, and ſo much Time. Beſides, the States of *Germany* were weary of War, and might have taken ſome deſperate Reſolutions, had they deferr'd the Peace too long; to which may be added, That the *German* Soldiers, who made the greateſt part of the *Swediſh* Army, were ſo tired out, that they had very little fear or regard to their Officers. In fine, Queen *Chriſtina* was willing to live at reſt, and could not any longer endure, that her Eſtate ſhould depend upon the uncertain Succeſs of War, or the Humours of other People. However it was, Peace was Concluded, and the General not having time to ſhow himſelf, or make any great Progreſs, apply'd his whole Care, to cauſe the Articles of the Treaty to be obſerv'd, that he might not carry with him into *Sweden* nothing but plain Parchment. For after this Accommodation, the *Imperialiſts* ſtrove by little and little, to bring the *Swedes* to Disband their Troops, and carry them out of the Country, alledging, That as to what concern'd the execution of the Treaty, all Parties were well agreed: Whereupon, the moſt part of the States of

Germany,

Germany were very willing to consent, that they might so much the sooner get rid of the Soldiers, and be eased at the same time of their Contributions.

But in the mean time, the *Generalissimo*, who saw well into the Designs of the *Imperialists*, considering that when the *Swedish* Army was dismiss'd, they would have but little regard to the performance of most of the Conditions stipulated on behalf of the *Protestant States*, persisted positively in keeping up his Forces, till the principal Points in the Treaty were perform'd. And tho' the *Swedish* Troops were then Quarter'd in six different Circles of *Germany*, yet had the *Count-Palatine* so distributed them, that they could come together in a very little time, into a Body, in case of need. There was still held a particular Assembly at *Nuremberg*, for performing the Treaty, where after above a Year's time that the Negotiation had held, there was sufficient trouble to clear all the Differences; and particularly, the Fortress of *Franckendal* was the occasion of much difficulty, by reason that the *Spaniards*, who had a Garrison there, refus'd to put it into the Hands of the *Elector-Palatine*; so that an Expedient was to be found for terminating that Affair; and at length all Matters were regulated the Year following. During these Transactions, Queen *Christina* remembring the Promise she had made to the *Generalissimo*, so far prevail'd with the Senate and the States of the Kingdom, that on her Sollicitation, they Declar'd him Successor to the Crown of *Sweden*; tho' nevertheless, they had lik'd it better, if the Queen had Marry'd him, and indeed, did much insist upon it. The Reasons they gave for it, were, That in case *She* and *Count-Palatine* should continue unmarry'd, *Sweden* would ever have cause to fear the Dangers wherewith it would be threaten'd in case of an *Inter-Regnum*; That if the Queen should Marry another, then the Right of Succession would be but a small advantage to the Prince; and lastly, if it should happen, that he should enter into the State of Matrimony, and if at the same time, the Queen should have a mind to Marry, there might arise great inconveniencies

Count-Palatine *Declar'd Heir to the Crown of* Sweden.

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to the Kingdom. In the mean time, Queen *Chriſtina* had no regard to all thoſe Remonſtrances, becauſe ſhe was already firmly reſolv'd what to do, as, indeed, in the following Year the matter was fully and formally determined at the return of the *Generaliſſimo* from *Germany*, by the Aſſembly of the *States* of the Kingdom, where the Title of *Royal Highneſs* was given him, with a certain Income to maintain his Court, tho' they would willingly have given him ſome *Principalities*, as they had before done to the Male Children of King *Guſtave*; but the Queen rejected that Propoſition, alledging, That the *States* did not ſee into the miſchievous Effects that might thereupon enſue; and that it was an *Arcanum Domus Regiæ*, that is, a Myſtery of the Royal Family, not to appoint any Lands to an Hereditary Prince. In fine, the Aſſembly of the *States* ended with Crowning Queen *Chriſtina*; which was perform'd with more Pomp and Magnificence than had been ever ſeen before in that Kingdom. The War of *Germany* thus gloriouſly ended, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the great Duke of *Muſcovy*, that he gave them a very conſiderable ſumm of Money, as a ſatisfaction on account of the *Boors* who had retired into his Country, becauſe he really feared a War in his Dominions. Beſides this, many believed that the *Polanders* would be ſo alarm'd, as to be brought to make a Peace glorious for *Sweden*. Nevertheleſs Queen *Chriſtina* had abſolutely reſolv'd to paſs her days in quiet, imagining that *Poland*, labouring under inteſtine broils, would, of it ſelf, be brought to an Accommodation with *Sweden*, thereby to avoid the great Misfortunes they might be apprehenſive of. Indeed there was, by the means of the Duke of *Courland*, an Aſſembly held at *Lubeck*; but the *Polanders* would not hear Reaſon, neither on the Subject of the Viſits, nor the Title which was to be given to the Queen, becauſe their Courage was rais'd by a Victory they had obtain'd over the *Coſſacks* and *Tartars*: And further, they had received Orders from Court to break off the Negotiation upon ſome ſpecious pretence; whereunto the Powers they had gave ſufficient occaſion; for they were drawn in ſuch a manner, and in ſuch

Queen Chriſtina Crown'd.

ſtrange

ſtrange Terms, the Ambaſſdors of *Sweden* could not like them: At laſt, after they had a long time diſputed thereupon, and the Ambaſſadors of the two Crowns had ſounded each others Intentions, they departed with Promiſes to meet again next Year at the ſame place; as, indeed, they did. The Aſſiſtants at this Negotiation, were, an Ambaſſador from *France*, a very honeſt Gentleman, who did his endeavour to bring things to an Accommodation; an Ambaſſador of *Venice*, who openly took the part of the *Polanders*; and laſtly, the Ambaſſadors of *Holland*, who did ill Offices to the Crown of *Sweden*. It's true, the Ambaſſadors of *Poland* brought their Powers prepared, as had been agreed upon the Year before, but refuſing to deliver them to the Plenipotentaries of *Sweden*, they would only put them into the Hands of the Mediators, and exchange them with thoſe of *Sweden* in caſe the Negotiation happily ſucceeded; and that if the difference of the two parties could not be adjuſted, they would carry them back, that it might not appear they had acknowledged Queen *Chriſtina* for Lawful Queen of *Sweden*: But the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors would not, by any means conſent thereunto, but poſſitively inſiſted the Powers might be exchanged on both ſides before the Negotiation was entered upon; and further demanded, That the *Poles* ſhould remove from their Arms the Three Crowns which are in the Arms of *Sweden*, to which they were forc'd to confeſs they had no Right; yet nothing could be obtain'd from them, which muſt be attributed as much to their natural Haughtineſs and Ambition, as their finding themſelves back'd by the *Emperor*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, which ſtrengthend their Reſolution of not yielding to the *Swedes*. Thus the Negotiation was fruitleſs; the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors departing from the Aſſembly, would give the *Poles* no aſſurance in writing that the Treaties of *Shormſdorf* ſhould be vali'd, and continue till the time was expir'd: So that the *Poles*, by their obſtinacy, loſt the occaſion of making a good Peace, or, it may be, an Alliance with *Sweden*, whence they might have had conſiderable aſſiſtance againſt the *Muſcovites*, only becauſe they would not renounce

nounce an old Title of no value, when at the ſame time, they were not able to ſupport their Pretenſions. But Queen *Chriſtina* being abſolutely reſolv'd to Abdicate the Crown, apply'd her whole Thoughts towards procuring a peaceable and quiet Life, not being willing to embroil herſelf in Troubles, which might be tedious and of ill Conſequence. But before the Disbanding the *Swediſh* Forces, a ſmall Alarm was given to the City of *Bremen*, which ſpeaking too haughtily, had compell'd General *Koningſmark* to chaſtiſe it; whereupon, the Emperor and others, who were envious of the Succeſs of *Sweden*, endeavour'd to light up a great Fire from ſmall Sparks: Nevertheleſs, Queen *Chriſtina*, and her Succeſſor, by their Prudence and Moderation, ſoon found a way to ſettle theſe Matters, by calm means, and reduce that City to Reaſon. During the Troubles of *Bremen*, the Queen at length executed the Deſign ſhe had ſo long been bringing about, tho' nevertheleſs, there were many who ſtrove to make her alter her mind. Thus ſhe quitted the Crown and Scepter to *Charles Guſtave* Count-Palatine, on Condition, That that Prince ſhould allow her a Yearly Penſion, ſufficient to ſupport her Rank and Dignity; and on the other hand, the Disbandment of the Troops was perform'd at *Upſal*, to every one's great Sorrow and Concern; becauſe, till then, the like had not been ſeen, or read of in their Hiſtories. When the Queen had ſurrender'd the Soveraignty into the Hands of *Charles Guſtave*, ſhe immediately departed the Kingdom of *Sweden*; after which, having publickly embrac'd the *Roman* Religion at *Inſpruck*, ſhe afterwards paſt the moſt part of her time at *Rome*.

Queen Chriſtina *reſigns the Crown of* Sweden.

The ſame Day Queen *Chriſtina* laid down the Soveraignty of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, *Charles Guſtave* was Crown'd at *Upſal*. This Prince, at his Acceſſion to the Crown, encounter'd chiefly two Difficulties: The firſt was, That the Revenues of the Kingdom were much diminiſh'd, and the ſecond, That *Sweden* having for ſeveral Years been utterly Diſarm'd, began to loſe the Reputation and Glory it had acquir'd amongſt other States of *Europe*. To remedy theſe inconveniencies, he called together

K. Charles Guſtave.

together the States of his Kingdom, who were to meet the next Year. As to the first, he was resolved to annex to the Crown the fourth part of the Lands which had been dismembred from it since the Death of *Gustavus Adolphus*; and to add something anew, which should be unalianable: For the second, it cannot be denied that he was indispensably oblig'd to prepare himself and take up Arms, not only least the Courages of so many brave Officers would droop by too much ease, and that way obscure the Lustre and Glory of the *Swedish* Nation; but because the Fire of War, which was kindled between the *Poles* and *Muscovites*, was come even to the Frontiers of *Sweden*. Thus, in this juncture, he thought it a prudent part to put himself into a posture of Defence, and not to sleep in security. After it had been resolved in this Assembly to make preparation for War, the next Question was, against whom their Arms should be imployed, because, that to raise a number of Troops, without finding Business for them, would be purposely to exhaust themselves. But as hitherto the *Danes* and *Muscovites* were at Peace with *Sweden*, and there was no great reason to Attack them, they chiefly cast their Eyes on *Poland*, who were unwilling to conclude their old Difference, and had several ways infringed the Truce, so that the *Swedes* could never be secure on that side. Furthermore, we must here add, That *John Casimir*, King of *Poland*, had sent his Ambassador *Comasiles* to *Upsal*, to sollicite Queen *Christina* to protest against the Resignation she had made of her Crown to *Charles Gustavus*, whereunto the Queen had answered, *That her Cousin could plainly prove to him by thirty thousand Witnesses that he was lawful King of Sweden.* In fine, *John Casimir* had us'd the same Sollicitations to the Archbishop and other *States* of the Kingdom; whereupon *Charles Gustavus* gave the said Ambassador *Comasiles* plainly to understand, That he would would not bear with the Conduct of King *Casimir*, unless he sent his Ambassador to *Stockholm* to end their Disputes in a little time. The *Swedes* supposing that the *Poles* were so much the readier to give them satisfaction, because they already had upon

their

their hands a ſmart War with the *Coſſacks* and *Muſcovites*. It's true, in the beginning of the Year 1655, *Moreſtein* came to *Stockholm*, in Quality of Ambaſſador from the K. of *Poland*; but his Powers being faulty, and prejudicial to K. *Charles*, he had not Audience, nor would they enter into any Negotiation with him; ſo that, having receiv'd a very ſhort Compliment, he was forced to return into *Poland*, without doing any thing further. Preſently after, great Preparations were made in *Sweden* for War, both by Sea and Land. In the Month of *July*, of the ſame Year, there came Ambaſſadors again from *Poland* to *Stockholm*, but all things were then ready for the Campaign, and General *Wittenberg* had already receiv'd Orders to Invade *Poland* with his Army through *Pomeren*; for the *Swedes* thought that their Embaſſage had no other deſign, but to gain Time, and to give Umbrage to the *Muſcovites*; wherefore alſo, they were given to underſtand, That they might come to *Stockholm*, if they were deſirous to Treat. In the mean time, the King having in good earneſt begun the War againſt *Poland*, made at firſt ſuch ſurpriſing Progreſs, that all *Europe* was amaz'd at it. When *Wittenberg* was enter'd into *Poland* near *Templeburg*, through *Lower-Pomeren* and the Country of *Newmark*, the Troops of *Great-Poland*, to the Number of 15000 Men, being come to Poſt themſelves near *Uſcia* upon the *Netz*, ſeem'd at firſt ready to make Reſiſtance, but nevertheleſs, ſubmitted the day after to the K. of *Sweden*, ſo that all theſe Forces were diſpers'd at once: The Soldiers (who were enter'd in the *Swediſh* Regiments) immediately deſerting. A few days after, the *Waivods* or Governors of *Poland* and *Calis*, ſurrender'd themſelves, and took an Oath of Fealty to the Crown of *Sweden*. Afterwards, *Charles Guſtave* having enter'd *Poland* with a more numerous Army than that of *Wittenberg*, all he met ſubmitted to him voluntarily; and he on his part, treated the *Poles* with ſweetneſs and civility, aſſuring them, That he would preſerve all their ancient Privileges, as well as the Liberty of their Religion. His Majeſty joyning the Troops of *Wittenberg* near *Koning*, march'd with that General

War breaks out betwixt Sweden and Poland.

to find out *John Casimir*. Near *Colo*, *Christophilus Primzimski* came to meet with K. *Charles*, on the behalf of the K. of *Poland*, beseeching him, in a long harangue, to grant a Peace to the *Poles*, and to cease all Acts of Hostility; but nevertheless, that Envoy having brought with him neither full Powers, nor Letters of Credence, K. *Charles* told him, for a Positive Answer, That he would himself go and speak to the King his Master; and seeing that the *Poles* only endeavour'd to amuse him, that they might gain time, till they had got together all their Forces, he advanc'd so much the faster to fall upon them. But none durst stand against him; and where-ever such were found, they gave them very indifferent Quarter. Whereto may be added, That the other Cities of *Poland*, as well as *Warsaw*, immediately surrender'd, upon the approach of the *Swedish* Army, without making the least resistance. Afterwards, the K. of *Sweden* marching towards *Cracow*, met with the K. of *Poland* on the way near *Czarnova*, where he had 10000 Men in Battle-Array; but after a slight Combat, the *Poles* took to flight, with the loss of 1000 Men and all their Baggage. Some time after this Defeat, K. *Charles* beat the rest of the *Polish* Army near the River *Donaica*, about eight Leagues from *Cracow*; so that *John Casimir* finding there was no safety in any place of his Kingdom, secur'd himself with his Queen at *Oppelen* in *Silesia*. It's true, *Stephen Czarnecki*, who Commanded in *Cracow*, defended that Place with great Courage and Resolution, in such a manner, that the Siege cost K. *Charles*'s Army abundance of Blood; yet he was at length obliged to Surrender the City on Composition. After that *John Casimir* had in a manner Abdicated his Kingdom, the Militia and other Troops of *Poland* came in to King *Charles*, with their Commanders, and Swore Fealty to him; which example was afterwards follow'd by almost all the Governments and Countries of *Greater* and *Lesser Poland*, as also of *Red-Russia*, and the Provinces of *Mazovia*, *Podolia* and *Volkimia*, who all sent their Deputies together to K. *Charles* at *Warsaw*, to deliver him the Instruments whereby their Principals submitted

to

to his Obedience and the Crown of *Sweden*. In fine, if Words, Letters, and Seals, were Ties ſtrong enough to hold the *Poles* under Obedience, King *Charles* would at that rate have Conquer'd in three Months time, a Kingdom of vaſt extent; nay, he had driven things ſo far, that his Coronation was talked of in *Poland*. Beſides all this, *Janus* and *Bogiſlaus Radzivil*, with a great Party of *Lithuanians*, had made a Treaty with *Magnus de Gard*, whereby they ſurrender'd themſelves to the King and Crown of *Sweden*; which they did, partly for fear of the *Muſcovites*, who were already Maſters of great part of *Lithuania*. Whilſt things went thus, the Elector of *Brandenburg* made himſelf Maſter of *Pruſſia*, and brought the States of *Royal-Pruſſia* to ſubmit to his Obedience; but afterwards, when the King had ended his Matters in *Poland*, he turn'd his Army towards *Pruſſia*, where he took without any great reſiſtance, the Places of greateſt Note, as *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Stratsburg*, *Graudentz*, and ſeveral others. Indeed, *Mariemburg* put itſelf into a Defenſive Poſture, but nevertheleſs next Year it was forc'd to Surrender, and there was only the City of *Dantzick* that held out for *Poland*, which would not be led away by Promiſes or fair Words. To Block up that Place, the K. of *Sweden* ſent his Fleet into the Road, which Levied the Duties of Importation and Exportation from all Merchant-Ships; but by this Conduct His Majeſty reaped much ill will, and but little benefit. Before King *Charles* left *Sweden* for his *Poliſh*-Expedition, he had already begun to Treat with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and had all along continu'd the Negotiation, but to little purpoſe; wherefore marching againſt him, he defeated ſeveral of his Parties, and advanc'd as far as *Koningsberg*, ſo that next Year the Elector was brought to reaſon, and promis'd His Majeſty to acknowledge *Ducal-Pruſſia* to be a Fief of the Crown of *Sweden*. In the mean time, moſt of the States of *Europe* took Umbrage at the ſurprizing Progreſs of the K. of *Sweden*. For firſt, the *Pope* was under Apprehenſions, that thereby that great Kingdom would ceaſe its Obedience to the *See of Rome*, and embrace the *Proteſtant Religion*.

Poland almoſt wholly Conquer'd by the Swedes.

Europe *displeas'd at the Success of the* Swedes.

The *Emperor* no way liked the *Swedes* for Neighbours, because that if they could settle their Dominion in *Poland*, they might afterwards very easily give a Mortal blow the House of *Austria*. And on the other side, the *Hollanders* were jealous of their Commerce; fearing that if the King of *Sweden* should become Master of *Prussia*, and especially of the City of *Dantzick*, he would hinder their Corn-Trade in case they should ever oppose his Designs. *Denmark*, upon Consideration that the K. of *Sweden* had master'd *Poland* in so little time, was afraid that he might soon be in the same case; but besides, he was much concern'd at the growth of *Sweden*. And lastly, the *Muscovites* were Alarm'd, partly at this extraordinary Progress of *Sweden*, and partly because the *Swedes* had taken the Province of *Lithuania*, which the Great-Duke had assum'd amongst his other Titles. All these sought ways to settle the Affairs of *Poland*, and to drive the *Swedes* utterly out of that Kingdom, as likewise from *Prussia*; but there was not One that would assist *Sweden* at this juncture. For *France* pretended, they made a Conscience of contributing to the Downfall of a King of their Communion, tho' at the bottom, that which made them so backward, was, That they were unwilling *Sweden* should arrive to that degree of Power, as to be able afterwards to subsist of itself, and be in a Condition to slight the friendship and assistance of the *French*. Indeed, *Cromwel* the Protector of *England*, gave the *Swedes* a world of Compliments and Promises, but when Matters came to the push, nothing appear'd. At this Conjuncture, it is no wonder that this War had a very different success to what it had in the beginning. Indeed, *K. Charles* wanted neither Courage nor Conduct, but these two Virtues are not sufficient to put things in execution, where there is not Ability or Machines (I mean, Money) to bring them to bear. For, while *Charles Gustave* remain'd with his Army in *Prussia*, the *Poles* having had a Breathing-time, and recovering from their first fright, made Reflexions upon so speedy a Change; and *John Casimir*, with the great Lords of the Kingdom, having got together some Troops,

came

came back from *Silesia* into *Poland*. When he came thither, he found it no hard task to excite the *Poles* against a Nation of a contrary Religion, different Languages, and Manners very opposite; besides, that of a long time they had a natural aversion to the *Swedes*. Again, 'twas not a difficult thing to perswade the Nobility of *Poland*, that under a new Government they enjoy'd not so many Immunities and Privileges as before; and that they had not the liberty of acting so freely as before they might. Besides, the simple People were frighted by the Priests, who made them believe, that for the future they would not be permitted to believe in a *Purgatory*, or to bow to an *Image*, and the like. To which must be added, That the *Swedish* Soldiers had been very mischievous in several places, whatever care the King could take to make them observe a strict Discipline. As to their Perjuries and false Oaths, they were not in the least concern'd about them, and the *Ecclesiasticks* had excellent Precepts to Cure the Consciences of such as had any Scruples thereupon. In this manner, there was at once a general Insurrection over all *Poland*, before the *Swedes* had the least suspicion of it, and the *Polish* Army and its Generals, who had before taken an Oath of Fealty to the K. of *Sweden*, now took the part of *K. John Casimir*. In the little Towns, as well as in the Field, a multitude of *Swedish* Soldiers who stood upon their Defence, were put to the Sword: But it was otherwise in *Lithuania*, where several *Swedish* Troops were cut to pieces in their Quarters, without being able to stand on their guard. To remedy this sudden Change in time, and with intention to disperse the Troops *John Casimir* had hastily gather'd, *K. Charles Gustave* departed from *Prussia* in the midst of Winter, and went into *Poland* with his Army; designing at the same time, to endeavour by mild ways to bring over the *Poles* who had revolted. In the way, meeting General *Czarnecki* near *Colomy* with the Body of the Army of 12000 Men, after a short Combat, he put him to flight, and cut in pieces and took Prisoners a great number of his Men. This Defeat so little affected the *Poles*, that even the rest

of the People that were with the King Deserted, at one time or other, during the same Campaign, that at length there was not left one single *Polander* amongst all the *Swedish* Troops. There were some who gave His Majesty hopes, That the Fortress of *Zamoski* would surender; but when he presented himself before it with his Army, they within put themselves in a posture of Defence; and since, by reason of the severity of the Season, it was not possible to continue the Siege, K. *Charles* was forc'd to leave that Place; insomuch, that having undergone great fatigues and inconveniences, he arriv'd with his Troops at *Jaroslaw*. This march reduc'd the *Swedish* Army to a miserable Condition; for a great number of 'em perish'd with Hunger or Cold, and those who, being tir'd, lagg'd behind in that unhappy Journey, or who lost their way, were Massacred by the Country People; to which must be added, That General *Czarnecki*, who march'd continually by the side of the *Swedish* Troops, rais'd several Soldiers, and Alarm'd them sometimes on one part, and sometimes on another; for no great mischief could be done him, because of the light Horse he had with him. K. *Charles* rested for some time at *Jaroslaw*; but perceiving he could not subsist there, and that the Enemy was gathering on all sides, with intention to cut off his Passage to *Prussia*, or to surprize him on some part of the way, march'd away betimes, going downward towards *Prussia*. The *Poles* were perswaded they should catch K. *Charles* with his whole Army at *Sandomir*, and had spread a Report beforehand, That his Army was totally Routed, and himself Kill'd in the Battle. K. *Charles* really found himself in a very dangerous Condition, because his Army was on a Point, where the River *San* discharges itself into the *Weissel*, and the *Poles* were posted on the other side the *Weissel*, and the *Lithuanians* on the other side the *San*, to hinder his passing any of those Rivers; but His Majesty's undaunted Valour surmounted all these Difficulties. While Matters were thus, the *Swedish* Garrison in *Sandomir* plaid the *Poles* an unlucky Trick; for before their departure from that Castle to pass the *Weissel* and join the King, they had

had put a great quantity of Gunpowder into a Vault, with a lighted Match very near it; ſo that, the *Poles* crowding into the Caſtle, in hopes of great Booty, the Powder taking fire, blew up the whole Building, and all within it. Thus did the *Poles* loſe at one blow above 800 Horſemen, not to ſpeak of others that periſh'd with 'em. Thereupon the King forc'd the Paſſage of the *San*, which the *Lithuanians* diſputed with him, and drove them from their Poſt, whereby he had an open way for himſelf and his Men, and at length got to *Warſaw*. But in the mean time, *Frederick*, Marquis of *Baden*, who march'd with 400 Men on the other ſide the *Weiſſel* to meet the King, being ſet upon by the *Poles* at *Warka*, loſt great part of his Troops, and the reſt ſaved themſelves at *Warſaw*. After this, the King took the way of *Pruſſia*, leaving the Command of his Army to Duke *John Adolph* his Brother, who, with General *Vrangel*, gave Battle to *Czarnecki* near *Ginſen*, and he made him quit the Field with conſiderable loſs. On the other hand, K. *Charles* handled the Troops of *Dantzick* very roughly, and took ſome Places in ſight of that City. But he could not go further, or obtain his end, becauſe the *Hollanders* arriv'd at that time in the Road of *Dantzick*, with a Fleet of 28 Men of War; and at the ſame time ſent Ambaſſadors to K. *Charles*, under pretence of Friendſhip. His Maieſty ſending alſo Ambaſſadors to *Elbing*, cauſed a Treaty to be concluded, whereby he granted many things to the *Hollanders*, that he might once more get rid of them. After the *Poles* had obtain'd a conſiderable Reinforcement of *Tartars*, againſt whom the K. of *Sweden* ſtood in need of the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s Aſſiſtance, he would not Treat, but upon very advantageous Conditions, deſiring to have the greateſt part of *Great-Poland*; but ſo much time was ſpent about this Negotiation, that in the mean while the City of *Warſaw*, after having defended itſelf vigorouſly for ſeven Weeks, it being but indifferently fortify'd, was in the end forc'd to Surrender on Articles; tho' nevertheleſs, the *Poles* ſtood not to the Agreement made with the Beſieg'd; for General *Wittenburg*, with the principal *Swediſh* Of-

ficers, were sent Prisoners to the Fortress of *Zamoski*. A little time after, the Elector of *Brandenburg* joining the King, they march'd together against the Enemy, who were incamped with all their Forces in a very advantageous place, near *Warsaw*, on this side the *Weissel*. K. *Charles* gave them Battle, which lasted three Days, and at length drove 'em from their Post, and forced them to fly, and many Thousands of the *Poles* and *Tartars* fell on the Place, or were drown'd in a Morass. This Victory did, indeed, gain much Glory and Reputation to His Majesty; yet did he not reap all the Benefit he might have expected, because the Elector of *Brandenburg* acted very faintly on this occasion, and immediately carry'd back his Troops into *Prussia*; upon which account, K. *Charles* would not hazzard his Forces to little purpose, in pursuit of the Vanquish'd. Afterwards, the *Poles* and *Tartars* did their utmost to disengage the Elector of *Brandenburg* from that Alliance he had made with the K. of *Sweden*; and hereupon, the *Lithuanians* and *Tartars* Invaded *Ducal-Prussia*, where they Defeated, near *Lica*, the Elector's Army with some *Swedish* Troops who had join'd him there; and also took Prisoner *Bogislaus Radzevil*, and several other Persons of distinction. But this Loss was soon reveng'd by General *Steenbock*, who having near *Philippona* met with the same Army of the Enemy, gave them course usage, and compell'd 'em to quit the Field; and by this means, Prince *Radzivil* was deliver'd from the Hands of his Enemies. In the mean time, by reason that the Elector of *Brandenburg* began to be wavering, K. *Charles*, to keep him on his side, was oblig'd to yield him the Soveraignty of *Ducal-Prussia*, with some other Advantages; and His Majesty dared the less to refuse his demands, because, at the same time, the *Muscovites* having taken the Field, at the instigation of the Emperor, Invaded the Provinces of *Carelia*, *Ingria*, and *Livonia*. It's true, they made no progress in the two first; they only Ravag'd the Flat Country, and were beaten in some places; but they afterwards enter'd *Livonia* with a formidable Army; where having taken by Assault, the Cities of *Dunenburg*,

The Swedes Defeat the Polanders in a Bloody Battle.

nenburg, and *Kakenhuiſen*, they laid Siege to *Riga*, which they Batter'd for ſeven Months, without having the Courage to paſs the Ditch, and hazard an Aſſault. The Beſieg'd, under the Government of *Magnus de Gard*, and *Simon Helmfield*, Defended themſelves courageouſly, and did the Enemy much miſchief in ſeveral Sallies; particularly, towards the end of the Siege, when they Routed one part of the *Muſcovite* Camp; ſo that, they were at length compell'd to raiſe the Siege in a great fright and with very conſiderable loſs, ſince they ſaw nothing was to be done by force, and that the Winter drew on; and likewiſe, they were apprehenſive that K. *Charles* would make a Journey thither, and force them to fly. During theſe Tranſactions, K. *John Caſimir* took the Boldneſs to march downwards towards *Dantzick* with his Troops, to keep that City in ſubjection, and to give ſome ſtop to the *Swedes*. But as ſoon as the Bridge they had laid over the *Weiſſel* was finiſh'd, and K. *Charles* had paſs'd that River with his Army, the *Poles* took to flight, and *Czarnecki* with his Horſe went upwards again towards *Poland*, all the Infantry retiring under the City of *Dantzick*, Thereupon, His Majeſty ſent Colonel *Aſchenberg*, with a good Detachment, to purſue *Czarnecki*; and having ſurpriz'd, near *Konitz* in *Pomerelia*, the *Poles* who were Quarter'd in the Villages round about, he fell on 'em on a ſudden, and put all to Fire and Sword, in ſuch a manner, that very few were ſaved to carry the News to others. But as ſoon as Colonel *Aſchenberg* had given this Blow, he retir'd in time, leſt General *Czarnecki* ſhould come and revenge this loſs of his Men. Now ſince the *Poles* would harken to no reaſonable Terms of Accommodation, (tho' they durſt not ſtand their Ground in the Field againſt *K. Charles*, but hop'd, by wandring up and down, to fatigue the *Swediſh* Army) His Majeſty reſolv'd to find out ſome other Methods to reduce them to reaſon. *George Rogotſi*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, diſcover'd an inclination to favour the Deſigns of *K. Charles*; for, after a long Negotiation, he made a Treaty of Alliance with him; whereby he ſtipulated the greateſt part of the Provinces of *Poland*, which were in the heart of the Country,

Country, in hopes, that he might one day come to the Crown, which the *K.* of *Sweden* would have desir'd, provided he could have had for his share, the Countries on the *Baltick-Sea*. Afterwards, Prince *Ragotsi*, departing from *Transilvania*, Invaded *Poland*, in the beginning of the Year 1657; and with the Addition of some Thousands of *Cossacks*, which, together with his Army, made above 30000 Men, he march'd towards *Lesser-Poland*, with an intention to join *K. Charles*; who no sooner had notice of his coming. but, without losing any time in deliberation, he departed from *Prussia* with his Horse to meet him; so that His Majesty found him near *Opatau*. It seems also, that the Elector of *Brandenburg* would have made himself a Party to cause the *Poles* to submit on the best Terms; but they would not hearken to it. And tho' *K. Charles* and Prince *Ragotsi* had pass'd the *Weissel* to follow the *Poles*, yet could they never fix them; so that in this Expedition nothing was done, but taking the City of *Breslaw* in *Lithuania*. *K. Charles* observing, that nothing considerable was to be done in *Poland*, and that there was no opportunity of Signalizing himself, return'd into *Prussia*, leaving his Forces with *Ragotsi*, under the Command of General *Steenbock*. But the Prince only march'd about from place to place, performing nothing remarkable. While Affairs were thus, *Leopold*, King of *Hungary* resolv'd openly to assist the *Poles*, to hinder *K. Charles* from effecting his Designs by the means of the Prince of *Transilvania*; and likewise, together with the *Hollanders*, he sollicited the *K.* of *Denmark* to break with *Sweden*, and force *K. Charles* upon a Diversion that would be much to his prejudice. When it was concluded in *Sweden* to make the first Preparations for War against *Poland*, some Senators advis'd, That they should first attack *Denmark*, and Ruine it; alledging, That the *Swedes* could not safely engage themselves in a War, before they had put it out of the power of the *Danes* to hurt them for the future. But the *K.* of *Denmark* not having then given any reasonable occasion for undertaking any thing against him, the King thought it better to procure his Friendship by a new Alli-

Prince Ragotsi *joins the* Swedes *against* Poland.

ance;

ance; whereby he alſo thought to have found means to hinder the *Hollanders* of their Trade to the *Baltick-Sea*.

The *Danes* at firſt ſeem'd deſirous of ſuch an Alliance with *Sweden*; inſomuch, that there was a Negotiation thereupon, which held a long time; and whenever any Obſtacle or Difficulty aroſe, the Conferences were ſtill continu'd by the Mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburg*. But the *Danes* had no other deſign at bottom, but to gain time, that they might attack *Sweden* when it ſhould be quite diſcourag'd, and thus retake the Countries they had loſt before. And tho' they had of themſelves ſufficient inclinations to ſuch a Rupture, they were ſpurr'd on in this Reſolution by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *Holland*, and *Muſcovy*; and did the more flatter themſelves with making conſiderable progreſs, becauſe the Letters from *Dantzick* ſet forth the miſerable Condition of the *Swediſh* Army, in ſuch a manner, as if there were ſcarce one Handful of Men remaining. Having, at length, abſolutely concluded to break with *Sweden*, they began, in Treating, to ſpeak of ſuch Satisfaction as they pretended to expect from *Sweden*, and the reſtitution of the Countries they had taken from them; and the *Swediſh* Miniſters hearing them talk in ſuch a manner, immediately departed from *Copenhagen*, and return'd Home. Thereupon General *Vrangel* was very deſirous to Attack the *Danes*, before all their Levies were compleat, and they had got all their Forces into a Body; but *K. Charles* liked better to wait till they ſhould come and fall on him firſt, not only that they might be chargeable with the Injury, but to engage the *Guarrantees* of the *Weſtphalian* Peace on his behalf. The *Danes*, at the ſame time, declar'd open War againſt *Sweden*; alledging nothing in their *Manifeſto* that they could prove; and introducing their Reaſons (as it were) by head and ſhoulders. After having enter'd the Dutchy of *Bremen*, they made themſelves Maſters of ſome Forts, and of *Bremervearde*, which *K. Charles* having notice of, and conſidering that the War of *Denmark* more nearly concern'd him than that of *Poland*, he gave his Brother

The Danes *declare War againſt* Sweden.

ther *John Adolph* the Government of *Prussia*, and left him as many Troops as were sufficient to defend that Province, and then recalling his Army, which was join'd with that of *Ragotsi*, he march'd directly towards *Stetin*. But before his Forces came back, he represented to the Prince, the necessity of securing his Kingdom against the *Danes*; adding, That he hoped to vanquish them in a little time; afterwards, he would not fail to return into *Poland*, and reassume Matters on the same foot as he left 'em. In the mean time, he advis'd that Prince to return to *Transilvania*, and there annoy his Enemies as much as he could, till such time as he should be in a Capacity to revive his former Game. At the same time, he shew'd him which way he should take, to retire with safety.

Ragotzi's Misfortunes.

Prince *Ragotzi* was not satisfy'd with *K. Charles's* Resolution; not considering, that *one's Shirt is nearer than one's Coat*. Nay, he would not follow the King's Advice; but went to *Volinia*, where he had neither Places of Strength, nor any Retreat. By which means it came to pass, that the *Poles* and *Tartars* catch'd him; and after having cut in pieces or imprison'd the greatest part of his Army, constrain'd him to make an Agreement very prejudicial to his Honour. But, to compleat his Misfortunes, the *Turks* declar'd War against him in *Transilvania*, upon the pretence, That he being a Vassal of the *Port*, could not Invade *Poland* without the *Grand Seigneur's* consent. And at last, that unhappy Prince lost his Life in an Engagement with the *Infidels*. In the mean time, *K. Charles*, without any delay, Invaded *Holsace*, and sent General *Vrangel* with some Troops to the Dutchy of *Bremen*, where in the space of 14 Days, he recover'd all the Places that the *Danes* had taken; and, to their infinite Scandal, dislodg'd 'em of the whole Country; for in two Weeks time, they lost almost 3000 Men. In *Holsace* things went at the same rate; For there *K. Charles* without much ceremony, took several Forts that cover'd the Country of *Marschalden*, and cut in pieces above 500 of the Enemy: *Fize*, which pretended to stand out, was reduc'd to Ashes. This done, the King advanc'd, without any opposition,

ſition, to *Frederiks-Udde*, where the *Danes* had a ſtrong Garriſon, and pitch'd a Camp near it in order to Block it up, where his Soldiers might continue in ſafety. But himſelf went to *Wiſmar*, to have a nearer view of his other Affairs; having left his Army under the Command of General *Vrangel*, who without much difficulty took *Wendſyſſel*, near to which there were 500 *Peaſants* that guarded a Paſs, and ſome Hundreds of the moſt obſtinate were cut to pieces. After that, General *Vrangel* apprehending that 'twas not proper for him to lye before *Fredericks Udde* till the cold Seaſon came in, reſolv'd to Attack it with Sword in Hand: And his Aſſault was ſo ſucceſsful, that in two hours time he carry'd that important Pluce, without loſing many Men. Of 500 Soldiers that he found within it, he cut off ſome, and made the reſt Priſoners; among the later was *Andrew Bilde*, Chancellor of *Denmark*, who died ſoon after his Wounds. He found likewiſe 50 Braſs Guns in the Town. But upon the Frontiers of *Sweden*, things took another courſe: For the *Swedes* were worſted in an Engagement near *Knaro* in the Province of *Halland*. At the ſame time, there happen'd a Fight between the *Swediſh* and *Daniſh* Fleets, which laſted two Days; and in which, the *Danes* were at laſt conſtrain'd to retire, Tho' after all, the *Swedes* did not improve this favourable opportunity to the beſt advantage; for there were ſome Sea-Captains that did not diſcharge their Duty.

Mean while, the Troops of the Houſe of *Auſtria* enter'd *Poland*, and took *Cracow* upon Compoſition. *Paul Wurz*, the Governor of that Place, had much annoy'd the *Poles* in the time of his Government, and in ſeveral Sallies had manag'd 'em very ſharply while the City was Block'd up. General *Czarnecki* having paſs'd the *Oder*, made an Irruption into *Pomeren*, which he Ravag'd cruelly, Sacking and Burning all the places he paſſed through. But he ſav'd himſelf in time, before they could come up to diſlodge him, and oblige him to return.

Tho' in the beginning of the War, *Charles* was ſucceſsful enough againſt the *Danes*; yet he wanted ſadly to fall upon ſome Expedition, to effect the intire

intire Ruine of the *K.* of *Denmark*; or to oblige him to a Peace, before his other Enemies fell upon him; I mean the House of *Austria*, *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*. 'Twas for this reason likewise, that he used all means to render himself Master of the Isle of *Fuhnen*. But at last Divine Providence furnish'd him with an opportunity of compassing his Ends: For there came such a Frost, that the Artillery might be carry'd along the Ice upon the Sea that severs the *Danish* Isles. Upon this opportunity, His Majesty enter'd the Isle of *Fuhnen*; and there, without much opposition, cut in pieces 4400 of his Enemies, together with 1500 Boors that rose up in Arms, This was not all; he had a mind to make as great a progress as possible by the advantage of the Ice. By way of precaution, he did not think it expedient to march directly to *Zeeland*, because the Current between those Islands is commonly so great, that it renders the Ice very slender. Upon this view, he march'd to the Right, and enter'd into *Langeland*; and passing from thence to the Isles of *Laland* and *Fulster*, came at last to the Island of *Zealand* by the way of *Wordingburg*. Upon the unexpected Arrival of the *Swedish* Army, the *Danes* were quite cast down; for *Copenhagen* was very ill Fortify'd. Finding themselves reduc'd to that Extremity, the only expedient they could think for avoiding total Ruine, was, An Accommodation. Some advis'd *K. Charles* to march directly to *Copenhagen*, and Attack it vigorously, in order to Ruine the Kingdom of *Denmark* at one stroke. The reason they gave for it was, That *Sweden* would never be secure or easie, as long as there remain'd any Life or Motion in that Body. However, *K. Charles*, considering, That he was not sure of carrying that Place by Storm, That he was not yet Master of *Cronenburg*, nor the other Places of Strength in *Schonen* and *Norway*; That in the ensuing Spring, his Enemies, in conjunction with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the *Dutch*, would not fail to wage War with him, both by Sea and Land, till they dislodg'd him of *Denmark*; and that *England* would contribute nothing towards his being put in possession of that

that Kingdom; upon these Considerations, I say, His Majesty thought it more expedient to content himself with the retaking of all that formerly belong'd to the Crown of *Sweden*, and disarming the *Danes*. Accordingly, a Treaty was made at *Roeschild*; by which, the *K.* of *Denmark* resign'd to *K. Charles*, *Schonen*, and the Provinces of *Halland* and *Bleking*, together with *Lyster*, *Huween*, the Isle of *Bornholm*, *Bahuus*, and the Fief of *Drontheim* in *Norway*. And 'twas expresly stipulated, That the *Swedes* should have free Passage thorough the *Sound*.

Peace between Sweden and Denmark.

After the Conclusion of the Peace, the two Kings had an interview at *Frederiksburg*, where they mutually gave all the external marks of sincere Friendship. After that, *K. Charles Gustavus* cross'd over to *Schonen*, and call'd an Assembly of the States at *Gothenburg*. In the mean time, the *Swedish* Troops were Quarter'd all over *Denmark*, where they rested after the great Fatigues they had suffer'd during the severity of the Winter. But, tho' *K. Charles* had all the reason to hope that the *Danes*, after their ill Fortune in the last War, would alter their Carriage, and not suffer themselves to be any longer misled by the Enemies of *Sweden*; yet he saw 'em afterwards joining in Leagues with others to revive the old Game, as soon as the *Swedish* Troops should have march'd out of the *Danish* Territories, and the *Swedes* be diverted by their Enemies in *Poland* and *Germany*. He saw plainly, That there was no prospect of an Accommodation with *Poland*; and that the Emperor meant only to make use of that opportunity, to weaken *Sweden* by such numerous Enemies. Besides, the War with *Poland* was not at all pleasing to him; and for several Reasons, he had no mind to disturb the Repose of *Germany* any further. In fine, he foresaw, that whatever attempt he made on any side, 'twas to be fear'd the *Danes* would thwart him by some dangerous Diversion. Having seriously weigh'd all these Reasons, he resolv'd to have the other Brush with the *K.* of *Denmark*, and make his Country the Seat of the War; to the end, that it might not be in his power to subdue *Sweden*, unless they were miserably

miserably abus'd by their Friends, as well as their Enemies.

K. Charles having taken up this resolution, transported his Troops to *Holsace*. At the same time, he gave out, that he was bound for *Prussia*, in order to Besiege *Dantzick*: But his design at the bottom, was upon the Island of *Zealand*. The Troops Landed at *Korsoer*, but the Fleet sail'd to *Copenhagen* Road. Some are of the opinion, That if the Ships had sail'd with a fair Wind directly for *Koegerwyk*, which is within two Leagues of *Copenhagen*, and if the Troops had been Landed there upon the first surprisal they might have taken that City, without the necessity of a formal Siege. But forasmuch as the *Swedish* Army was oblig'd to march 16 Leagues by Land, the Besieged had time to put themselves in a posture of Defence, and did considerable execution upon the *Swedes*, in several Sallies. In the mean time, General *Vrangel* appear'd before *Cronenburg*, and after a three Weeks Siege took it. At the same time, the *Dutch* fitted out a gallant Fleet, furnish'd with all manner of Ammunition and Provisions, to relieve *Copenhagen*. When that Fleet arriv'd in the *Sound*, and was forc'd by contrary Winds to lie some days at Anchor, the King consulted, Whether he should sail to Attack 'em, or wait to see what Attempts they design'd to make, Several Counsellors advis'd him to go and fall upon 'em out of hand; by which means, he would at least oblige 'em to put into some Harbour, which they could not find nearer than the *Ulie*. However, the King resolv'd to take softer and more moderate Measures; fancying that the *Dutch* would bring Things to an Accommodation before they made any Execution. Some time before, His Majesty had releas'd near 200 *Dutch* Merchant-Men at *Landskroon*, which he might have fairly detain'd. But after all, there was nothing to be done with the *Dutch* by the measures of Civility. In effect, as soon as the Wind turn'd fair, they sail'd to *Copenhagen*; and there follow'd a very obstinate and bloody Fight between them and the *Swedish* Fleet; in which they lost their Admiral *Witte Wittesz* and his Ship; and 'tis very probable,

K. Charles *Besieges* Copenhagen.

Admiral

Admiral *Opdam* had fallen into the *Swediſh* hands, if the Ships near *Hurvelen* had done their beſt, However, the *Dutch* paſs'd thus through the Flames and reliev'd *Copenhagen*. Upon which the King turn'd the Siege into a Blockade, having fortify'd his Camp not far from the *Sound*, where the *Swediſh* Troops continued till the end of the War. *A Sea Fight between the Dutch and Swedes.*

That ſame Year the *Poles* made an attempt upon *Livonia*, where they laid Siege to Fort *Cebron*, which ſtands over againſt *Riga*; but were repuls'd with great loſs. After the *Swedes* were ingag'd in the War with *Denmark*, the *Poles* and *Auſtrians* Beſieg'd *Thorn*, which, after a vigorous Reſiſtence, Surrender'd upon Capitulation. In the mean time, foraſmuch as the Duke of *Courland* had, under the pretence of neutraity, prefidiouſly done many bad Offices to the *Swedes*, and continued ſtill ſo to do; K. *Charles* ordered *Douglaſs* to make himſelf Maſter of *Mittaw*, and ſecure the Duke's Perſon. Accordingly the Duke was brought Priſoner to *Riga*, and from thence to *Jvanogrod*, where he continued till the end of the War. Towards the latter end of the Year, the Inhabitants of *Bornholm* fell upon the Garriſon and cut them in peices; upon which, that place return'd to the *Daniſh* hands On an other ſide, the Allies entring *Holſace*, made an attempt upon *Alſen* and *Fuhnen*; but were vigorouſly repuls'd with great loſs. In the mean time, K. *Charles* continued to keep all *Denmark*, as 'twere, under a general Siege, not minding the loſſes he ſuſtained elſewhere, which he hop'd the *Danes* would make up. But not only his Enemies were firmly united in a Deſign to conſtrain him by force to quit his Conqueſts, but even the Kings of *France* and *England*, who pretended to be Friends to the *Swedes*, enter'd into a Treaty with the *Dutch* at the *Hague*; by which 'twas ſtipulated, that they ſhould make Peace between the two Northern Crowns, with a firm Reſolution to declare againſt that Party that ſhould reject the Accommodation. The King of *Sweden*, to prevent a thing that might prove ſo prejudicial to his Intereſt, made an attempt upon *Copenhagen* in *Feburary*, in the Night-time; hoping to Maſter it by the advantrge of the Ice vpon the Dit- *Duke of Courland taken Priſoner.*

tches, But the Besieged being more numerous repuls'd the *Swedes*, and kill'd a great many of them. However, the King continuing in the Isles of *Denmark*, master'd *Langeland*, *Moen*, *Falter* and *Laland*, as well as Fort *Nascou*, in the Island last mentioned. And, tho' the next Summer the *English* and *Dutch* sent potent Fleets to the *Danish* Seas to put the Treaty of the *Hague* in Execution; yet K. *Charles* chose rather to stand out to the last, than to receive Laws from any body. This he was encourag'd to do, for that he had made a Truce with the *Muscovites*; and *Helmfeld* had forc'd the *Poles* to break up the Siege of *Riga*. He thought he would give his Enemies enough to do by acting only a Defensive part, till such time as he could find an expedient to get clear of the War. On the other hand, the Confederates us'd their utmost efforts to dislodge the *Swedes* of *Denmark*. That very Summer, the *Poles* drove the *Swedes* out of *Courland*, and made themselves Masters of *Graudentz* in *Prussia*. The *Danes* retook *Drontheim*; and the *Imperialists*, in conjunction with the *Poles* and *Brandenburg* Troops, enter'd *Holsace*, and *Jutland*, and endeavour'd to invade the Isle of *Fuhnen*; but General *Vrangel* repuls'd them. After which, they marched to *Pomeren*, and vigorously Besieg'd *Stetin*; but were oblig'd, after the loss of a great many Men, to break up before it. At the same time, the *English* Fleet, which hitherto had only kept an eye upon the *Dutch* to prevent their carrying things too far, receiv'd Orders to act in Opposition to *Sweden*. But Admiral *Montaguo* could never be perswaded to commit Acts of Hostility cordially against so brave a Prince as *Charles Gustavus*; for which Reason he Sail'd through the *Sound*, and return'd with all expedition to *England*, upon the pretence of the want of Provisions and Ammunition. After the departure of the *English* Fleet, the *Dutch*, in conjunction with the *Danes*, did what they pleas'd in the *Baltick*. They transported the confederate Troops to the Isle of *Fuhnen*, and several places of *terra firma*; upon which the *Swedes*, commanded by *Philip* of *Sultzbach* Count *Palatine*, made a valiant and brave Defence near *Nyborg*, but

but were over power'd by the number of their Enemies; insomuch, that a great part of their Army, and particularly their Infantry, were killed upon the Spot; and all the rest excepting Count *Palatine*, and *Steenbock Marshal de Camp*, were taken Prisoners. This loss of above 4000 Men, all choice Troops, touch'd the King very sensibly; tho' his Courage was not at all abated, because he had still ways left for an honourable retreat: Besides, 'twas certain *France* would have assisted him openly and effectually, if things had turn'd another way. But while K. *Charles* was making preparations for the next Year's War, and for that end had call'd an Assembly of the States at *Gothenburg*; he was taken ill of a Fever that was then epidemical in that Country, and Died *Feburary* 23, at a time when he had six powerful Enemies upon his hands, without any considerable support from abroad. *Battle of* Nyborg.

After the Death of K. *Charles Gustavus*, the *Swedes* had no other way to get clear of their straits, than by endeavouring to come to an Accommodation; especially in regard they could not bear the burden of the War much longer under a King who was then but five Years old, and in the present Condition of *Sweden*, which was then drain'd and brought very low. Now, the *Swedes* could compass their end the more easily, that the Death of their late King had entirely extinguish'd the greatest part of the jealousie that the other States had conceiv'd against *Sweden*; not to mention, that most of the Enemies of *Sweden* were themselves weary of the War. In such a conjuncture as this, the Peace could not reflect any dishonour upon *Sweden*, provided their former Possessions were restor'd to 'em. Accordingly a Peace was concluded with the *Poles*, in the Convent of *Oliva*, near *Dantzick*; in which the Emperor and the Elector of *Brandenburg* were included. By this Treaty *John Casimir* disclaim'd his pretentions to the Crown of *Poland*; and at the same time, the Republick of *Poland* gave up their pretended Right to *Livonia*: But the places taken on both sides were to be restor'd. Soon after, a Peace was likewise concluded in the Neighbourhood of *Copenhagen*, between the two Northern Crowns, *Of* K. Cha. XI. *Peace of* Oliva.

upon the ſame foot with that of *Roeſchild*, excepting that *Drontheim* and *Bornholm* continu'd in the *Swediſh* hands. But afterwards the *Swedes* had *Bornholm* in conſideration of an equivalent in *Schonen* upon the Crown-Lands. At the ſame time, *Sweden* adjuſted their Difference with *Holland*, and concluded a Peace at *Cardis* with the *Muſcovites*, upon the ſame Terms with their former Treaties. Thus were all things in *Sweden* diſpos'd to a long repoſe; for during the Minority of the Young King, they were reſolv'd to avoid Troubles. But after all, in the Year 1666, they ſet a conſiderable Army on foot in *Germany*; partly to curb the Town of *Bremen* that meant to tranſgreſs the Bounds of its Juriſdiction, and partly to make a Figure in the preſent juncture of Affairs. However, theſe Troops were disbanded in 1668. About that time, a War breaking out between *England* and *Holland*, *Sweden* undertook the Mediation of the Peace between 'em at *Breda*. The Ballance of *Europe* could not then be kept up, without hindring *France* from carrying the *Low-Countries*: And upon that view, the *Swedes* joyn'd with *England* and *Holland* in this Treaty, which was call'd, *The Triple Alliance*, and by which, proviſion was made for the Preſervation of the *Netherlands*, which were then in danger of being ſwallow'd up by *France*.

The Triple-Alliance.

An Alliance between Sweden *&* France.

Some time after, the *Swedes* perceiving the Storm that was ariſing in *Europe*, at a time when the *French* were intent upon a Bloody War with *Holland*; they thought it proper to enter into an Alliance with the K. of *France*, to prevent the ſpreading of the Evil. In this Alliance, the obſervation of the Treaties of *Weſtphalia* was in their view. The two Allies engag'd to aſſiſt one another mutually, in caſe that contrary to that Treaty either of 'em were Attack'd by the Emperor, or any other Potentate: But they had a further deſign in the matter, namely, To prevent *Germany* from engaging in the Wars that might enſue between Neighbouring Potentates; and to repulſe, by open force, any Prince of the Empire that offer'd any ſuch thing. At laſt, the War between *France* and *Holland* being commenc'd, and that Republick being ſo ſeverely

verely ſhaken, that they ſaw themſelves within a Hair's-breadth of Ruine; the *Swedes* immediately interpos'd their Mediation, in order to make an end of the War before themſelves ſhould be oblig'd to take up Arms, at a time when they were but ſorrily prepar'd for it. They brought Things to bear ſo far, that an Accommodation had quickly been agreed upon, if the *Imperialiſts* had not broke up the Negotiation by ſeizing *William* Prince of *Furſtenburg* at *Cologne*. But foraſmuch as the Elector of *Brandenburg* appear'd a ſecond time againſt *France*, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the *Swedes* to take him from it by a particular Alliance, the young King upon his Acceſſion to the Crown found himſelf embarraſs'd in a troubleſome War, the Exploits and Events of which were very different. 'Tis true, the *Swediſh* Troops enter'd *Brandenburg*'s Country immediately; but they had expreſs Orders to commit no acts of Hoſtility, and to take nothing but what was neceſſary to their Subſiſtence; with a deſign to try if by ſuch means they could perſwade His Electoral Highneſs to enter into a Negotiation, and take him off from the Intereſt he had eſpous'd. But their project was fruſtrated: For the Elector having march'd from *Upper-Germany*, ſurpriz'd the *Swedes* that guarded the Paſs of *Ratenau*, and after that obtain'd a Victory over the *Swediſh* Army near *Fehr Berlin*. The occaſion of this Victory was, That the *Swedes* had not a good General with them, to whom the other Officers might have ſhewn reſpect and ſubmiſſion. For General *Vrangel* was then at *Havelberg* with a great many Officers and Soldiers; at which place the Defeat of the *Swedes* was repreſented to him as much greater than indeed it was. Upon which, he march'd with the greateſt diligence towards *Wiſtock*, and from thence to *Pomeren*; whereas 'tis poſſible they might have reveng'd their Loſs, if that General had march'd directly to the *Swediſh* Army. The *Swediſh* Troops following him in ſome diſorder, loſt a great many Men upon their march. The Loſs, tho' in itſelf not irrepairable, was follow'd by pernicious Conſequences; for in the firſt place, thoſe who ought to have aſſiſted 'em, ſtood ſtill and did nothing; inſo-

The Swedes Defeated.

much, that inſtead of having Forrage in their Enemies Country, they were oblig'd to retire to their own Territories. At the ſame time, they durſt not bring other Troops from *Sweden* to reinforce the *Swediſh* Army; for *Denmark* taking the advantage of that juncture attack'd *Sweden* with open force; ſo that their chief aim was to defend their own Kingdom. At the Diet at *Ratisbon* ſuch violent Reſolutions were taken again the *Swedes*, that they were declar'd Enemies of the Empire; and *Holland*, inſtead of returning thanks to *Sweden* for the pains they had taken to procure 'em a Peace by their Mediation, made the ſame Declaration. Thus did the *Swedes* find themſelves engag'd all on a ſudden, with *Denmark*, *Brandenburg*, *Holland*, *Lunenburg*, and *Munſter*. At the ſame time, they did not doubt their being attack'd by the *Muſcovites*; but by good luck their Fears were diſpers'd by the Death of the Great-Duke: Whereas, if that Enemy had fallen upon 'em, *Sweden* had been at the brink of Ruine. However, the Confederates attack'd the *Swediſh* Poſſeſſions in *Germany*, and had already divided 'em amongſt themſelves. The *Danes* Beſieg'd *Wiſmar*, which was forc'd to ſurrender, by reaſon that the *Swediſh* Fleet was retarded from a timely arrival by contrary Winds: Beſides, the Governor of the Place did not ſhew much Vigour or Courage in his Defence. All the little Fortreſſes in *Bremen* ſurrender'd ſpeedily, becauſe they could not keep the Field againſt their Enemies; and at laſt *Stade* was taken by Famine. But on the other hand, *Pomeren* made a vigorous Defence, and General *Otto William Koningſmark* vigorouſly oppos'd the Enemies: *Stetin* in particular held out a long Siege with a great deal of Courage and Conſtancy; and even the Inhabitants, as well as the Garriſon, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by uncommon Valour. 'Tis true, all poſſible means were uſed for their Relief; and an Army was ſent from *Livonia*, which march'd through *Courland* and *Samogitia* to *Pruſſia*, in order to give *Pomeren* time to breath by the diverſion they might make; but that Army not being able to fix upon any Poſt of Security in *Pruſſia*, by reaſon of the ſevere Winter, was oblig'd to retire without doing

doing any thing. Beſides, they were very much weaken'd, partly by frequent Skirmiſhes, but yet more by Cold, Hunger, and the other inconveniencies of War. In fine *Stetin* being unfortify'd, was forc'd to Surrender to the Elector of *Brandenburg*. The taking of *Stetin* coſt the Elector of *Brandenburg* a great many Men. But Fortune did not favour him ſo much in other places. For among other Shocks, the *Swedes* Routed 5000 *Brandenburgers* in the Iſle of *Uſedom*; and General *Koningſmark* had an Engagement with the Confederates in the Iſle of *Rugen*, and put 'em into ſuch diſorder, that none but a few Officers got off; and all that were not Kill'd, were taken Priſoners. Tho' this ſucceſsful Adventure put a ſtop to the progreſs of the Enemies, yet the *Swedes* not being Reinforc'd by freſh Troops, were not in a Condition entirely to diſlodge the Enemy of their Conqueſts; nay, on the contrary, they moulder'd away every day, and were reduc'd to the laſt Extremity. The *Swedes* were ſtill Maſters of *Stralſond*, and hop'd that the Enemies would be repuls'd from before that Place. But the Town and its Fortifications being conſum'd by Fire, the Beſieged having no further opportunity to ſignalize themſelves, could think of no other expedient than that of the moſt honourable Capitulation that could be expected. In the mean time, 'twas not within the compaſs of humane Prudence to bring back to *Sweden*, without loſs, the remains of that Army which had been ſo puiſſant when it enter'd *Germany*. For, when purſuant to the Agreement, they intended to tranſport theſe Troops to *Schonen*, in the middle of the Night their Veſſels ſtruck upon the bank of *Bornholm*, and underwent a miſerable Shipwrack; ſo that moſt of 'em were Drown'd, and the reſt were ſtrip'd by the *Danes*, and impriſon'd, notwithſtanding their Paſport from the K. of *Denmark*. The *Danes* made a ridiculous Plea for their Inhumanity, namely, That a Land-Paſport was not valid by Sea; juſt as if a Man's falling in the Water ſhould render his Paſport of no effect. However this Shipwrack happen'd, and I ſhall not determine whether it proceeded from pure Misfortune or from Orders given by the Elector's Command,

Stettin taken.

The Swedes Shipwrack'd.

or from a malicious Design form'd against 'em. But 'tis certain, that all those who were saved agreed unanimously, that the Commodore was to blame; for they set forth, That whereas 'tis customary not to stir out of the *Pelne* till Day-light, that so the Island of *Bornholm* may be descry'd, he, contrary to the advice of the Pilots, order'd 'em to set Sail at such an hour, that they found themselves near the Island about Midnight; That as soon as they were put to Sea, he chang'd his Course; and in fine, That when he thought they were not far from the Island, he hung out his Lantern, and sail'd round the Island, while the other Vessels, by his express Orders, went strait on, and struck upon the Bank. In fine, all those who without prejudice or partiality have read the Writings publish'd on both sides, may be able to judge, whether the Commodore has sufficiently clear'd himself from the Charge laid against him.

In the mean time, the Enemies did not make such progress in *Sweden*, where the King himself was present, and manag'd Things in Person; tho' indeed, at first, Fortune seem'd to favour 'em in some measure; for the *Crown* a very large Ship making too short a tack, was split in pieces, and Admiral *Ugla*'s Ship, after a sharp Engagement, was Burnt. After this, the Enemies made an Irruption into *Schonen* with all their Forces, having Landed at *Istad* and in the Neighbourhood of *Helsingburg*. 'Twas then resolv'd that the King should retire a little till he was joyn'd by some more *Swedish* Troops. But in the mean time, the Enemy took *Helsingburg* without any difficulty, and master'd *Landskroon*, which made some resistance, but did not hold out to extremity; and at last they took *Christianstad* by storm. But when *Duncam* came with a numerous Body of Troops to lay Siege to *Halmstad*, the King march'd against him with all expedition, and cut off his retreat, so that he was oblig'd to venture a Battle. In the beginning of the Engagement the Enemy made a tolerable Defence, but in a little time they were Routed; and finding no way to escape, all those who were not Kill'd upon the spot were made Prisoners of War, insomuch that there was scarce

The Swedes Victorious near Halmstad.

ſcarce 30 that got off to carry the News of the Defeat. As ſoon as the King receiv'd a Reinforcement from *Sweden*, he return'd with his Arſhy to *Schonen*. The *Danes*, to prevent his relieving *Malmo*, put themſelves in a poſture of Oppoſition. But after the *Swediſh* Army had continu'd five Weeks in the Field in a very Cold Seaſon, the King finding that they waſted by Sickneſs, reſolv'd to hazzard a Battle; and for that purpoſe march'd towards the Army, and came to an Engagement at *Lundh*. The Fight was very obſtinate on both ſides from Morning till Night. His Majeſty at the Head of the Right-wing quickly Routed the *Daniſh* Left-wing, and drove 'em to the other ſide of the River, in which many of 'em were Drown'd. The *Swediſh* Left-wing was at firſt forc'd to retire, but afterwards they put themſelves in order, and ſuſtain'd the Enemies Shock very bravely, till the King returning from his purſuit, attack'd the *Danes* in the Flank, and drove 'em entirely out of the Field, and ſo carry'd an indiſputable Victory. This Victory was the more Glorious to the King, that the *Danes* were much more numerous than the *Swedes*, and their Cavalry was much better mounted; beſides, they had plenty of Proviſions, whereas the *Swediſh* Troops were in great Want. 'Tis eaſie to conceive that this was a Bloody Blattle, ſince above 8000 Dead were bury'd upon the ſpot. However, the *Danes* being recruited, came next Year with a puiſſant Army to *Landskroon*; and having taken the Field, march'd towards the King, who had drawn up his Army upon a riſing Ground. But tho' the Enemy was more numerous by one half than the *Swedes*, yet they durſt not attack 'em. Upon which, the King march'd by Night to *Chriſtianſtad* to join the Troops he had before that Place. After that, he took an advantageous Poſt, and there waited for the arrival of a Reinforcement from *Sweden*. In the mean time, the *Danes* having laid Siege to *Malmo* for ſome Weeks, made a general Aſſault, in which they loſt 4000 Men. Soon after, the King purſu'd 'em, and Defeated 'em near *Landskroon*. So that this was the third Battle that the King himſelf won in the ſpace of a Year and one Day. The K. of *Denmark* finding himſelf worſted, was conſtrain'd to

The Battle of Lundh.

The Danes *beat at* Landskroon.

to fly. One would have thought that in that juncture the *Swedes* had a favourable opportunity of Invading the Iſland of *Zealand*. But they were unfortunate at Sea. For ſome Ships having put to Sea from *Gothenburg*, in order to paſs the *Belt* and join the *Swediſh* Fleet, were taken by the *Danes*. After which, the two Fleets came to an Engagement, in which the *Swedes* loſt ſome Ships, and were oblig'd to retire: So that, there was no coming to the Enemy but at *Chriſtianſtad*, which was then block'd up. The *Danes* march'd up to relieve that Place; but the King marching to meet 'em, they declin'd coming to an Engagement, and return'd without doing any thing. Upon which, that Place ſurrender'd for want of Proviſions. In the mean time, the *Danes*, by counterfeit Letters, got the Governor of *Helſingburg* to come out of his Garriſon, which after the Battle of *Lundh* had return'd to the King's Obedience. But they loſt their labour in offering to take *Bahuus* by Storm; for when the *Swediſh* Succours arriv'd, they were forc'd to break up the Siege.

A Peace Concluded. At laſt a Peace was concluded; by which the King was reſtor'd to the poſſeſſion of all his Provinces in *Germany*; and the King of *Denmark* was forc'd to deliver up all that he yet poſſeſs'd in *Sweden*. After *K. Charles* had thus bore the brunt of a very obſtinate and ſharp War, he bent his thoughts upon the ſecuring of his Throne and the Royal Family by a Marriage with *Ulrica Eleonora* Princeſs of *Denmark*; which the Almighty ſo Crown'd with his Bleſſing, that His Majeſty's faithful Subjects had nothing to wiſh for but a continuation of their Felicity. This done, he apply'd himſelf to the regulation of the Militia and Finances of the Kingdom; two things upon which the Strength and Safety of a State depends. He form'd alſo a Reſolution to cultivate Peace with all his Neighbours; but withal, put himſelf in ſuch a Condition, that none of 'em could attack him with impunity.

Accordingly, he apply'd himſelf to repair the Dammages that his Dominions had ſuſtain'd during the late War, to fortifie his Garriſons, and re-eſtabliſh his Authority in all the Territories that were reſtor'd

reſtor'd to him at the Treaty of *Nimiguen*; revoked all the Grants of the Crown made by his Predeceſſors: And now injoying a perfect Repoſe and Tranquility in an undiſturb'd Peace, and ſeeing the greateſt part of *Europe* embroyl'd in a tedious and bloody War, without hopes of a Reconciliation, he offer'd himſelf a *Mediator* to compoſe the Differences between the contending Princes and States, in which he labour'd with unweary'd Care and Diligence, till he had gain'd the Point, and was admitted as Mediator between the Confederates and *France*; but while things were growing towards a Peace among the Plenipotentiaries and the *Swediſh* Mediators, came the unwelcome Tydings of the Death of *Charles* the XIth King of *Sweden*, who departed this Life about ten of the Clock at Night, upon the 17 of *April* 1697, in the flower of his Age; much to be lamented, conſidering the preſent Conjuncture. Happy, no doubt, if ſo great a Mediator upon Earth, may be deem'd worthy to partake of the effects of Heavenly Mediation. So that, His Majeſty Deceas'd in the 42d Year of his Age, and the 37th of his Reign. He retain'd his Speech and a great preſence of Mind, to the laſt Minute of his Life. An hour before his Death, he ſign'd ſeveral Diſpatches with his own Hand; and among others, an Order for the Releaſe of ſeveral *Livonian* Officers, who had for ſeveral Years been detained in Priſon for Miſdemeanors. His Majeſty, ſome days before his Death, perceiving the danger of his Condition, caus'd his laſt Will and Teſtament, and ſeveral other Papers concerning the Affairs of the Crown, which had been drawn up in Writing a long time before, to be publickly read, and ſign'd them all, with ſome little alterations.

Charles XI. *Dies.*

And becauſe *Charles* XII. his only Son, would not be compleatly fifteen Years of Age, till the 27 of *June* following; His Majeſty appointed the Queen Mother, and five Lords of the Court, for the Government of the Kingdom, and to be Tutors to the Young Prince till he ſhould attain the Age of Eighteen Years. The Names of the Lords were Count *D' Oxenſtern* for foreign Affairs, the Count *de Gudinſtern* for the Land Forces, Count *Wrade* for the Admiralty,

miralty, the Count *de Guldenſtolpe* for the execution of Juſtice, and Count *Weelerſtad* for the Treaſury. Theſe Perſons had Power to make Treaties with Foreign Princes jointly with the Queen-Mother, who as Chief of the Regency was to have two Voices in all Conſultations.

Char. XII. *takes upon him the Government at* 15 *Years of Age.*

Upon the 16th of *November* the States of *Sweden* reaſſembl'd at *Stockholm*, and Declar'd the King Major, tho' he was not yet of full Age. The next day His Majeſty was Addreſs'd by all the Perſons of Higheſt Quality; and after he had been Complimented by the Lords of the Council, he return'd them thanks in moſt obliging Expreſſions, and told 'em withal, *That true it was, he was too Young to take upon him a Government of ſo great Importance, but he hoped that God would inſpire him with ſuch aſſiſtances, that would enable him to Govern well.* So upon the 29th of *November* His *Swediſh* Majeſty took upon him the Reins of the Government, and at the ſame time return'd thanks to the Queen-Mother and the Lords Regent, for their prudent Conduct in the Adminiſtration of the Government ſince his Father's Death, and aſſign'd to each of the latter an Annual Penſion of 3000 Crowns during Life.

December the 4th 1697, the Obſequies of the Deceas'd King was Solemniz'd with great Pomp in the Church of *Znyderholm*, the inſide whereof was all hung with Black. The *Mauſoleum* which was placed in the middle of the Choir, was very like that which was erected for the late Queen of *England*. The Church was alſo hung with very curious Pictures, the greateſt part of which were Repreſentations of the Heroick Atchievements of the Deceaſed King and his Predeceſſors: It was alſo illuminated with an infinite number of Candles and Tapers of Virgins Wax. The King was alſo preſent in a Mourning Cloak that trailed two Ells upon the Ground. All the Miniſters and Nobility accompanied His Majeſty in Cloaths made after the ſame manner. The Queen Mother, as alſo the Princeſſes Siſters to the King and all the Ladies were cover'd with very fine Veils from Head to Foot. When the Body was put into the Royal Tomb, 500 Pieces of Cannon were twice diſcharg'd, and attended with

as many Vollies of Small-ſhot. The Funeral Solemnity laſted from three of the Clock in the Afternoon till ten at Night; about a thouſand Crowns in Medals having been ſcattered in the Streets before, while the Corps was carried Proceſſionally to the Church. The value alſo of between forty five and fifty Ducats was given to every Lord of the Court and Foreign Miniſter.

Now all the North was in perfect Peace till the Duke of *Holſtein* died, and then the King of *Denmark* ſending to the New Duke of *Holſtein* to renew the Union between them, and to let him have a ſight of the Duke's Will, that he might know whether there were any thing therein in favour of the Eldeſt Prince, in reference to the Ducal part of the Dutchy of *Sleſwick*; the Duke was offended at the Requeſt, and refuſed both the one and the other; alledging, That the Treaty of *Altena* had not been obſerved on the King's part. Now, for the explanation of this Point, the Reader is to underſtand, that by the Treaty of *Altena*, the *K.* of *Denmark* was to make reſtitution of the *Signory* called *Gottes Gabre* which is ſeated in the Iſland of *Aboe*; but in regard the ſame Signory had been eight Years before reſign'd by the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, to the Duke of *Holſtein Ploen*; and afterwards by him to the Duke of *Holſtein Nordburg*, His Majeſty thought it needleſs to make all theſe Reſignations over again. To which the Duke anſwer'd, That the buſineſs in queſtion, was not to know what would become of the Signory after it was reſtor'd, but only about the performance of the Treaty of *Altena*, the diſpoſals of which are clear in that point. Thereupon great Conteſts aroſe on both ſides, as well upon this point as the two preceding, which indeed were the principal.

The occaſion of the War between Denmark *and* Sweden.

The Mediators of the Treaty of *Altena*, ſeeing both ſides ſo hotly enclin'd to new Quarrels, interpos'd their good Offices to prevent them, and engag'd the Parties to ſettle Conferences, wherein their Differences might be Negotiated in a friendly manner; which Conferences were ſettled at *Pinnenberg*, but without ſucceſs. Here it may be obſerv'd, That the firſt Act of the *Danes* at theſe Conferences was a Pro-

Proteſtation, by which the King declar'd expreſly, That he would facilitate the principal Negotiation in all Matters, but that if the Duke made the leaſt Innovation while the Conferences continu'd, he would take ſuch proceeding for a Rupture. The Mediators receiv'd this Proteſtation, and promis'd moreover by an Act, That they would alway interpoſe to hinder the Duke from attempting any Enterprize againſt the Union, and particularly any new Levies, or introducing of Forces into the Country; and laſtly, the building any new Fortification. This was the K. of *Denmark*'s great Grievance; for the Duke, notwithſtanding theſe Acts, to which he did not think himſelf oblig'd, brought in foreign Troops into his Territories, and went on with new Fortifications which he had formerly begun. The King complain'd to the Mediators, and they to the Duke; but thoſe Complaints producing no effects, the King thought he might employ Force, and caus'd the New fortifications to be Demoliſh'd in 1697. The Duke could not bear this Affront; but not finding himſelf in a Condition to oppoſe it with his own Strength, he ſought the Alliance of the Young King of *Sweden*, Marry'd the Princeſs his Siſter, and was made *Generaliſſimo* of his Forces in *Germany*.

Under the ſhelter of this Protection it was that he had undertaken the Fortifications ſo often mention'd, and of which the K. of *Denmark* made new Complaints, as being a continuation of the Breaches of the Treaties and Unions. The Duke on the other ſide, challenges the ſecond Article of the Treaty of *Altena*, which gives him a right to Build Fortreſſes and poſſeſs them. But the King anſwers, *That the ſame Article adds, That he ſhall enjoy the Right, and generally all other Rights and Prerogatives as he had and enjoy'd them before and after the Pacification of* Weſtphalia, *and the* North, *till the Year* 1675, *and according to what might accrue to His Highneſs by the Treaty of* Fountainbleau; that is to ſay, in common with him, and not ſeparately and againſt him. However, the Duke continues building new Forts, and brought into his Country a conſiderable number of *Swediſh* Forces: The *K.* of *Denmark* took meaſures to drive them out and demoliſh the Forts, and the King

King of *Sweden* raiſes Forces to aſſiſt and ſupport the Duke of *Holſtein* his Relation and Confederate; and therefore ſent ſome Regiments from *Pomerania* into *Holſtein*; but they are to remain at *Wiſmar* till the *Daniſh* Deſigns are known.

During theſe tranſactions, the buſineſs of *Riga* breaks out like a Fire that had been long pent up for want of Air, of which we may ſay, *It is a War without beginning; as being an Act of Hoſtility againſt the K. of* Sweden, *preceded by no publick Declaration:* Nor did His *Poliſh* Majeſty, as we can underſtand, ſay any thing of any Difference between the two Crowns to the *Swediſh* Miniſter at *Dreſden*, till he heard that General *Fleming* was enter'd *Livonia*; but then indeed it is ſaid, he ſent for General *Welling* the *Sweden* Envoy, and order'd him to depart his Court. The beſt Relation of this ſurpriſing Affair was thus. 1700.

The *Saxons* that Quarter'd in *Lithuania* enter'd into the King of *Denmark*'s Service, and upon *February* 21 1700, paſſed within a quarter of a Mile of *Mittau*, in a Body conſiſting of 4000 Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, in order to Inveſt *Riga* ſeated upon the *Duna* five hours from *Mittau*. The ſame day Captain *Brenne* being ſent before with a Detachment of Horſe, fell upon the Advanced-Guards which the *Swediſh* Garriſon of *Riga* had poſted at *Offey*, and that with ſo much fury, that of thirty Horſe, of which it conſiſted, eight or nine were kill'd upon the place, and all the reſt made Priſoners of War, with the Captain that Commanded it. At the ſame time, the *Saxons* ſent a Trumpeter to the Inhabitants of *Riga*, to Declare War againſt them; and having made themſelves Maſters of all the Avenues leading to that Place, ſat down before it; and upon the 24th the *Saxons* Storm'd the Redoubt or Fort of *Kober*, and carried it. This, no doubt, was a great ſurprize to the *Swedes* and *Livonians*; but General *Fleming* was provided to diſperſe a Paper, giving the *Livonians* and *Courlanders* to underſtand, That the *Swedes* had an intention to fall upon the King's Men in their Quarters in *Lithuania*; and to prevent the execution of ſo dangerous a Deſign, he thought himſelf obliged to ſecure ſome Place or other in *Livonia*,

The King of Poland *begins War with* Sweden.

and Inveſts Riga.

vonia, from whence he might the more eaſily oppoſe their Enterpriſes; but being perſwaded that His Majeſty of *Poland*'s intentions were, That all the Nobility, Burghers, and Peaſants of that Dutchy ſhould ſuffer no dammage from his Soldiers, either in their Perſons or Eſtates; he declared, that all the Inhabitants of the Dutchy who ſhall remain quiet, and commit no Hoſtilities againſt His Majeſty's Troops, ſhould enjoy his Protection, and the benefit of his Safe-Guards. But on the other ſide, they who behav'd themſelves otherwiſe, ſhould not only ſee their Goods, but their Perſons, expos'd to the Fury of the Soldiers, and be deſtroy'd by Fire and Sword.

However, after the taking of the Redoubt *Kober*, General *Fleming* whoſe Numbers were Reinforc'd, took the Fort of *Beldera*, and ſent a Trumpet to Summon *Riga*. The Count of *Dalberg* on the other ſide, did all he could in order to a vigorous Reſiſtance; to which purpoſe, he made the Inhabitants renew their Oaths of Fidelity to the K. of *Sweden*, and put all the unprofitable Mouths out of the Town. Afterwards, the Citizens of *Riga* made a Sally upon the *Saxons*, *March* 12; but were beaten back into the Town, with more loſs to themſelves than to the Enemy. Notwithſtanding any other intervening Buſineſs, there ſeems a neceſſity for *Riga* to be taken before the *Swedes* are in a Condition to Relieve it, and that as well to ſave the Honour of the King of *Poland*, as the Reputation of General *Fleming*. I ſhall not here repeat the many Relations of the *Saxons* ſtorming and taking the Fort *Dunamunder*, it is ſufficient to ſay, That the firſt Day proved fatal to Aſſailants, by the loſs of 600 Men: But the ſecond Day, the Beſieg'd being attack'd by a new Reinforcement, the Governor found himſelf conſtrain'd to propoſe honourable Condition, and make the beſt Articles he could for himſelf and his Garriſon; which in conſideration of the Gallantry and Bravery he ſhew'd the day before, were readily granted him. The Fort being thus taken, General *Fleming* commanded, that for the future it ſhould be called *Auguſtusburg*.

Since

Since the Reduction of *Auguſtusburg*, the *Saxons* undertook nothing more againſt *Riga*, being in expectation of a Reinforcement of *Tartars* and Two Thouſand *German* Dragoons out of *Lithuania*. In the mean time, they rais'd Batteries againſt the Caſtle, and made themſelves Maſters of all the Ground and *Fauxbourgs* of *Tooren* which lie between the City and the Fort; ſo that the Place was wholly block'd up. On the other ſide, 300 *Wallachians* of General *Sapieha*'s Guards, and as many *Saxon* Dragoons, poſſeſs'd the Paſſages through which the *Swedes*, who lay in *Finland*, might come to Succour the Beſieg'd; and moreover, laid an Embargo upon all Ships that were frozen up in the *Duna*, to ſerve for Bridges and other neceſſary uſes, when the River thaw'd.

In this while, the *K.* of *Sweden* Wrote to ſeveral Potentates in Chriſtendom, complaining of this Invaſion of the *Saxons* in a time of Peace, contrary to all the Rights and Laws of War, and the ſettled Practice and Cuſtoms among Princes; when there was no cauſe of complaint given on his ſide, or that the *K.* of *Poland* had ſignified the leaſt reaſon for what he did on his part.

Beſides the Declaration which the *K.* of *Sweden* caus'd to be publiſh'd in *Livonia* upon the Invaſion of the *Saxons*, he ſet forth a new Proclamation Dated *April* 13, to encourage his Subjects to ſtand firm in their Obedience, promiſing them ſpeedy Succour by Sea and Land: And this is certain, That the King, as Young as he was, moſt ſedulouſly applied himſelf to Buſineſs, held frequent Councils, and gave all neceſſary Orders for the Defence of his Dominions, againſt his preſent and future Enemies. He equipp'd out a Fleet of 42 Men of War, mann'd with 14000 Men at leaſt, which together with the Succour he expected from *England* and *Holland* would make a conſiderable Fleet. He ſent 25 or 30000 Men towards the *Sound*; between 8 and 10000 Men were encamp'd near *Breme*; and on the 29th of *March*, General *Ferſon* paſs'd *Nerva* with ſix Regiments of Horſe and five of Foot, which with a Reinforcement of 3000 *Finlanders* march'd to the Succour of *Riga*. General *Paſcal* having received

advice, that he ſhould be Reinforc'd in a ſhort time with the *Lithuanian* Forces, had uſed all poſſible diligence to Block up the City of *Riga* more cloſely, and to put himſelf into a Condition to hinder the approach of the *Finland* Relief; to maintain a Communication between both ſides of the River, he laid a Bridge of Boats above *Jenferenhoof*, not doubting but after ſo many precautions, upon the Arrival of the *Lithuanian* Reinforcement, he ſhould be able to make good the *K.* of *Poland*'s Deſigns; more eſpecially, becauſe the *Swedes* being then not above 5000 ſtrong durſt not advance further than *Winden*. But after a tedious and fruitleſs expectation, the *Saxon* General underſtanding that the *Lithuanian* General had order'd his Men to march towards *Birſen* and to take up their Quarters there till further Orders; and being moreover inform'd, that the *Swedes* Reinforc'd with 4000 Men were decamp'd from *Winden*, and had divided themſelves into three Bodies, of which one march'd towards New *Molen*, the other towards *Mulgraben*, and the third to *Smilings*, over the Marſhes, which were then dry, contrary to what they were wont to be at that Seaſon. The *Saxon* General not finding himſelf in a Condition to withſtand the Enemy, reſolv'd to retire with his Men, and to repaſs the *Duna* with his Artillery, which he did without the loſs of one Man; and breaking the Bridge after him, regain'd his old Quarters. This is the *Saxon* Relation; but all Men do not agree that the *Saxons* came off at ſo cheap a rate; for the account from *Riga* aſſures us, that the *Finland* Succours, to the Number of 9000 Horſe and Foot, aſſail'd the Advanc'd Poſt of *New Molen*, of which they made themſelves Maſters; and purſuing the Fugitives, cut off 600 of them; by which means *Riga* become at Liberty, and part of the *Finland* Succours enter'd into the Place.

Riga Reliev'd.

Now the *K.* of *Poland* departed from *Warſaw* on *July* the 4th, in order to Command his Army in *Livonia*; and reſolving to continue his War againſt the *Swedes*, he viſited all the Ports upon the *Duna*, and took a view of his Army, which he found to be 20000 ſtrong, and in good Condition: Upon which the King reſolv'd, while his Men were freſh and vigorous,

gorous, to attempt the Paſſage of the River, and then fall to Action, before the Seaſon was too far ſpent. Accordingly, upon the 28th of *July* the King order'd fifty Dragoons and Coſſacks on Horſeback to ſwim the River at *Thornſdorf*, and to Poſt themſelves on the other ſide; but three Squadrons of *Swediſh* Horſe appearing, the *Saxons* return'd, five or ſix of their Number being drown'd. Upon which, a Detachment of Granadiers were ſent over in Boats, which the *Swedes* believing to be ſtronger than really they were, retreated. So that the *Saxons* having got footing on the other ſide the *Duna*, and being ſeconded by 4000 more with three pieces of Cannon, they preſently fell to Work in caſting up Intrenchments for their ſecurity. The next day the *Saxons* laid a Bridge over the River, and paſſing over with the reſt of the Foot, Horſe, and Artillery, encamp'd near *Thornſdorf*. The day following, a Body of the *Swediſh* Army advanc'd within a ſmall diſtance of the *Saxons*, who expected to have been attack'd; but the *Swedes* retreated again. During theſe motions, the *Saxons* ply'd the Enemy warmly with their Cannon, and kill'd ſeveral of them. But the *Swedes* being retir'd to their Camp, a Body of *Tartars* were ſent out to obſerve them, and brought back an account, that they had 44 Squadrons of Horſe, 16 Batallions of Foot, and 18 Pieces of Cannon. Upon the 30th at Night, the *Swedes* moved nearer to *Riga*, and encamp'd at *Hockſhof*. The next day the King march'd toward them, Himſelf leading the Left-wing, the Duke of *Courland* the Right, and General *Stryman* Commanded the Foot. Upon which, the *Swedes* ſent away their Tents and Baggage to *Riga*, while the K. of *Poland* with the Left-wing march'd along the *Duna*, and the Duke of *Courland* with the Right advanc'd towards a *Moraſs*, behind which the Enemy had poſted themſelves. At what time, the King believing the *Moraſs* impaſſable, and that the Duke would be forc'd to fetch a compaſs about; and therefore no leſs deſirous to give the Foot and Artillery leiſure to come up, march'd on very ſlowly, and ſent away Orders not to Engage till both Wings were in a Right Line, and that the Foot and Artillery were

come up, in order to attack the *Swedes* all at once. But before the Duke could receive his Orders, he had already pass'd the Morass and engag'd the Enemy; who after a Dispute of about half an hour, were forc'd to retreat. In this Action, the *Saxons* had about thirty Men kill'd, among whom was a Major, a Captain, and Major-General *Pletz*: The *Swedes* had above 250 Men Kill'd and taken Prisoners, among whom were several Officers. The next day, the *Saxons* continu'd their march, and encamped at *Janserenhoof*, while the *Swedes* retreated under the Cannon of *Riga*.

The English, Dutch *and* Swedish *Fleets join, and Bomb the* Danish *Fleet.*

The Confederate Fleet of *England* and *Holland* having by many attempts at last join'd that of *Sweden* near *Landskroon* beyond the Island of *Veen*. The *Danish* Fleet also Anchor'd in the same station till that day; but upon the aforesaid Conjunction, believing that the Confederates had a design to have fallen upon them, they came to an Anchor in some confusion under the Castle of *Copenhagen*, leaving the Three Confederate Fleets at liberty to Anchor in the Road of *Copenhagen*, not above three Miles from the City. The night following, they began to Bomb the *Danish* Fleet which was retir'd into the Harbour under the Cannon of the Cittadel, firing about 150 Bombs. Upon the 4th of *August*, the *Swedes* having made several offers, at length Landed 5000 Foot about five miles to the Southward of *Elsenore*, and eight from *Copenhagen*. The K. of *Sweden* was at the Head of them, and one of the first that Landed; for he leap'd out of his Shalop up to the middle in Water, with his Sword in his Hand; and meeting with little opposition, the *Swedes* posted themselves on the Sea-side, having soon after Landed 1000 Horse more. They committed no Acts of Hostility upon their Landing, but paid ready Money for what they had; so that the Country People supply'd them with plenty of Provisions. Thus the *Swedes* continu'd for some time Landing more Men, till they had encreas'd their Number to 5000 Horse and 10000 Foot, and seem'd to threaten *Copenhagen* itself with a Siege; but the K. of *Sweden* being acquainted by an Express with the great forwardness of the Accommodation,

The K. of Sweden *Lands near* Copenhagen.

modation, forbore all further Acts of Hostility, in expectation of the issue.

Peace between Sweden and Denmark.

And indeed, the Ministers of the Mediators used such Diligence, the ill Condition of the *Danish* Affairs seconding their extraordinary Endeavours, that the *Treaty* was concluded at *Travendal*, and sign'd by all the Commissioners upon the 18th of *August*, 1700 at Midnight, containing very advantageous Conditions for the Duke of *Holstein*; and so the War ended between those that begun it; but not between those that came in as Seconds, and therefore we must return from *Copenhagen*, to the Siege at *Riga*.

Riga closly Besieged.

Upon the first of *August*, the *Saxons* approached nearer to *Riga*, and General *Welling* not finding himself in a Condition to withstand the Enemy, quitted his Post, and march'd higher up into *Livonia*, with 4000 Horse, and 1000 Foot to possess the Passes, and secure the flat Country against the incursions of the *Saxons*. The rest of the Horse and Foot posted themselves under the Cannon of *Riga*, and the Night following put themselves into the City. Upon the 2 and 3, the Governor of the Town Burnt and Demolish'd all the Houses remaining in the Suburbs, to prevent the *Saxons* from Roosting in them. The King summon'd the City to Surrender within six days at the furthest, threatning the utmost extremity in case of refusal; to which the Governor return'd Answer, *That he was resolv'd to hold it out to the last.* Upon the 10th, *Revel* and *Wistromorki*, two *Saxon* Generals, possessed themselves of a small Island very near to *Riga*, where they fortified themselves, with a design to raise Batteries upon it, as they did the following days. Upon the 11th, the King sent away a Detachment of six Thousand Horse, under the conduct of General *La Forrest*, as well to seek out General *Welling*, who lay posted at the Pass of *Perman*, as to settle Contributions in *Livonia*, and to draw, partly by fair, partly by foul Means, the Inhabitants of the Country to his Party. To which purpose, His *Polish* Majesty expressly forbid all his Generals, as also his Officers and Soldiers, to offer Injury to any Person, and more especially to take care of Plundring any House. He also caused two

Tartars to be Hang'd, and order'd the Right Ears of 14 others to be cut off, for having been caught a Pillaging. His Majesty also sent word to the Nobility, and all the Inhabitants of *Livonia* and *Riga*, That if they would speedily submit, he would confirm to them all their ancient Privileges, and restore to them their most advantageous Liberties and Prerogatives, which they formerly enjoy'd.

Nothing was done in the *Saxon* Army during the first eight Days after the Place was Invested, because the heavy Artillery was not come up to the Camp till the 13th; but on the 14th they began to raise Batteries as well in the Island last possess'd as in other places. In the mean time, the Governor employ'd all his time in putting the City into a condition to make a vigorous Defence. Upon the 16th of *September*, the *Saxons* threw 15 Bombs into the City for an Essay, of which only two set fire in two places, but it was presently extinguish'd. On the 18th they began to Cannonade and Bomb the Town in good earnest, but without doing any considerable Mischief. All this while, the Besieged ply'd the Besiegers with their great and small Shot, and did much harm to their Works. And now the K. of *Poland* all on a sudden bethinks himself, that the *English* and *Dutch* Merchants had considerable Effects in the Town, and that his Bombs would consume their Ware-houses and ruine their Correspondents, and for that reason, as 'tis alledg'd, desisted from his Design, and drew off his Forces.

The K. of Poland *quits the Siege of* Riga.

During these Transactions in *Livonia*, a Copy of a Letter from the *Czar of Muscovy* to the K. of *Poland* was dispersed about in *Holland*; and because it was Dated from no place, was thought to have been an invention impos'd upon the World. It could not be believ'd, that the *Czar* would break with the *Swedes* so soon, after he had promis'd to observe his Alliance and Friendship with that Crown, and after he had caus'd the same assurance to be several times repeated by his Ambassadors, and all upon occasion of the Siege of *Riga*, and the Reports that were spread abroad of a powerful Succour which he was sending to the K. of *Poland*. But it was not long before the World was otherwise convinc'd;

vinc'd; for the ſaid Letter was communicated to the *States General*; and the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador being conſulted in that Affair, made Anſwer, *That he knew nothing of it*, and perſiſted in the ſame ſtory for about eight Days; at the end of which, having deſir'd a Conference with the Deputies of the States, he declar'd to 'em at length, that the Czar his Maſter had thought it neceſſary to break with *Sweden*, and had confirm'd it by a Declaration in Writing.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Courland*, according to his Orders, upon the 2d of *October*, Inveſted the Fort of *Kokenhauſen*, and the next day ſent an Officer to Summon the Governor to ſurrender it, who return'd the uſual Anſwer, *That he would Defend it to the laſt extremity*. Whereupon, the Duke of *Courland*, after he had finiſh'd his Batteries, began to play with great fury upon the Fort; and having made a conſiderable Breach, was preparing to ſtorm the Place; but then the Governor better conſidering with himſelf, beat a Parley; in purſuance whereof, the Fort was deliver'd upon Honourable Articles.

And now the Truth of the Czar of *Muſcovy*'s Letter diſplays itſelf in effects that are too viſible: For having about the latter end of *Auguſt* laſt made a Peace with the *Turks* for 30 Years, he openly Declar'd War againſt the *Swedes*, having his Levies ready, which conſiſted of 25000 Horſe, and 70000 Foot, with a Train of 460 Cannon and Mortars. Of theſe the Czar reſolv'd to ſend between 20 and 30000 Men to Reinforce the K. of *Poland*, and to divide the reſt into two Bodies, one of which was to Beſiege *Narva*, and the other to Poſt themſelves at ſome diſtance, to hinder Relief from coming to the Town. Agreeably to theſe Reſolutions, the *Muſcovites* block'd up *Narva*, and afterwards formally Beſieg'd it; Invading *Livonia* with a powerful Army, but with little ſucceſs: Whereas the K. of *Sweden* was no ſooner Landed at *Pernau*, but many good Omens attended him, and ſhewed the *Muſcovites* were much more formidable for their Numbers than their Courage. Not to report their twice being repuls'd from *Ivanogrod*, and their ſeve-

The Czar of Muſcovy *Declares War againſt* Sweden.

And Beſieges Narva.

ral vain attempts upon *Narva*, one of their most considerable Brushes which they met with was at *Weessemberg*, whither they sent 4000 Men to Burn the Magazine in that Place, but were beaten off with considerable Loss by 2000 *Swedes* that lay in the Town under the Command of General *Reybinder*. After this, the *Muscovites* having sent several Boats Laden with Artillery, Provision, and Ammunition, from *Ploskow* upon the Lake of *Peipus* to *Narva*, the Governor of *Dorpt* sent out some Barks with Soldiers, who took seven of the Boats, where they found several pieces of Cannon, a good quantity of Ammunition, and a large Standard made in *Muscovy* for the use of the Czar's Army.

Not long after, the two Majors, *Patchul* and *Thiersenhausen*, being sent from the Army with 800 Horse to get intelligence of the Enemy, surpriz'd 2000 *Muscovites* in a Village, and fell upon them with that Bravery, that they Kill'd about 1500 upon the place, the rest escaping by flight. At the same time, they also took 500 Horses, and good store of other Booty. And tho' after this Fatigue they fell into an Ambush of between 2 and 3000 *Muscovite* Horse, and were in great danger, yet they cut their way thro' the Enemy, and brought off the the greatest part of their Booty with the loss only of Fourscore of their Men.

The K. of *Sweden* therefore finding the *Muscovites* not to be invincible, set forward to the Relief of *Narva*; which the Czar having notice of, sent two Detachments, one of 5000, the other of 15000 Men, to possess themselves of two Passes; believing the *Swedes* could not come at his Camp, without Fighting these two Bodies. But by the assistance of two good Guides, the K. of *Sweden* marching about, got between the *Muscovite* Camp and the 15000 Men before-mention'd, which after he had first attack'd and defeated, he advanc'd directly to the Enemies Camp. The Dispute lasted three or four Hours before the *Swedes* could enter the *Muscovites* Lines, and make way for the Horse. But then the *Muscovites* betook themselves to their Trenches, and many were drown'd by the breaking of a Bridge, the rest

The K. of Sweden Routs a strong Detachment of Muscovits.

reſt laid down their Arms and had Quarter. The chief of the Priſoners were the Duke of *Croy*, Gene-*Weide*, Lieutenant-General *Hatland*, Major-General *Lange*, Colonel *Solemberg*, and Colonel *Le Fort*; and it was the general report that 30000 were Kill'd and taken Priſoners in the whole: Thirty Mortar-pieces, all their Baggage, and a conſiderable Summ of Money.

This Victory having encourag'd the *Swediſh* Troops, upon the 17th of the ſame Month they attack'd a very conſiderable Poſt, call'd *Pocojoggi*, and made themſelves Maſters of it. The next day they gain'd another Poſt more conſiderable, call'd *Sillamoggi*, within a mile of *Narva*; which two Poſts were Guarded by no leſs than 30000 Men. The 29th, His Majeſty reſted his Army, that he might diſpoſe all Things in a readineſs to give Battle to the Enemy, not omitting Publick Prayers through the whole Army. This done, the K. of *Sweden* took a review of his whole Army, and Riding from Regiment to Regiment, exhorted them *To behave themſelves like brave Men, and not to be daunted at the great Numbers of their Enemies; but rather to be convinc'd, That God, the Protector of Right, and Avenger of Injuſtice, would not fail to ſtrengthen them, provided they did their Duties, and confided in him.* To this he added, *That he deſir'd no more from them than what he would do himſelf; and that he would ſhew them the Example, which they had no more to do than to follow, Nevertheleſs, he would not conſtrain any-body; ſo that if among ſo many brave Soldiers, whom he ſaw enliven'd to the Defence of their Country, there were any one that might be fearful or diſcourag'd, he gave him free permiſſion to leave his Rank and depart.* This ſhort Exhortation had the effect which the King promis'd to himſelf: Not a Soldier ſtirr'd, but on the contrary, charm'd as it were with the Preſence of their Generous Monarch, they cry'd out all together, *That they were ready to Live and Dye with him.*

The K. of Sweden's *Speech to his Army.*

Upon theſe aſſurances the King ſet forward by break of Day, and within an Hour came within ſight of the Enemies Camp, who lay Entrench'd on every ſide with Lines Circumvallation. The Weather was clear and ſerene in the Morning; but Hea-

ven

ven that design'd that Day to encircle the Brows of the Young King with Immortal Lawrels, sent a Foggy Mist, accompany'd with a thick Snow, by the favour of which the *Swedes* advanc'd within fifty paces of the *Muscovites* without being perceiv'd; where they were no sooner arriv'd, but the Mist clear'd up, the Snow ceas'd, and the Weather became clear and fair as before; so that the *Muscovites*, surpriz'd to see the Enemy so near them who they thought had been gone back to their Tents, began to be afraid. On the other side, the King encourag'd his Soldiers to the Combat; and after he had plaid upon the *Muscovites* Circumvallations for about an Hour, to make way for his Men, he enter'd the Enemies Camp with his Sword in Hand at the Head of his Infantry, the Cavalry following him. At first, the *Muscovites* made a stout Resistance; so that the Fight lasted near four Hours, while Victory seem'd to be in suspence which side to take. But at length the *Muscovites* gave way to the Valour of the *Swedes*, and ran in heaps to the River *Narva* which divided their Camp, in hopes to gain the Bridge which they had laid over the River; but it broke under them by reason of the multitude; so that a vast number of them were Drown'd; and the rest perceiving the *Swedes* at their heels, entrench'd themselves at first behind their Waggons, but at length flung down their Arms and begg'd for Quarter, which was given them, with liberty to return Home, by reason their number was so great, that it exceeded the number of the Victors. In a word, the Victory was compleat, the Field of Battle, Colours, Prisoners, 70 Brass Cannon, 30 Mortars, Ammunition, Baggage, 164000 Rixdollars, all became the Royal Conqueror's Booty, together with the Honour that redounded to the King, to have at Seventeen Years of Age, and for his first Essay, perform'd an Atchievement worthy to Immortalize the memory of the Oldest and most Experienc'd Captain. 'Tis said, about 30000 *Muscovites*, and 3000 *Swedes* were slain in the Fight; among whom were some very brave Officers, as General *Rubbling*, and Colonel *Rebinder*.

The Muscovites *Attack'd in their Camp by the* Swedes.

And totally Routed.

The

The King of *Sweden* expos'd himself to the most apparent Danger, and throughout the whole Action, shew'd that he no way degenerated from the great *Gustavus*. He was Wounded, but very slightly. The Horse he rode on, had his Head carried away by a Cannot Bullet, but he presently mounted another, without shewing the least alteration; and continued Fighting with the same Eagerness and Presence of Mind as before; and by his Example encourag'd his Men, who were vastly inferior to the number of *Muscovites*: For we are assured that the *Swedes* could hardly count fifteen Thousand. As for the *Czar*, he was sought in vain by His *Swedish* Majesty, in the heat of the Fight; for he was gone some days before towards *Pleskow*, to meet a new Body of Men that were upon the Road, with Artillery, to joyn the Camp. To say the Truth, he confided too much upon the strength of his *Circumvallations*, and never imagin'd that the *Swedes* could have forc'd their way through Passes so numerously guarded; so that the Enterprize was both Daring and Dangerous.

As soon as the *King* had compleated his Victory, he made his entrance into *Narva*, and was receiv- ed, by all the Inhabitants, as their Preserver and Deliverer. The Governor, Collonel *de Hornes*, went forth to meet him; and the King receiv'd him with all the Endearments and Commendations which his Services merited: For when the *Muscovites* first invested *Narva*, the place was not only bare of all sorts of Outworks, but whole peices were wanting in the neglected Ramparts of the Town. Within, there were not above eight hundred Soldiers to defend it, together with some few of the Inhabitants that were able to bear Arms; all other things were in very bad Order, only they had store of Ammunition: Nevertheless, the Baron *de Hornes* held out the Place six entire Weeks against the whole Army of the *Muscovites*, consisting of above a hundred thousand Men; and by that long and Heroick Defence, gave the King time to come to his Relief, and gain a signal Victory. The King staid not much above an hour in the City, only so long as was requisite to give out necessary Orders, and to pay *His Thanks to God for so great and glorious a Victory*. One thing

Narva Reliev'd

is remarkable, *viz.* That this formidable Army of the *Muscovites*, was Defeated on the same day, that the Year before the *Czar* had sworn the Peace with *Sweden*, viz. *November* 20, O. S. 1700.

This is further to be added to the praises of that valiant Hero the King of *Swedeland*, That as his Victory gain'd him many Prisoners of great Note, so his Royal Clemency towards them in their Captivity, won him no less their Esteem and Veneration. They admir'd the King's *Bounty* and *Generosity* in the Usage they received by his Orders. Having the liberty of the City and the Camp; and wanting for nothing. The King commanded their Swords should be restored them; and among other things, the King understanding that the Duke of *Croy* was without Money, and could find no Merchant in *Narva* that would furnish him by way of Exchange; His Majesty sent him a Bag of a thousand *Ducats*; which Civilities caus'd the Prisoners to say, That, *His* Swedish *Majesty knew as well how to Conquer by his Generosity, as by his Arms.*

Interview between the Czar and the K. of Poland.

In *March* 1701, was a grand Interview between the *Czar* and the King of *Poland*, in *Courland*, which lasted fifteen days together; during which time there was no want of *Wine* or good *Cheer*. The two Monarchs kept themselves warm within and without, and that continual heat produced a world of Endearments, and Promises to stick to one another till they had brought *Sweden* upon her Knees. But while the *Czar* and the King of *Poland* were making Merry, the *Swedes* minded their business and gain'd *Pitschur*, a famous Pass about twenty Miles from *Narva*, in the Road to *Pleskow*, in which Action the *Muscovites* lost two Thousand Men, and the *Swedes* about three Hundred; which so incens'd the King of *Poland*, that he order'd *Riga* to be a second time block'd up, and that no body should stir out of the City without a Pass from the Duke of *Courland*; no, not the ordinary Posts themselves. He seem'd, at that time, to breath nothing but War against *Sweden*. His Men lay Quarter'd all along the *Duina*, from *Thoron* to *Cockenhausen*, and they gave out, That his Army was to be Re-inforced by a considerable number of *Muscovites*, tho' all the Succour they

Riga again Besieg'd by the K. of Poland, but without success.

they found, was a Bag of two hundred and fourſcore Thouſand Crowns, which was brought to *Mittau*, towards the end of *May*, by a *Muſcovite* Officer.

The King of *Sweden* alſo turned all his Thoughts to the War in *Livonia*, in order to drive the *Saxons* out of that Country, in which his Arms were ſo ſucceſsful upon the River *Duina*, that the *Saxons* were Defeated, and in the Action loſt two Collonels, one AdjutantGeneral, and a Major kill'd outright, and two Collonels, and two Lieutenant-Collonels wounded, beſides ſeveral other Officers. At the ſame time came notice, that a Body of twelve thouſand *Muſcovites*, deſigning an Incurſion into the Territories of *Sweden*, were met by Major General *Cromhurſt*, who Commanded a Detachment of *Swedes* upon the Frontiers, and Defeated, with the loſs of a great many ſlain in the Field of Battle, and that retiring in diſorder from thence, they fell into the hands of Collonel *Parkul* returning from another Incurſion which he had made into the Frontiers of *Muſcovy*, by whom they were utterly diſperſed, after he had ſlain ſeven hundred of them, and taken ſeveral Priſoners. After the King of *Poland*'s loſs upon the River *Duina*, he ſeem'd to give over the thoughts of a *Swediſh* War, and commanded his ſcattered Troops to march into *Saxony*; but the King of *Sweden*, Crown'd with Lawrells, march'd on with an Army of 22000 Men, filling all Quarters with Terror and Confuſion, and Conquering all Places where-ever he came. After the Defeat of the *Saxons* at the Paſſage of the *Duina*, he ſent ſix Thouſand Men to make themſelves Maſters of *Window* and *Libou*, both Sea Ports, from the Magiſtrates of which laſt place he demanded the delivery of the great Train of Artillery belonging to the King of *Poland* laid up in that City, and obtained his Ends; and which was more greivous, conſtrain'd the Magiſtrates to pay him twelve Thouſand Crowns.

Window *and* Libou *taken by the* Swedes

As for the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, he would fain be doing ſomething to regain his loſt Honour, and to that end brought two conſiderable Armies, one as far as *Novogrod*, the other to *Ploskow*, and had another

other of ſeveral Thouſands near *Ladoga*, upon the River *Walkhowa*. Twenty Thouſand of theſe *Muſcovites* marching from *Ploskow* and *Pietzul* to make an Incurſion into *Livonia*, fell upon 4 or 500 *Swedes* that were poſted upon the Frontiers, whom after a ſtout Defence, overcome by Number, they Defeated and put to the Sword. But 4000 more *Swedes* being ſent againſt them, with ſome Field-pieces, they put the Enemy to a total Rout, Kill'd 3000 upon the place, took ſeveral Standards, and a great number of Arms, with the loſs of 100 Men only upon the *Swedes* ſide. As for thoſe *Muſcovites* who actually join'd the *Saxons* before their being Defeated at the Paſſage at the *Duna*, the greateſt part of them periſh'd for want of Food, being reduced to that extremity, that they were forc'd to ſell their Arms for Bread.

The Letter which the K. of *Sweden* wrote to the Cardinal Primate of *Poland*, now begins to appear, and the Heat which it put the fiery Nobility into, is enough to aſſure us of the truth of the Contents of it. His Majeſty therein aſſures the Republick of his Friendſhip, and tells them moreover, "That "ſince the K. of *Poland* had acted contrary to the "*Pacta Conventa* which he had Sworn to upon his "Election, by beginning a War in *Livonia* of his "own head; by endeavouring to make himſelf Ab"ſolute Soveraign of *Poland*; by ſowing Diſcord a"mong the Nobility; and by divers other practices "againſt the Liberty and Privileges of the Nation; "*It was lawful for his Subjects to Depoſe him*; that "this would be the only means to preſerve the Coun"try in Peace; and that His *Swediſh* Majeſty was "ready to ſecond them, in accompliſhing what he "had propos'd to 'em; but if they ſtill conniv'd at "the Enterprize of their King, he would be his E"nemy, and reſtleſs in purſuit of him, till he had "reveng'd himſelf for the *Unjuſt War* which he had "made upon him, and obtain'd full Satisfaction "for the Dammages which his *Saxons* had commit"ted in *Livonia*.

The K. of *Poland* finding himſelf thus terribly menac'd, and unfortunate in his Undertakings, and unable to Relieve the Fort of *Dunamunder*, which

was

was closely block'd up, unless the Republick would espouse his Quarrel, which they are utterly averse to, begins to close with his Nobility; and to engage them the more easily to his Interests, made the Republick a Present of his Noble train of Artillery, of which he gave notice, not only to the *Primate* and *Senators*, but also to Count *Joblonowski* grand Marshal of the Crown. Both the one and the other return'd His Majesty Thanks, tho' they did not seem to be over fond of a Present, for which they had so little hopes of being the better; insomuch, that the King, at the same time, requesting the *Crown Marshal* to march his Forces to the Frontiers of *Livonia*; he excused it, by alledging the ill Condition of his Men, and that it was not in his power to do any thing, without the express Orders of the Republick.

The K. of Poland *presents his Artillery to the Republick.*

In the mean time, the King of *Sweden* continues his Carrier, he Prevents, Attacks, wins Victories, and, in a word, follows the steps of the great *Gustavus*. Yet such is his Heroick Disposition, that 'tis to be hop'd will put a stop to the Course of his Triumphs, to re-establish the Repose of the *North*, which has been interrupted after a manner so little foreseen, and so unlook'd for, and Sacrifice his own Glory to the publick Good. Happy those Princes, who despising the Conquests they might win, who trampling under foot those Exploits that might render their History Illustrious, and making real Vertue to consist in vanquishing themselves, lay nothing more to Heart, than the Interest of the People, who are always sufferers by the Quarrels of their Soveraigns.

But now the Complemement the King of *Poland* lately made to the Nobility and the *Cardinal Primate* seems to have quite altered the *Polish* Measures; for whereas before, they press'd the King with their repeated Requests, to make Peace with the King of *Sweden*, and represented the War he had begun against that Crown, as dangerous to their Republick; they now seem to justifie it, as appears by a Letter wrote by the *Cardinal Primate* to His *Swedish* Majesty, for therein he seems to excuse the King of *Poland*, and Complements the *Swedish* Monarch, requesting him

him to reſtore the *Saxon* train of Artillery, upon pretence that itwas a Gift to the Republick.

Notwithſtanding his Complements, His *Swediſh* Majeſty has ſeveral reaſons for his keeping Poſſeſſion of *Courland*, till ſatisfaction be given him; but the beſt jeſt is, to ſee that a Cardinal ſhould have no no more Experience in the World, than to deſire the King of *Sweden* to reſtore a Train of Artillery taken in open War, at a time when 'twas made uſe of againſt him, under a pretence that it was a *Donative* given to the *Republick*. And what is ſtill more Comical, you find the King of *Poland* making a *Donative* to the *Polanders* of his curious great Guns lock'd up in *Dunamunder Fort*; becauſe he knows he can keep 'em no longer; two peices of Pleaſantry, that nothing could make *Europe* more merry than a Complaiſance in the King of *Sweden* to humour the Donor.

Not to cenſure the Actions of Sovereign Princes, the King of *Poland* ſeems to be mikaken in his Politicks, in waging War with a powerful Prince without any appearance of ſucceſs; having at home no more than a confined and limitedRule over a haughty and ſtubborn People torn into a thouſand Factions, Indigent withal, and unprovided of all the materials of War. Abroad but one Confederate in the World, uncertain in his Faith, and in the Field of little uſe; I mean the vanquiſhed *Muſcovite*, the Wounds of whoſe late over-throw are ſtill felt all over *Ruſſia*, with which it is the Intereſt of *Poland* rather to be at variance, while *Smolensko*, *Siberia* and *Kiovia*, the Barriers of the *Poliſh* Kingdom are in the hands of the *Czar*: They would therefore be the King's beſt Councellors, that would adviſe him, as he has been the cauſe of all the Confuſion in the Nation, to repair the Breaches he has made, and by ſo reſtoring the Republick to Peace and Union, to put her in a Condition to reſettle her Affairs.

In the mean while we find the *Swedes* are in actual Hoſtilities with *Oginski* and his Party; for upon the 7th of *December* 1701, a Detachment of *Oginiski*'s Party advancing to force a certain Paſs that was Guarded by two hundred Horſe, under the Command of Collonel *Myerfeld*, were bravely repuls'd with

with the loſs of Thirty Men and two pair of Kettle-Drums, notwithſtanding the inequality of the Number; whereas, the *Swedes* had only one Dragoon wounded during the Encounter. After which, Colonel *Humbrogreer* was ſent with a Detachment of 2500 Men in ſearch of 12000 Headed by *Oginski*; His *Swediſh* being reſolv'd to ſupport the *Sapiehia's* againſt the Diſturbers of the Publick Peace.

However, in the midſt of theſe Hoſtilities, *M. Cranenburg*, Envoy Extraordinary from the *States of Holland*, ſpares no Labour and Diligence to reconcile the Differences between the two Kings; and as ſome with confidence affirm, has made conſiderable Progreſs in this Negotiation; and that the greateſt difficulty he meets with, is the oppoſition of certain Princes, who make it their ſtudy to diſconcert the Envoy's Meaſures; and ſet all their Engines at work to hinder the Concluſion of a Peace; of which number the D. of *Courland* is a Stickler; who, 'tis ſaid, has had ſeveral Conferences with the *Cardinal Primate*, and ſeveral of the *Poliſh Senators*, in which he laid before em the neceſſity of Aiding him againſt the K. of *Sweden*, but that they took no notice of his Remonſtrances. Tho' happen Peace or War, 'tis confidenly ſaid, That His *Swediſh* Majeſty has by his Publick Miniſter declar'd to the Emperor; That, notwithſtanding the Burden of the War which he is like to undergo, he will not fail to lay to Heart the Affairs and Intereſts of the Empire in the preſent Conjuncture; and ſuch a Courageous and Magnanimous Prince as the K. of *Sweden*, may be believed and depended on.

Politick Remarks upon the Constitution of Sweden. &c.

IT remains now to touch upon the Constitution of the Kingdom, pursuant to the method we have all along observ'd in describing the other States of *Europe*.

The Genius of the Swedes.

As for the *Swedish* and *Gothick* Nations, I may safely saw, That they were ever reputed very Warlike; they always had the Character of a People that are not afraid of their Skin, or annoy'd by the smell of Gunpowder. Their Bodies are very robust, which qualifies 'em for the enduring of Fatigue and the other Inconveniencies of War. They are equally capable to serve on Horseback or on Foot; and prove very good Marines when once accustom'd to the Sea. But after all, the Militia of *Sweden* was in former times but in a sorry Condition; for upon the breaking out of any War, they made use of none to make Head against the Enemy but the *Peasants*, excepting the King's Cavalry, which was not numerous, and consisted of some Gentlemen. In those Times, Stratagems and Intrigues were not so much follow'd as at present. But of late Years, under the Government of the *Gustavus*'s, the *Swedish* Troops became better and better every day. For K. *Gustavus* and his Successors employ'd first foreign Officers and Soldiers, especially *English* and *German*, to discipline and regulate the Militia; and even to Fight upon an important Expedition, in order to spare the Blood of their Subjects, and prevent the dispeopling of the Nation. But since the Reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*, the Nation has improv'd their Military Knowledge to that perfection, that at this day the *Swedish* Armies have no need of the Assistance of Foreigners, unless it be to enlarge their Number; of which the present King has

has given ſhining and glorious proofs to the whole World. However, when I ſpeak of Foreigners, I do not include, under that denomination, the Inhabitants of *Eſthonia* and *Livonia*, the Gentry of that Country being as often honour'd with Military Poſts as the *Swediſh*; for in effect they have no other Profeſſion but that of Arms. The Kingdom is indifferently well Peopled: But the Number of its Inhabitants is not ſo overgrown as that it ſhould commence a War purely to be rid of part of the Number, and give the remainder an opportunity of ſubſiſting, as ſome have imagin'd; for the Arable Ground in *Sweden* bears a very good proportion to the Number of the Inhabitants. Nay, on the other hand, the great Levies made in ſome Provinces during the late Wars have viſibly leſſen'd the number of the People, eſpecially in *Finland*; tho' indeed, that loſs may be quickly made up by Peace and the good order that is now obſerv'd for keeping up the Troops. Beſides, ſome alledge, That the Paucity of the Inhabitants of *Finland* was partly occaſion'd by this, that a great many *Peaſants* and their retainers have privately remov'd to *Muſcovy*, and fix'd their reſidence upon Grounds belonging to Convents, where they might live at their eaſe. Now, conſidering the preſent State of *Sweden*, one cannot eaſily conceive how the *Swedes* could form the ancient Colonies in the North parts of *Europe*, when they Sallied out in ſwarms and overran other Counties like an Inundation, without draining the Source they came from: This, I ſay, we cannot well account for, unleſs we alledge, That the firſt Adventurers coming from *Sweden*, were join'd by ſeveral other Nations through which they paſs'd, and ſo enlarg'd their number, as a rolling Snowball does its bulk. Beſides, 'tis poſſible, that before the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the unaccountable Multitudes might proceed from Poligamy, which was cuſtomary among the ancient *Goths*; eſpecially conſidering that in that Country the Men are very proper for Generation. Further, 'tis to be obſerv'd, that *Sweden* is not in the ſame Circumſtances with the other States of *Europe*, where Populous Cities are ſo frequent, that the Citizens make the Bulk of

The number of the Inhabitants.

the Nation; for in *Sweden*, 'tis only the *Peasants* that, properly speaking, are the Inhabitants of the Country; and out of them are rais'd all the Land and Sea Soldiers. In effect, the *Swedish* Boors are in a better and freer Condition than those of other Kingdoms; insomuch that they assist at the Assemblies of the States, to give their consent to the laying on of the Taxes upon the People; tho' indeed, they are justly excluded from the Management of State-Affairs: All these Considerations, are plain evidence, that their Prosperity ought to be much regarded, not only for the sake of Agriculture, but for the defence of the Kingdom.

Their Customs

As for the Customs of the *Swedes*, and their Domestick way of Living; 'tis observ'd that they have commonly a certain sort of Gravity, not unbecoming when 'tis once temper'd by a Correspondence with other Nations. They have a natural itch to make a great Appearance; by which means, many of 'em Ruine their Families, by living beyond their Incomes. They are very well vers'd in the Art of Dissimulation; and extreamly jealous and distrustful. Some observe, that they are very invidious, insomuch that one *Swede* does not commonly love to see another thrive. In general, the *Swedes* have a good Opinion of themselves, and of all that relates to them; but are very apt to contemn others. As for Sciences, Arts, and Trades, they are inclinable enough to learn the first Elements of 'em; but few of 'em have the patience to sound Things to the bottom, and perfect themselves in the Art to which they apply themselves; not to mention, that many of 'em are apt to imagine themselves Masters of a Science, before they are got half way in the due progress. Forasmuch, as this Nation has but little inclination for Mechanick Trades, and even slights 'em; 'tis observ'd, that they are not qualified for Manufactures, especially such as require Ingenuity and Industry. The *Finlanders* differ from the *Swedes* both in their Language and Customes; and become very good Soldiers when they are put in good Order: They are a Rustick, Stiff, Opiniative People, but extreamly Laborious; and upon that score, are more proper for Fatigue and Downright Labour than

than for such Work as requires Ingenuity and Dexterity.

As for the Land of *Sweden*, 'tis of a vast extent; but a great part of it is nothing but Woods, Lakes, and Pools: In several places it presents us with prodigious Rocks; so that Foreigners look upon it as a horrid, disagreeable, Country, in comparison with theirs. But after all, if we take a narrow view of it, we shall find that it produces very good Commodities, and is not so very disagreeable. For when one Travels into the heart of the Country, he finds that *Sweden* has a quite different aspect from what it has at *Stockholm* and among the Rocks upon the Sea-side. In the middle of the Country there are a great many very fertile and pleasant Cantons: Besides, the Woods and Forrests are not only necessary for keeping off the Cold of the Winter, but very useful for preparing the Metals they dig out of the Mines. The Lakes are plentifully stor'd with Fish; and afford both Profit and Pleasure to the Inhabitants, inasmuch as upon them they transport every thing as well as themselves from one place to another. As for those Lakes that do not admit of that conveniency, the defect is made up by the Sledges in Winter, which are an admirable conveniency for those who have a mind to Travel, or transport Goods. And in effect, the Boors commonly make use of it for every thing. These Advantages considerably allay the inconveniencies of the Winter; besides, the incomparable sweetness of their Summer, and the Light Nights, which continue for almost three Months together, are an equal ballance for what others boast in their Southern Climates. When the Years are not altogether Barren, the Ground produces Corn enough for the subsistence of the Inhabitants; so that they have no occasion to Import any from abroad, for one Province's Plenty supplies the scarcity of another. The Cattle are numerous enough; and the vast number of Lakes in the Inland parts of the Country, as well as the Coasts of the *Baltick-Sea* and its *Gulphs*, afford such plenty of Fish, as is very serviceable in subsisting the Nation. Further, this Kingdom is well stock'd with Copper and Iron Mines, which,

The Nature of the Soil.

in goodneſs, ſurpaſs all the Mines that are in any other Country, and ſupply all other Nations with thoſe Metals. The places where they dig theſe Metals and work 'em, are naturally form'd for that uſe by Reaſon of the numerous Woods and Rivers, without which they could never prepare ſuch great quantities. There are Mines in *Saalberg* in *Weſtmania*, which produce an indifferent ſtore of Silver. *Finland* affords great quantities of Pitch and Tar, as *Dahl* and *Wermeland* have great plenty of Shipmaſts. The whole Country abounds in all ſorts of Fowls.

The Aggrandiſing of the Swediſh Nation.

The Kings of *Guſtavus*'s Family enlarg'd the Kingdom of *Sweden* above one half, by annexing to it ſeveral fair and well ſituated Provinces; particularly, part of *Carelia* compris'd under the Fief of *Kexholm*, the Provinces of *Ingermania*, *Eſthonia*, *Livonia*, and the Iſland of *Oeſel*. The firſt of theſe Provinces defends *Finland* as a Barrier from the Invaſion of the *Muſcovites*, and the reſt are very fertile in producing Grain; and their Situation very convenient and advantageous, in regard they lie ſo near the *Baltick Sea*. The moſt conſiderable City in all *Livonia* is *Riga*, which reaps great advantage by the River *Duna*, by which it Exports its Commodities, and ſecures to it ſelf a Commerce with *Muſcovy*, *Lithuania*, and part of *Courland*. On the other ſide of the Country, the ancient Limits of *Sweden* were lately enlarg'd by the Conqueſt of *Jempterland* and *Heredachlen* on this ſide the Northern Mountains; and *Schonen*, and the Province of *Halland* and *Blekingia* towards the *Sound*. Beſides the intrinſick Value of theſe Provinces, they are of ineſtimable Worth to the *Swedes*; for they cover the whole Body of the Kingdom, which would otherwiſe be expos'd on the *Daniſh* ſide for above fifty Leagues together. But tho' all theſe Provinces lie conveniently for *Sweden*, and *Livonia* being at once a Bulwark, and capable to receive ſeaſonable Succour; yet we cannot ſay the ſame of *Pomeren* and the Dutchy of *Bremen*, which lie at a great diſtance from *Sweden*; and being ſever'd from it by the whole breadth of the *Baltick*, are very hard to be defended. For this reaſon, ſome have doubted whether

whether those Provinces are of any great importance to the Crown of *Sweden*, especially considering that *Sweden* is every Year at more charge in keeping them, than their Revenues amount to. And towards the end of the *German* War, when the satisfaction due to the *Swedes* was treated of; several *Swedish* Senators were of the Opinion that they should not accept of any Territories in *Germany*, partly because the keeping of them would be a great Charge, and partly because they might give Umbrage to the Neighbouring States, and so occasion many Inconveniencies. However, those who were of the contrary Opinion, had very forcible Reasons for the not neglecting of that opportunity, of annexing these Provinces to the Crown of *Sweden*. For 'tis evident, that as long as the *Swedes* are Masters of *Wismar*, and have a firm footing in *Pomeren*, they need never fear an invasion from the *German* side: Besides, when they make Levies in the Empire, these Countries are very convenient for the Rendevouz of the Troops. To which I must add, That in case of a Rupture with *Denmark*, they may be very serviceable for the attacking of *Denmark* on the side of *Germany*. And as 'tis not to be disputed, that the *Swedes* can never be secure without knowing who are their Neighbours on the other side of the *Baltick*; so 'tis every way their Interest to have a footing there, and observe what passes. Besides, if these Provinces be govern'd as they ought to be, they may, in time, become capable to stand by themselves. But let that be as it will, the Charge of keeping them, is as weak a Reason for the quitting of such Outworks, as the advantage of sowing Beans and Corn would be for the pulling down of the Bastions and Horn-works of any Place. The *Swedes* have already been twice Masters of *Prussia*; and by the right of War, they might very well have kept it to themselves, as the *Poles* did formerly when they took it from the Knights of the *Teutonick* Order. But this occasion'd so much Envy, and rais'd so many Enemies to *Sweden*, that they were oblig'd to quit that Conquest. To conclude, we ought not to think always of Conquest, or to

be too eager in maſtering Countries that lie conveniently for us; becauſe others may do the ſame by us. Beſides, 'tis a Vertue to keep well what we have got; for too large Conquelts ſerve only to weaken the Foundation of the State, as well as the Nation it ſelf.

The Puiſſance and Riches of Sweden.

To make a juſt eſtimate of the Riches of *Sweden*, we muſt, in the firſt place, ballance their Export into forreign Countries with what they import from abroad to ſupply the neceſſity of the Inhabitants. The Commodities that *Sweden* furniſhes to other Nations, are, *Copper*, *Iron*, *Steel*, *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Maſts of Ships*, *and Planks*: Beſides what the Provinces of that Kingdom afford, which may make a very conſiderable Article. The Commodities imported to *Sweden* from forreign Countries, are, *Wines*, *Strong Spirits*, *Salt*, *Spices*, *Wax*, *Stuffs of Silk and of Wool*, *fine Linnen*, *the French Finery*, *Furrs*, *Paper*, and other Commodities, which will amount to a large ſumm, eſpecially conſidering, that in *Sweden*, there's a great Conſumption of the beſt Wines, and the Women love dearly to dreſs fine. Upon the whole, I am of Opinion, that the Export of *Sweden* is not ſhort of its Import; nay, I maintain, that for ſeveral Years it went beyond it. For this Reaſon, the *Swedes* have of a long time ſought for Expedients to husband the Money that goes out of their Kingdom, and raiſe the prices of Commodities that they ſupply others with. At laſt 'twas agreed upon, that the beſt means for compaſſing that End, would be that of making the *Swedes* apply themſelves more to Navigation and Commerce, and to go in their own bottoms to buy forreign Commodities at the firſt hand in order to tranſport them to their own Country. Upon this view, the *Swediſh* Veſſels were to have ſome Privilege beyond forreign Ships, in paſſing the *Sound*; becauſe, commonly eaſy impoſts contribute very much to the advancing of Commerce; and, on the other hand, heavy Cuſtoms, the rude and diſobliging Carriage of Collectors, together with Monopolies, do entirely ruine, or, at leaſt, cramp all Trade. Add to all this, That *Sweden* would thereby be a conſiderable gainer, in having ſo many experienc-

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ed Seamen, and being capable to defend their Country by Shipping in the time of a War. 'Tis true, since Q. *Christian*'s time, the *Swedes* have begun to carry this design further; nay, they had carried it so far, that they planted Colonies in the North of *America*, and set up a correspondence with *Guinea*. But the *Dutch*, thro' Envy, ruin'd their first establishment in those Countries, before they could bring 'em to perfection. 'Tis likewise to be consider'd, that the *Swedish* Trade suffer'd mightily in the last War, by the loss of many Ships. 'Twere to be wish'd that their Trade would now flourish; for certainly 'tis the best means for enriching the Kingdom. But to make such a design bear, there's a necessity in the first place, that the greatest part of the inhabitants accustom themselves to a more modest and regular way of living, without pursuing Vanity and Luxury so much as they do.

Their Manufactries.

The *Swedes* have likewise endeavour'd to establish Manufacturies in their Country, partly for the use of the Inhabitants, and partly to be exported. And in effect, they are already set on foot; but if they went the right way to work, they might carry the thing much farther, tho' not without some difficulty. For in order to set up Manufacturies, they must first purchase, either at home or abroad, the matter upon which they are to work, and that at the lowest rate. In the next place they must have a good number of Artisans; and be assur'd of a Market for their Commodities, so as that they may either sell 'em with advantage, or barter 'em at least upon equal lay; Now, 'tis manifest that *Sweden* can never pretend to do much by a Manufactury of Silk and Woollen Stuffs, for want of materials, unless they can establish a Silk Trade with *Persia* by the way of *Muscovy*. But the great difficulty in that matter is, how to obtain a free and secure Passage through the *Muscovites* Country, by Land and Water, without incurring the danger of being stopp'd when the humour takes 'em. Were it not for this difficulty, *Sweden* might Trade with *Persia* by way of the *Caspian-Sea*, more easy than one can imagine. The *principal* part of the *Swedish Manufactury* lies in what they make upon *Copper* and *Iron*. They know already how to take the *Laten* from the *Copper*, and make all sorts of *vendible things* of it; and I question much, if it be possible to make more of that *branch* than they have already done. Indeed, as for their *Iron*, and especially their *Steel*, if they wrought more upon that, they might make much more of it, provided they had many good Workmen. Now, there's no bringing of good Workmen from foreign Countries, without granting them reasonable privileges, and giving them an opportunity of getting *Money*. If we offer to treat 'em as they do the *Negroes* in the *West-Indies*, where, instead of a *Sallery*, they have their *Victuals* weigh'd out to 'em by a greedy stingy *Commissary*; 'twill be impossible to retain a good Artisan. Some have been of the mind that the *Swedes* might make a great

great deal of their vast *Woods*, by building Ships to be sold to other *Nations*, Other say the like of the *Whales* and *Herring-fishing*. But these are proposals foreign to my purpose.

The strength and Security of Sweden.

From what has been said, 'tis plain that the *prosperity* of this *State* consists chiefly in the *promoting* the Trade of the *Iron* and *Copper* that they take from their *Mines*. For this purpose the *North-Sea* and the *Baltick* are very serviceable. But the security of the Kingdom depends upon its *Armies* by *Sea* and *Land*. The late *King* much augmented both his *Infantry* and *Cavalry*; and put all his Troops upon a better foot than ever they were before. *Sweden* has this advantage beyond other *Nations*, that it can maintain a vast body of Troops without any great charge to the Crown; for the *Infantry* live with the Peasants, and the *Cavalry*, for the most part, subsist upon the Farms that belong to the Crown; for the incomes of these Farms are allotted to 'em instead of Pay. So that the Kingdom is always ready to send a puissant Army into the Field. Besides the Land Forces, there's a necessity *Sweden* should always be provided with a good Fleet; and accordingly, ever since the conclusion of the last War, care has has been taken to put the Fleet into good order. Hitherto, the Men of War us'd commonly to ride before *Stockholm* within the King's view, in the safest Harbour of the Kingdom. But in regard that the Fleet is chiefly to be imploy'd against *Denmark*; That it cannot put to Sea from that place till the middle of *April*, at which time, the Ice that lies among the Rocks in the mouth of the Harbour begins to dissolve; That they have a great many turnings and tackings before they come at full Sea, and even then are at a great distance from *Denmark*. Upon these considerations, I say, a new Haven is now built with infinite Charge at *Bleckingia* where the Ships can get out in a little time, and where they live very near to *Denmark*, *Pomeren*, and *Wismar*. Besides all this, *Sweden* has this further advantage, that she can put a stop to her Enemy's Progress in her Provinces in *Germany*, which serve them for outworks, or advanc'd Guards; and to which they always transmit Succours by their Fleet. Upon the whole, the *Swedes* can cover the body of their Kingdom from the Invasion of their Enemies; For towards *Norway* 'tis defended by high inaccessible Mountains, and supposing a party of their Enemies should make an Irruption into *Dalia* and *Wermeland*, the most they could do, would be the burning of some Country Farms; and besides, if they did not retire very speedily, they would quickly forget the way they came. Farther, upon the Frontiers of *Norway*, they are defended by the *Weener-Sea*, the great *Elbe* which takes its rise there, and the strong Forts of *Bahuus Marstrand* and *Gothenburg*. On the other side, the Coast of *Sweden* and *Finland*, upon the *Baltick-Sea*, is so well guarded, partly by the steep Rocks, and partly by an Infinity of little Isles, that no Enemy would offer to come near 'em;

not to mention that a descent upon *Sweden*, while the *Swedish* Fleet is in good order, would be a very hazardous attempt. 'Tis true, an Enemy may land in *Schonen*, but then they must first defeat the *Swedish* Fleet, and after that, master some place of strength for a retreat; the execution of which would be extream difficult. And after all, the Invader may rest assur'd that all the Forces of *Sweden* would speedily give him a meeting.

The Interest of Sweden *with respect to its Neighbours. viz.* Muscovy.

It now remains to take a view of *Sweden's* Neighbours, and consider what good or harm she may expect from 'em. In the first place we must observe that *Sweden* joyns to *Muscovy* on the East. In former times the *Swedes* had frequent differences with that State. For *Finland*, in particular, was much expos'd, and always upon the Alarm, by reason of the frequent irruptions of the *Muscovites*, before the retaking the fortresses of *Kexholm* and *Noteburg* together with the Town of *Narva*, which serve for good Ramparts to cover that Province, and by which the *Swedes* have now cut off their Communication with the *Baltick-Sea*. But the *Muscovites* have forgot that considerable loss the more easily, since they have establish'd a Commerce by *Archangel*. The *Muscovites* have formerly had this peculiar quality, that they stood firmly to their Contracts and Seals, as much as to their kissing of the Cross, provided they met with equal fidelity from those they treated with; for since the perpetual Peace between them and the *Swedes* in 1627, they always preserv'd the Peace; excepting, that in the Year 1656, being seduc'd by the Emperor, they broke their Alliance with *Sweden*, but soon after repented of the Breach: Tho' they commonly made some complaints in their Embassies to the Court of *Sweden*, yet they were but trifling things, and easily adjusted. So that the *Swedes* had no reason to be apprehensive of being attack'd by the *Muscovites*, unless they gave occasion to it themselves; especially, considering that they frankly own themselves inferiour to the *Swedes* in the knowledge of War, and consequently are convinc'd they'll get nothing by attacking 'em; however, last Summer we have seen the *Muscovite*, contrary to his solemn Promise the Year before, break suddenly with *Sweden*, and Besiege *Narva* with a very numerous Army, but the brave Young King has so entirely defeated him, that 'twill be scarce possible for him ever to make head to any prejudice of *Sweden* these many Years, or indeed to recover the overthrow he has met with. On the other hand, the K. of *Sweden* has no reason to desire the enlarging of his Conquests in *Muscovy*, since he can not keep 'em without a great charge, and he would always be in danger of losing 'em, in regard that the *Muscovites* differ altogether from the *Swedes*, in their language, Religion, and Customs. However, *Sweden* was never fond of entring in any Alliance with 'em, by reason that they are naturally a nice, scrupulous, opinionative People;

People; They always contented themselves with living in Peace with 'em. So that all the advantage that the *Swedes* can expect from the *Muscovites*, is that of fearing no trouble from that side. And, indeed, they are secure enough there, and they may justly account the *Muscovites* good and useful Neighbours in time of Peace.

Poland. In former times, the *Swedes* liv'd for the most part in a good understanding with *Poland*. The *Muscovites* being their common Enemy, oblig'd 'em to unite, and that so strictly, that when the antient Royal Family was extinct, they sent to *Sweden* for a new King. But this Election was so far from confirming the amity between the two States, that it gave rise to a mortal hatred between 'em, upon the Republick of *Poland*'s offering to intermeddle in a difference between the *Swedes* and their King; by which the *Swedes* had an opportunity of conquering all *Livonia*, and carrying the War as far as *Prussia*. Nay, the *Poles* having always shewn a great deal of arrogance and contempt of the *Swedish* Nation, inflam'd the Matter so far, that K. *Charles Gustavus*, whose Election they had protested against, was oblig'd to give 'em to know, That they ought to be cautious of provoking Men of Spirit and Resolution too much. At last the difference was adjusted by a great effusion of Blood in *Poland*, which the *Poles* might easily have prevented. This stumbling Block being took out of the way, there remain'd no reason against the perpetual Friendship and Union of these two Nations; for there was no consideration of Interest that cou'd move the one to wage War with the other; the *Poles* having made an absolute cession of *Livonia*, in the favour of *Sweden*, and *Sweden* having drop'd all pretensions to *Prussia*. Nay, on the contrary, they might reciprocally do great services to one another in case of Necessity. But we now see the K. of *Poland* begin an unjust and dishonourable War with the *Swedes*, without any reason, or so much as pretence for it, the Republick disowning any Engagement or concern in it; but the Martial Young King has so confounded all his designs, and so entirely routed his Armies wherever he met 'em, that he has almost dispirited him, and if his Genius pushes him forward, *Poland* it self may be in danger of being over-run.

Germany. *Sweden* had always a great correspondence with the Empire, by reason of the Trade carried on there by the *Hans-towns*, with which the *Swedes* have had frequent differences upon the account of their offering to interpose in divisions of *Sweden*. But afterwards, when all the old Quarrels were quite forgot, the Ambition and Tyranical Designs of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Second, and his partiality to the *Poles*, forc'd K. *Gustavus Adolphus* to carry his Arms into *Germany*, in order to revenge the Injuries he had receiv'd, and to provide for the security of his own Kingdom. For in effect, *Sweden* had been in great danger if the *Imperialists* had got footing

on

on the Coast of the *Baltick*, and been capable to put the Neighbouring Kingdoms under the Yoke of their Dominion. But after a War of 18 Years standing, the *Swedes*, by the force of their Arms brought things to that pass, that the States of the Empire recover'd their former priviliges, and the Protestant Religion was estabi,sh'd in *Germany*, and for satisfaction to the *Swedes*, they got two Provinces in *Germany*, with the same Right and Privileges that the other States of the Empire are possess'd of: And by this means, *Sweden* is interess'd in the Affairs of *Germany*, not only as a Neighbour, but as a Member of the Empire. The Interest of *Sweden*, with respect to *Germany*, consists, in general, in the Empire's continuing in the same State that 'tis now in, without being subjected to any one Soveraign whatsoever. For questionless, if any Soveraign should once have subdued all the other States of the Empire, he would not fail to dislodge the *Swedes* of their Possessions in *Germany*, and even give 'em trouble at home, after he has made himself master of the Coast of the *Baltick*. However, the most important Point that the *Swedes* have to manage in *Germany*, is to oblige all the Parties to a punctual observation of the Peace of *Westphalia*, which is favourable to all the States of the Empire in General, and particularly to the Protestants. If the Emperour in Conjunction with the Catholick Princes should offer to violate that Peace, and strip *Sweden* of the advantages 'tis possessed of; the only game that *Sweden* would have to play, would be the having recourse to those who are interess'd in the preservation of it. But as long as they make no infringment upon the Peace of *Westphalia*, *Sweden* has no reason to mean 'em Ill. And on the other hand, they ought to carry it so with the K. of *Sweden*, as not to give him any provocation to joyn with those who only project for their Ruin. Among the Protestant Princes and Soveraignties, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in particularl, was much dissatisfied with that Treaty of Peace, by reason that to satisfie the *Swedes* part of *Pomeren* was adjudg'd to them, which would otherwise have fallen to that Prince. By this means he lost the conveniency accruing from that part of *Pomeren* in its relation to his other Provinces; besides, it plants a powerful and dangerous Enemy just by him. And 'tis this that obliges him always to maintain a great number of Troops, and to burden his people with heavy Taxes. But after all, the *Swedes* may justly alledge, that if they had not display'd their Arms in *Germany*, both the House of *Brandenburg*, and the other Protestant Families, had been reduc'd to a miserable Condition, and *Pomeren* had by this time been under another Soveraign. In a word, all the World must own, that the *Swedes* had a great deal of reason to demand satisfaction, especially, if we consider how the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony* had plaid their game with the Emperor, whose Vassals they call'd themselves. Now, satisfacti-

tisfaction being due to the *Swedes*, there was a neceſſity of allotting 'em ſuch Territories as lay conveniently for a Communication with *Sweden*. Beſides, the loſs that the houſe of *Brandenburg* ſuſtain'd by the Ceſſion of theſe Lands was made up by an eqivalent of almoſt thrice the value, without which they would find great difficulty in keeping up a correſpondence with their Country of *Cleves*. Nay, further, the King of *Pruſſia* has ſo much the leſs reaſon to be alarm'd at the Neighbourhood of the *Swedes*, in that, if we conſider the matter narrowly, 'tis not the intereſt of the *Swedes* to enlarge their Poſſeſſions in *Germany* beyond what they have already, even tho' it were with the conſent of the Proprietors. Moreover, the Proteſtants of *Germany* being morally aſſured, that ſooner, or later they will be diſturb'd upon the account of Religion, according to all the Rules of Reaſon and Equity, they ought to forget a particular Intereſt of ſo little importance, for the good of the common Cauſe, and ſeriouſly to conſider what a powerful ſupport they may expect from *Sweden* in ſuch a Conjuncture. In fine, I cannot ſee what aſſurance the King of *Pruſſia* can have that ſome body or other would not form ſome pretenſions to the equivalent adjudg'd to him, in caſe *Sweden* ſhould loſe *Pomeren*. As for what is between the Crown of *Sweden*, and the Houſe of *Lunenburg*, both of 'em have particular Reaſons obliging 'em to a mutual Union and good Underſtanding; the one in order to preſerve the Dutchy of *Bremen*, and the other upon the apprenhenſion of his powerful Neighbours, namely, the King of *Denmark*, the King of *Pruſſia*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, in oppoſition to whom *Sweden* may do him great ſervices in caſe of neceſſity.

Denmark. 'Tis obſervable, that *Sweden* and *Denmark* could never come to an Accommodation, to the infinite prejudice of both theſe States. For, to ſpeak the truth, if theſe two Nations could but live in a good underſtanding, they might not only be very ſecure in the *Peninſula* of *Scandinavia*, but likewiſe deſpiſe all the attacks of their Enemies. But the *Swedes* complain, that in former times the *Danes* always endeavoured to bring them under the *Daniſh* Yoak, and that they have upon all occaſions joyn'd with their Enemies, and inceſſantly oppos'd their Proſperity and riſing. 'Tis true, the *Danes* are the more capaple to annoy the *Swedes*, in that, *Denmark* is ſituated ſo inconveniently for them, that they cannot only penetrate into the heart of *Sweden*, but likewiſe diſturb their Trade, or, at leaſt, hinder them to Trade with *Swediſh* Ships; inſomuch, that the *Swedes* are forc'd, upon that ſcore, to make uſe of *Dutch* and *Engliſh*. However, *Sweden* is at preſent ſo far free of thoſe inconveniencies, that *Denmark* does not now border upon 'em for ſo long a tract of ground as formerly; and that 'tis now much eaſier for 'em to oppoſe the Irruptions of the

Danes

Danes. But on the other hand, *Sweden* can never find their account in attempting any new Conquests upon *Denmark*; for the other Protestants of *Europe* will never suffer the *Danes* to undergo any considerable loss; For they are well pleas'd to see the two Northern Crowns divided at that rate, so that one of 'em cannot make himself absolute master of the *Sound*. All these considerations are sufficient evidence that *Denmark* ought to rest assur'd of the Friendship of the *Swedes*, and to make this serious reflection, that in their Wars one with another, all they get is only the mutual consumption of their strength. But after all, as Reasons of this Nature can never amount to a certain Security; so 'tis importantly the Interest of the *Swedes*, that the Frontiers of *Denmark* should continue as they are now; and that they should keep up a good understanding with the Princes, and free Cities of the Empire, who are capable to thwart the King of *Denmark*'s Designs. To all which I must add; that *Sweden* ought to undertake nothing of great importance abroad, without being well secur'd upon the *Danish* side.

From the time of K. *Gustavus*, the first of that Name, *Sweden* has been in good terms with *France*; but they never found the effects of their Friendship with that Crown till *Gustavus Adolphus* gave proof of his valour and capacity in *Prussia*. After that, *France* began to encourage him to oppose the house of *Austria*; and, indeed, his Enterprize has been so successful, that one may justly say, That the Arms of *Sweden* have been the greatest instrument in wasting the power of that House, and throwing the Ballance of *Europe* upon the *French* side. 'Tis very true, that the *Swedes* had some assistance from *France*; but, at the same time, that Kingdom thwarted their Designs on several occasions, and watchfully oppos'd their becoming great; and, at least, took care to put it self in such a Condition as to be able, for the future, to shake 'em off at pleasure. So that the only view that *France* had in making that Alliance with *Sweden*, was the reducing of the over-grown Power of the House of *Austria*. But now that *France* is arriv'd at so high a degree of Power, that it huffs all the States of *Europe*, and pretends to prescribe 'em Laws, *Sweden* is oblig'd, in Consideration of the publick good, which consists in preserving the Ballance of *Europe*, not to assist *France* in the vast designs that she forms every day; especially if she offers to over turn the Empire and the States of *Holland*, and at the the same time to sink the Protestant Religion. But after all, the *Swedes* have no just Reason to declare first against *France*, while there are others, who being more in danger than they, or, at least, equally concern'd, would stand out, or oppose the good intention of the *Swedes*, in favour of the common Cause; and so *Sweden* would only be repaid with ingratitude and losses. In effect, the situation of *Sweden* does not allow her to be first in the game. France.

Besides,

Beſides, if that party ſhould be unkind to *Sweden*, 'tis very probable, that the antient friends of the *Swedes* would open a Door to 'em; as being ſufficiently convinc'd what that Nation can do under the conduct of a valiant and wiſe Prince, ſupported by any tolerable meaſure of Succour.

Holland. Since *Holland* aſſum'd the form of a Republick, they have always kept up a friendly Correſpondence with *Sweden*; partly out of regard to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which they look'd upon as the common Enemy of the two States, and which, before the Wars of *Germany*, had favour'd *Poland* againſt *Sweden*; and partly becauſe the *Danes* laid too heavy duty upon the Ships in the *Sound*. But after *Holland* had put it ſelf in ſuch a Condition, that they were no further apprehenſive of *Spain*, or *Denmark*, and at the ſame time, perceiv'd that the *Swedes* began to meddle in the way of Trade, their Friendſhip became cool; and the *Dutch* have purſu'd all expedients to oppoſe the growing Power of *Sweden*, leaſt the *Swediſh* Grandure ſhould prove prejudicial to the advancement of their Trade. So that the preſent Friendſhip between *Sweden* and *Holland*, is chiefly grounded on this Foundation, that the *Swedes* would not tamely ſee the *Dutch* ruin'd, becauſe their maritim Forces would be a conſiderable addition to another Power, which, after that, would not fail to preſcribe Laws to all others in the *Baltick* with reference to Trade; and that the *Dutch* are equally oblig'd to prevent the K. of *Denmark*'s having too great advantages over *Sweden*, for fear the *Danes* ſhould become abſolute maſters of of the *Sound* and the *Baltick-Sea*.

England. *Sweden* has no occaſion to mind *England* ſo much as the *Dutch*, for the *Engliſh* think to keep up their Trade in the *Baltick* by their Intereſt with *Denmark*, without taking any notice of *Sweden* in the matter, and imagine, that they can eaſily be without their Alliance. So that theſe two States may expect reciprocal Ceremonies one from another.

Spain. The *Swedes* look upon *Spain* as a branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and upon that view, their behaviour to that Crown is regulated by their Circumſtances with the Emperor. Indeed, in the laſt Wars of *Germany*, the *Swedes* would never declare open War againſt *Spain*, for fear their Veſſels ſhould ſuffer thereby in the Weſtern-Seas. Beſides, *Sweden* is ſtill intereſs'd in the perſecution of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, leſt the loſs of theſe ſhould carry *Holland* along with 'em: If it were not for that, *Sweden* has no reaſon to care who are Maſters of *Bruſſels*, or *Antwerp*.

Portugal. To conclude, the Friendſhip eſtabliſh'd between the *Swedes* and the *Portugueſe*, is founded upon their mutual commerce, which is equally advantageous to 'em both. But thoſe two States can do no great Service to one another, by reaſon of their lying ſo remote and diſtant.

FINIS.

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